LIFE AND WORK OF
BLESSED ROBERT BELLARMINE

VOL. II

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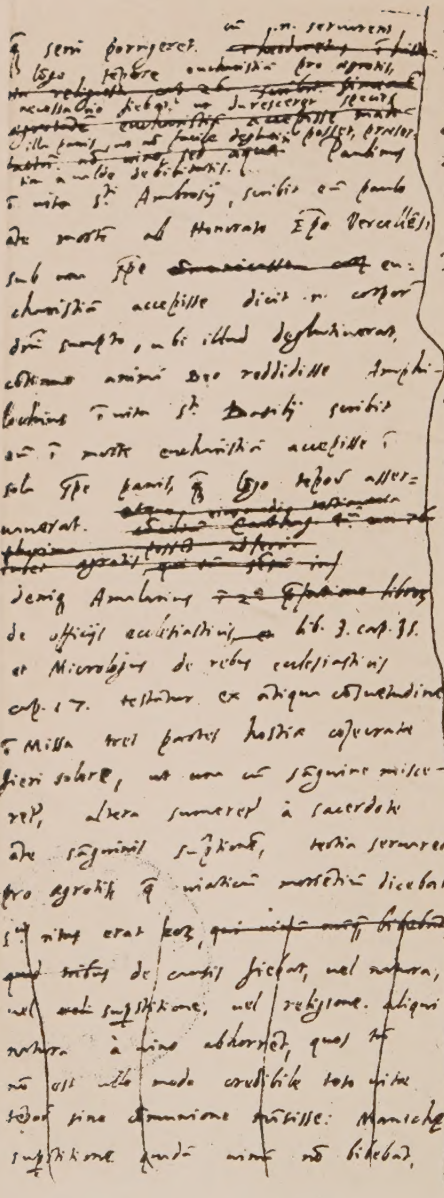


A PAGE FROM THE ORIGINAL MS. OF THE 'CONTROVERSIES' IN BELLARMINE'S OWN HANDWRITING.

Controversiarum de Eucharistia liber quartus qui est de Sacramento Eucharistiæ, caput xxiv. Cf. Opera Omnia, Fèvre's ed., vol. IV, p. 274.

THE LIFE AND WORK
OF
BLESSED ROBERT FRANCIS CARDINAL BELLARMINE, S.J.
1542—1621

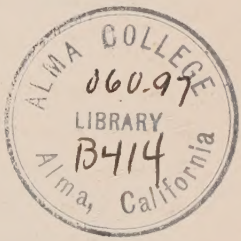
BY

JAMES BRODRICK, S.J.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY HIS EMINENCE
CARDINAL EHRLE, S.J.

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME II



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CONTENTS
OF
THE SECOND VOLUME

PAGE

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS ix

CHAPTER XIX

THE CONTROVERSY ABOUT GRACE

(1585–1607)

Scylla and Charybdis.—2. Blessed Robert explains.—3. The controversy in Belgium and Blessed Robert's efforts on behalf of Leonard Lessius.—4. The theory of Fray Domingo Bañes.—5. Luis Molina publishes his *Concordia*, and Blessed Robert makes his own position clear in answer to the challenge of a Belgian Jesuit.—6. Lively happenings in Spain, followed by an address to the Pope which His Holiness submits to Blessed Robert for criticism.—7. Bañes edits a second memorial, and this too is placed by the Holy Father in Blessed Robert's hands.—8. The cause of Molina goes from bad to worse in Rome, but Blessed Robert does not despair.—9. He speaks his mind very plainly to the Pope, and writes him a famous letter, whereupon the Pope makes him Archbishop of Capua. Clement dies without having decided anything, and Paul V ends the controversy in the way originally suggested by Blessed Robert.—10. Blessed Robert and the Dominicans 1

CHAPTER XX

PASTOR BONUS

(1602–1605)

Blessed Robert goes to Capua and receives a very hearty welcome from his flock.—2. Sermons again, one of which is sadly misunderstood.—3. Gamblers find Blessed Robert troublesome, but thieves are gently dealt with when he himself is the object of their attentions.—4. Blessed Robert and his priests.—5. His zeal for the beauty of God's House.—6. And for reverence and exactitude in the Divine Services.—7. He reforms a convent of nuns.—8. *Operarius inconfusibilis*.—9.—The sick and poor are Blessed Robert's chief concern.—10. His dealings with the civil authorities and with his relatives. 11. Letters to the Pope and to various friends.—12. He is recalled to Rome 70

PAGE

CHAPTER XXI

CONCLAVES AND CONFLICTS

(1605–1607)

Blessed Robert's first Conclave.—2. A second follows in which there is serious question of his election as Pope.—3. Cardinal de Joyeuse gives a vivid account of the proceedings.—4. Blessed Robert is retained in Rome by the new Pope, Paul V.—5. His anxiety for the welfare of Capua.—6. Pope Paul proves a less diplomatic statesman than Pope Clement.—7. Trouble with the Republic of Venice.—8. The Pope places it under interdict, whereupon a pamphlet warfare begins, captained on the Venetian side by Fra Paolo Sarpi.—9. Blessed Robert replies to Giovanni Marsilio.—10. And to Fra Paolo.—11. The end of the struggle 113

CHAPTER XXII

THE AFFAIRS OF ENGLAND

(1602–1608)

The question of the King of Scotland's succession to the throne of England and Blessed Robert's letter to that monarch.—2. James disappoints the hopes of the English Catholics, and certain desperate men contrive the Gunpowder Plot.—3. The genesis of the King's political theories.—4. Blessed Robert writes his *Hieraticon Doron* in answer to the King's *Basilikon Doron*.—5. He criticizes therein various unfriendly allusions to the Catholic Church.—6. And also the theory of Divine Right championed by James 144

CHAPTER XXIII

CARDINAL VERSUS KING

The Oath of Allegiance.—2. Pope Paul V condemns the Oath.—3. Blessed Robert remonstrates with George Blackwell for taking it.—4. The Cardinal's letter falls into the hands of King James, who thereupon writes his *Triplici Nodo Triplex Cuneus, or an Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance*.—5. The Pope directs Blessed Robert to answer the King's book, which he does under the name of his almoner, Matthew Torti.—6. King James then issues a new edition of his *Triplici Nodo*, with a Premonition to all most Mighty Monarchs, Kings, Free Princes and States of Christendom.—7. Bishop Andrewes is invited by James to assist, and publishes his *Tortura Torti*, which proves to be a singularly abusive book.—8. The famous trial of Lord Balmerino and Blessed Robert's connection therewith.—9. The King's Premonition meets with a mixed reception on the Continent.—10. Blessed Robert answers it under his own name, and with considerable vigour 169

PAGE

CHAPTER XXIV

CARDINAL'S MEN AND KING'S MEN

Andrewes writes a second reply to Blessed Robert, and Isaac Casaubon is enlisted on the side of the King —2. Mark Antonio de Dominis arrives in England to serve his Majesty.—3. Blessed Robert's allies, and a story that illustrates the dangers of facetiousness.—4. Blessed Robert replies to Dr. William Barclay. —5. And his answer causes a great commotion in Paris.—6. Roger Widdrington and Adolf Schulcken.—7. Peace between Cardinal and King 225

CHAPTER XXV

EVERYBODY'S COUNSELLOR

Blessed Robert and the Franciscans.—2. Augustinians and Benedictines.—3. A new Benedictine Breviary.—4. The Celestines are given Blessed Robert as their Cardinal Protector.—5. English friends, and the question of a bishop for England.—6. Letters to German princes.—7. To various learned men.—8. And to many bishops, including St. Francis de Sales.—9. Blessed Robert is appointed administrator of the diocese of Montepulciano.—10. He reconciles the Republic of Lucca with its bishop and with the Holy See.—11. Relations with Robert de Nobili and the Christians of China 261

CHAPTER XXVI

THE FIRST TROUBLES OF GALILEO

(1611–1616)

Blessed Robert is accused by certain writers of enmity against science. —2. Ptolemy's astronomy.—3. Blessed Robert's private views on the mechanism of the heavens.—4. Galileo's discoveries and his campaign against the Aristotelians.—5. He visits Rome and is lionized by the Cardinals and the Jesuits. —6. The counter-campaign of the Aristotelians, and Galileo's letter to Castelli.—7. Caccini denounces him in the pulpit of Santa Maria Novella, and he is delated to the Inquisition.— 8. Blessed Robert's attitude in the controversy, and the praise bestowed on it by a famous modern scientist.—9. Galileo's fiery temper and provocative methods.—10. The theologians of the Inquisition pronounce against him, and Blessed Robert is directed to notify him of their decision 326

CHAPTER XXVII

A FINAL SURVEY

Blessed Robert and the Society of Jesus.—2. He writes his Commentary on the Psalms.—3. An account of his *De Ascensione Mentis in Deum*, which is the most characteristic of his spiritual works. —4. A treatise on Heaven and the way thither.—5. Some other ascetical treatises, including a small manual for bishops.—6. Blessed Robert's patience and good humour.—7. The origin and curious history of his 'Autobiography'.—8. Letters to friends in which the goodness of his heart is revealed 374

PAGE

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE ART OF DYING WELL

(1621)

Blessed Robert sits in another Conclave, and expresses a great longing to be allowed to retire from public life.—2. He goes to St. Andrea, and there his last illness comes upon him.—3. Pope Gregory XV visits him, whereat he is very glad, thinking it to be an omen of his approaching end.—4 His last will and testament in which he bequeaths his poverty to the Society of Jesus.—5. The Englishman, Father Coffin, describes the scenes that took place in the Cardinal's room.—6. And the last scene of all in Blessed Robert's history 428

CHAPTER XXIX

IN MEMORIA AETERNA

Honour after death.—2. Blessed Robert's funeral.—3. The striking testimony of an English witness.—4. Blessed Robert's cause of beatification is introduced, and suffers many vicissitudes.—5. The curious history of Domenico Passionei.—6. His opposition to Blessed Robert's cause, and the policy of Pope Benedict XIV.—7. Blessed Robert is raised to the altars by Pope Pius XI, to the very great joy of the City of Rome 453

APPENDICES

I

Decretum de Virtutibus 481

II

Responsum Summi Pontificis, Benedicti Papae XV ad orationem Wlodimiri Ledóchowski 486

III

Decretum de Miraculis 492

IV

Decretum Beatificationis 497

V

Missa de Beato Roberto Bellarmino 504

Index 507

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE SECOND VOLUME

	FACING PAGE
Page from Original MS. of 'Controversies' ...	*Frontispiece*
Leonard Lessius	10
An Engraving from Serry's 'Historiae'	35
Luis Molina	62
Bellarmine teaching Catechism	91
Modern Painting of Blessed Robert Bellarmine	116
Title-page of Bellarmine's Reply to the Seven Theologians of Venice	142
Title-page of Acts of Archpriest Blackwell's Trial	178
Title-page of King James's Defence of Oath of Allegiance ...	191
A Page from 'Triplici Nodo' in King James's Handwriting...	206
Title-page of Bellarmine's 'Apologia'	223
Title-pages of Widdrington's Answer to Bellarmine and of Bellarmine's to Barclay	254
Title and Last Page of Benedictine Breviary	276
Short Letter of Bellarmine	317
Christopher Clavius	345
Old Picture Map of Rome	374
Title-page of Bellarmine's Last Book	404
Autograph Letter of Bellarmine to Gerard	420
Autograph Letter of Bellarmine to Gerard	421
'Expectans adventum gloriae magni Dei'...	452
Beatification of Bellarmine	463
The Tribute of Rome	479

CHAPTER XIX

THE CONTROVERSY ABOUT GRACE

Malo experiri quam scrutari
efficaciam gratiae tuae.

Bl. R. Bellarmine, *De Ascensione Mentis in Deum*, grad. 4, ch. 1.

1. Whatever its critics may say in disparagement of Catholic theology, they must admit, as one of the most competent among them has confessed, that it is both humble and courageous. It does not turn back half-way through its arguments as do other theologies, or seek to escape mystery by denying that it exists. The habit of heresy, implied by its very name, is to pick and choose, but the habit of Catholicism is to accept. Fear of mystery is one of the notes of false religion. Such religions are ever at work, endeavouring to rationalize and simplify, to limit the realm of faith, and to fit the infinite into the narrow categories of human reason. Their tendency is to make their diagrams of things divine ever easier of comprehension, a fact which caused another critic to say that, compared with the rich complexity of the Catholic creed, rival systems were like a melody such as 'Home, sweet Home' compared with the Ninth Symphony of Beethoven.

Among the many mysteries which the Church, assured of her divine origin, teaches without hesitation, some of the most profound are connected with the subject of grace. She holds that grace is an utterly free gift of God to which man has no natural claim whatever, but without which he cannot move even the distance of a thought on the way to Heaven. Grace must go before, accompany, and follow any act of his that is to have supernatural value and be negotiable in the transactions of his salvation. In this work the initiative is always and entirely God's, His grace in the first stage of its operation being technically described by theologians as *praeveniens* or *excitans*. Now grace does not invariably obtain its effect, for, though God gives it to all men, all men obviously do not accept it. When it is frustrated of its effect through the culpable

obstinacy of the human will, theologians speak of it as *gratia sufficiens*, and say that such grace, which confers on the soul all the means necessary for supernatural activity, was given, for instance, to Judas. When the effect intended by God follows, as in the case of St. Peter's repentance after his denial of our Lord, the grace is called efficacious. This effect is not obtained by chance but infallibly, for it is the constant teaching of Scripture and the Fathers that efficacious grace is a special gift bestowed by God, not on all souls, but on some chosen ones only, whose consent it cannot fail to win. On the other hand, it is a truth of faith, proclaimed in express terms by the Catholic Church, that all men's wills remain free under the influence of grace, and that they can resist and reject it, though in the case of the elect its power is certain to prevail.

These few elementary notions bring us to the threshold of a great mystery. In the early ages of Christianity the heretic Pelagius solved the problem in a radical fashion by denying the necessity of interior grace and exalting the competence of the unaided human will. Against him St. Augustine strove with all the fire of his ardent genius to show the indigence, sterility, and evil propensities of that will apart from the assistance of God. But the Pelagians were not the only foes in the field. Their liberalism was hardly more deadly in its consequences than the fatalism of the Manichaeans, and against them, too, Augustine was obliged to contend. In the stress of his long battles with such opposite enemies it is not surprising that the great Doctor should occasionally have overemphasized that aspect of the truth which the particular heresy he had under consideration seemed to endanger. It needed, then, the calm, critical intellectualism of St. Thomas and the great scholastics to balance his books and show how his account really stood in the theology of Christendom. Luther, in the contempt for ' Dame Reason ' which he had learned from his Nominalist masters, rejected the scholastic tradition with scorn. St. Augustine would be his only authority, but it was not as a pupil that he had recourse to the holy Doctor. It was to find texts in support of the nightmare theories of nature and the supernatural which his sombre genius had already evolved from constant brooding on the moral chaos within his own soul and the rampant evil of the world without. Unable to cope with his terrible passions, this frustrate mystic had turned his experiences into a theology, which, like that of Pelagius,

solved the mystery underlying God's dealings with souls by denying one of its elements. Pelagius had abandoned grace ; he abandoned free-will. In the grotesque theory of justification which he elaborated, man's will is represented as being the mere slave of passion or of grace, and man himself as being, like a horse, compelled to go in whatever direction he is driven, according as ' God or the devil rides him.'

These, then, were two contrary but equally disastrous attempts to rid grace of its mysteries. The course of history has witnessed many a wreck of proud speculation in the dark and stormy passage between the Scylla of Pelagius and the Lutheran Charybdis. It was there that Dr. Michael Baius came to grief, and it was there too, as the sequel of this chapter will show, that the ship of Dominic and the ship of Ignatius suffered a strange and very sad collision. Blessed Robert Bellarmine was fated to be involved in the disaster, but before saying anything further about it a few pages must be devoted to certain happenings in Belgium that provided a kind of prelude to the famous controversy between the Jesuits and Dominicans.

2. In the religious struggles of the sixteenth century the Catholic doctrine of divine grace was a principal object of heretical attack. Calvin, in the wake of Luther, had used his great abilities in favour of determinism, teaching that God's grace, as given to the elect, is absolutely irresistible. To Heaven willy-nilly they must go. In the case of the reprobate, on the other hand, struggle and strive how they may their destiny is damnation. Against this ghastly perversion of Christian belief the Catholic theologians at once started a vigorous offensive. Among its leaders was Baius of Louvain. He seems to have been actuated by a sincere desire to defend the Church, but, being more of a humanist than a theologian, like so many of the Church's impulsive and ill-equipped champions he fell into the very errors which he had set out to destroy. Hoping to meet and vanquish the heretics on their chosen ground, the works of St. Augustine, he ignored the hard-won fruits of theological speculation during the intervening centuries and went direct to Hippo for his arguments. The result of his unbalanced exegesis was a system in which the distinction between nature and the supernatural, on which the whole of Catholic theology is based, is entirely obliterated. Grace, before the Fall, was not a free gift of God's love but a debt, inasmuch as human nature had a genuine claim to it. That

might be termed the optimistic side of the theory. Suddenly, however, it turns into blackest pessimism, for fallen human nature according to Baius is very similar to fallen human nature according to Luther. Left to itself it is incapable of anything except evil, and its boasted freedom is only a delusion because, though exempt from exterior constraint, necessity rules within.

Free-will, then, was sorely beset in that age of autocracy, and not by the professed enemies of Catholicism alone. St. Ignatius Loyola was quick to notice the danger, and immediately threw his Company into the trenches. Writing prior to 1548 he gave his sons the following significant counsels. 'We ought not to speak nor to insist on the doctrine of grace so strongly as to give rise to that poisonous theory that takes away free-will. Therefore we may treat of faith and grace as far as, with the divine assistance, our discourse may conduce to the greater praise of God, but not in such a way, especially in these dangerous times, that works or free-will receive any detriment or come to be accounted for nothing.'[1]

With such marching orders in their ears it is not surprising that the writers and masters of the Society of Jesus should have been among the foremost opponents of the necessitarian theology which was creeping like a plague over Europe. Bellarmine himself, the first Jesuit to teach theology in Louvain, had devoted particular attention to Baius from the start, refuting his tenets one by one in the lectures which he delivered during the period 1570–1576. A quotation from the manuscript notes of these lectures will serve to put the problems with which he was concerned in a clearer light. It is about the distinction between sufficient and efficacious grace, a matter of vital importance in the controversy of the times :

> The distinction between truly sufficient and efficacious grace is most certainly to be admitted. Note that we call that grace sufficient by which a man is genuinely enabled to do the salutary act if he wishes, and is also enabled to wish, so that it is entirely in his power, if he have such a grace, to act or not to act. We call the grace efficacious under the influence of which a man is not only enabled to act but also acts, though he really and truly retained the power not to act. . . . These two graces differ in this, that by efficacious grace GOD CALLS A MAN IN THE PARTICULAR WAY WHICH HE SEES HIM DISPOSED CERTAINLY TO FOLLOW, whereas by

[1] *Exercitia Spiritualia :* Regulae aliquot servandae ut cum orthodoxa Ecclesia sentiamus, Regula 17a.

sufficient grace He does not so call him. Consequently efficacious grace no more imposes upon a man the necessity of accepting it than the foreknowledge of God imposes necessity on those things which are foreknown. Just as it is not permissible to argue that because God knows there will be rain to-morrow, therefore to-morrow it must necessarily rain, so neither is it to say that because God calls a man in the particular way which He knows will win the man's response, therefore the response is necessitated. This is the teaching of St. Augustine who writes : ' Igitur non volentis, neque currentis, sed miserentis est Dei, qui hoc modo vocavit quomodo aptum erat eis, qui secuti sunt vocationem ' (*ad Simpl.* 1, q. 2).[1]

For the understanding of Bellarmine's position in the controversy on grace it is important to bear in mind that the distinction which he admits between sufficient and efficacious grace is not based on an intrinsic or essential difference of the two kinds. In themselves they are identical, and it is only the extrinsic fact of their concession under favourable or unfavourable circumstances that leads to their enormously different effects. This point is further insisted on in some notes of Blessed Robert's early lectures at the Roman College, now preserved in the Vatican Library. They are dated 23 April 1580 :

It is to be observed that the distinction between these two kinds of grace does not consist in *gratia sufficiens* being something purely extrinsic, while *gratia efficax* is intrinsic and determinative of the will in such a way as to impose necessity upon it. Were we to say this we should speak as Calvin does, for according to him the will is not constrained from without but necessitated from within. No ; the only difference between sufficient and efficacious grace is to be found in the fact that, though both are partly internal and partly external, those who have only the first are called at such a time and in such a way as God foresees will not lead to their acceptance of the grace, whereas those who possess the second are called at the hour and in the manner that He foresees will cause them to welcome His invitation.

These notes of Bellarmine show him in process of building up the particular system of reconciling the efficacy of divine grace with the freedom of the will which has been given the name Congruism. He and Suarez were its two great exponents. Many theologians consider it the most satisfactory of all systems, though they do not necessarily accept

[1] *Auctarium Bellarminianum*, pp. 61–62. The notes on this one point alone fill twenty large octavo pages.

every detail that Blessed Robert worked into it. One thorny point, which is still a matter of controversy, is connected with the mystery of predestination. God gives the reprobate amply sufficient grace to save their souls but He gives it to them under circumstances which He foresees will lead to its being rejected. The great problem is why some men should be thus treated, while others are favoured with congruous or efficacious graces that infallibly bring about their salvation. To escape, or at least lessen, the difficulty, some theologians taught that God does not first predestine souls to Heaven by an absolute decree and then decide to give them all the graces necessary to bring them there, but that He first decides to give the graces and makes His decree of predestination dependent on His foreknowledge of their acceptance or rejection.[1] However the matter be explained, the mystery remains. Bellarmine, all through life, considered that the former theory of predestination *ante praevisa merita* was the more correct, and the more in accordance with the teaching of St. Augustine. As a very young student of theology at Padua, he had parted company with his professor, who held the second view, ' ex praevisis operibus '[2], and later as a professor himself at Louvain he had openly championed what might, not unfairly, be termed the harsher doctrine. As will be seen presently, this zeal on his part gave the rigorist theologians of Belgium an excuse for invoking his name in their controversy with his fellow-Jesuits.

A final technical question to which we must here advert is that dealing with the nature of God's influence on the human will. Starting from the principle that the divine will is the first cause of all creaturely activity, Calvin concluded that second causes are not free, inasmuch as it is impossible for them to resist the influence of the First Cause. Arguing against this theory in 1580, Bellarmine signalized four ways in which God could move the human will. The first is by exerting pressure upon it *efficienter immediate*, or, in other words, by using means that affect the very nature of the will and determine it to one particular course. Blessed Robert's comment on such an explanation runs : ' God undoubtedly

[1] In using the terms ' before ' and ' after ' of the Divine operations, theologians are the unwilling victims of language, which knows only temporal sequences. The sequence they have in view is not temporal but ontological.

[2] *Autobiography*, n. xiii. Some theologians, including Bellarmine's friends Lessius and Gregory of Valencia, would not allow for an instant that St. Augustine had taught absolute predestination.

could do this, but if He did do it He would also undoubtedly destroy the will's freedom.'[1]

As they are not of importance for our present purpose, we may pass over the other three solutions, each of which is criticized, and give Bellarmine's own view at the date mentioned :

> God's causality is prior in nature to that of the will, yet He moves the will as He foresaw the will would move itself were it in its power to act independently. This solution saves the freedom of the will, puts God's causality first, and exonerates Him from the responsibility for man's sins. . . . One objection against it might be urged, namely that since the will is indeterminate until it acts, God could not foresee clearly how it would act until it had acted. To this it may be replied that the will so determines itself that the determination is an effect of its freedom. Now God's foreknowledge penetrates the human will and there sees *in causa* the various determinations of itself which it will, in due course, bring about. If you say that this makes God depend on man because He will be obliged to act according to my choices, I answer that that is not so, for God decreed from all eternity to move my will according as He foresaw that I would move it myself had I a totally independent power of self-determination.[2]

The point of most significance in this theory propounded by Bellarmine in 1580 is that it postulates in God a foreknowledge of all possible as well as future free determinations of human wills. This knowledge could not be considered as belonging to either of the two great divisions consecrated in theology, the *scientia simplicis intelligentiae* and the *scientia visionis*. It was a third and intermediate kind, still without a name, but destined after its christening in 1588 to form one of the main bones of contention in the controversy between the Dominicans and Jesuits.

3. Some years after the departure of Bellarmine from Louvain, his place as professor of theology at the Jesuit College there was filled by one of the greatest of his pupils, the Belgian, Father Leonard Lessius. The credit of Baius was still high in the city, in spite of his double condemnation by Pius V and Gregory XIII, and, as his party had not desisted from their semi-heretical activities, Father Lessius felt it his duty to prosecute from 1585 onwards the war which his master had opened quietly a dozen years earlier. Though this chapter has already been burdened with more than enough technical-

[1] *Auctarium Bellarminianum*, p. 88. [2] *L.c.*, pp. 92–93.

ities, the inclusion of the following letter from Lessius to Bellarmine may be pardoned for the light which it throws on the beginnings of the struggle in Belgium :

LOUVAIN, 29 *May* 1587.

REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST, *Pax Christi.*

After the death of the Apostolic Nuncio, certain professors of theology in this University began to quarrel with me, on the ground that some opinions which I had taught the previous year (1586) concerning predestination were contrary to the doctrine of St. Augustine. Having selected a number of points from my lectures, they sent to know whether I acknowledged their authorship, and I replied that they were mine indeed, but that no one could tell from them what I really thought, as they were torn from their context, mutilated, and denuded of the explanations I had given. Accordingly, I submitted to them the short exposition of my views which I am forwarding to your Reverence . . ., and at the same time asked them to appoint two of their faculty who might discuss the matter with me, and enable me to discover what precisely was the difference between us. This they have so far refused to do, . . . but when they came to weigh the question more attentively, and had looked up the authorities which I quoted, they allowed that my opinion was common enough in the present troubled times, and that they therefore could not prevent me from holding and teaching it. As for themselves, however, they affirmed that they preferred to stand by St. Augustine. . . .

I remember your Reverence once telling me in Rome that you had yourself formerly held the opinion of the Louvain school on predestination, but that you then regarded it as heretical. The view we take on this matter depends almost entirely on our views about *gratia sufficiens*. These men deny that sufficient grace is given by God to all men,[1] and their teaching on efficacious grace is very different from ours. As far as I can discover, they hold that though two men may be roused and prepared for faith and conversion by equal and sufficient amounts of prevenient grace, yet neither can give final consent without the aid of further special grace. Supposing, then, that one is eventually converted and the other is not, though both were equally ready for conversion, the explanation, say these Doctors, is that God gave the first man an efficacious grace which He refused the second.

Now, to my mind, this explanation does not accord with the teaching of the Council of Trent, and I think with St. Augustine that the efficacy of grace ordinarily consists in this, that God

[1] Bellarmine himself had taught this cruel theory for a short time, under the impression that it was to be found in St. Augustine. Deeper study convinced him of its erroneousness, whereupon he promptly retracted and openly controverted his former opinion.

knows a man will consent if his will and affections are moved in a certain manner and that He then gives the grace necessary so to move them. If two men, then, are equally stirred and prepared by grace for any act, the one can give his consent and the other deny it without any new grace being required for this step, on the concession or refusal of which the taking of it might depend. . . . Consequently, a man who is sufficiently moved and prepared possesses at the same time the concomitant assistance of God necessary for him to go on to consent and turn the prevenient grace he has been given into efficacious grace. These seem to be the main points of difference between us . . . . but there is some disagreement, too, about the fate of infants. According to what I have taught, it is more probable that their dying without Baptism is not a kind of punishment which God directly ordains on account of original sin, but a disaster which His providence merely permits. . . . They, on the contrary, teach that if a child is killed by a falling tile while it is being carried to the Font, God has not merely permitted this but directly procured it by a long chain of causes. Such doctrine is surely harsh in the extreme. . . .

What I have said on the subject of predestination is as follows. God, having foreseen that the human race would fall, decreed that no member of it should lack sufficient grace to save his soul. At the same time He foresaw that according to different schemes of His creative providence different men would be saved or damned, and then chose freely for each country, city and, perhaps, each individual soul, some one scheme of grace and destiny out of the infinite number which He knew to be possible. Predestination, according to my view, is nothing else than the choice and preparation of such a scheme, in which God knew certain men would be saved, and reprobation is nothing but the permission by which He allows the others to be lost, foreseeing that they will not be saved by the grace He will give them, though it is sufficient to save them if they desired to make use of it. Thus, the only cause of predestination is the will of God and the only cause of reprobation is original sin, on account of which God permits men to be damned. Further, I teach that God did not decree the immediate and efficacious election of the just to glory nor the condemnation of the unjust to eternal punishment before, or apart from, the prevision of the good works which with the assistance of His grace the former would achieve, and the evils which the latter would effect entirely of their own free wills. . . .

This, then, is the view which I expounded in my lectures, without, however, censuring anybody for holding the contrary opinion. The University had not pronounced judgment one way or the other, and, as it has always been my endeavour to keep on good terms with the theologians here, I did nothing except give them argument for

argument. But, though I put my side of the question forward as modestly as I possibly could, some men took offence, the two chief dissidents being, according to all accounts, Michael Baius and James Janson, his intimate friend and secretary. . . . The reason they allege for their opposition is that in their opinion I have abandoned St. Augustine. . . . If I offer proof from St. Augustine's own text (*ad Simplicianum*, l. 1, q. 2) that my view is the view of the holy Doctor, they will reply that Augustine wrote this work when a young man, before the rise of the Pelagian heresy, and that in his later books he teaches something quite different. I wish that they would point out the passages referred to, as I have an answer ready for anything that they may have to say. The theory of God's foreknowledge of conditionals, which I first learned from your Reverence, has helped me wonderfully in explaining difficult passages of St. Augustine.

I would ask your Reverence to bring these views of mine to the attention of our Father General, and to let me know his opinion when you have laid the whole question before him. I think that the teaching of St. Augustine does not differ in substance from that which I put forward, though he occasionally uses harsher terms when speaking about grace and reprobation. Supposing that some of my views are found to be at variance with those of the Saint, would you let me know which they are, and whether Father General thinks I ought to change them when next they come into my programme? It is my earnest wish to follow the safest opinions in all questions, and those furthest removed from any taint of novelty. Such I consider to be the views put forward by me up to the present. This is the reason also why I very frequently differ from Father Suarez, though he is a man of the shrewdest intelligence. . . .[1]

The next move of the Louvain doctors who disagreed with Lessius was to post the following piously-phrased document to the Jesuits' address. It was dated 9 September 1587:

To the Reverend Fathers in Christ, the Father Rector, the Professors, and the other Fathers of the College of the Society of Jesus in the University of Louvain, the Dean and Masters of the Faculty of Theology in the said University wish peace and everlasting felicity. Reverend Fathers, It having come to our ears that certain strange, offensive, and dangerous opinions on grace and predestination were last year ventilated and taught in your public lectures, to the great unsettling of the students, we have thought that this is not a matter to be passed over in silence. . . .

[1] Le Bachelet, *Bellarmin avant son Cardinalat*, pp. 147–151. The James Janson mentioned in this letter was later the master of Jansenius and of the Abbé Saint Cyran, a fact which throws some light on the origins of Jansenism.

LEONARD LESSIUS, S.J.

Wherefore, Reverend Fathers, we beseech you in the bowels of Christ to put aside all prejudice, and seriously to consider this whole matter with impartial minds, that if it be possible we may all think one and the same thing in so grave a question of our faith, on grace and predestination. We are induced to appeal to you, all the more, by the fact that in the past you held with us the better views which we still hold. Students will not have forgotten what Reverend Father Robert Bellarmine recently taught in his public lectures in your schools on these very matters. His opinions were entirely contrary to the view which you now put forth, a view about free-will which you have suffered yourselves to adopt in deference to the very arguments once employed by the Semipelagians of Marseilles. . . . We grieve profoundly that you whose piety wears the name and title of our Lord Jesus Christ, should now, as it seems to us, dim the glory and weaken the strength and efficacy of His grace. . . .[1]

The following year, 1588, James Baius, Dr. Michael's nephew, expressed himself more in detail in a letter to a sympathizer at Lille :

Everybody knows that the celebrated writer of controversies Father Robert Bellarmine, . . . dictated the appended paragraph in a public lecture at Louvain in 1575 : ' The third opinion is that fine one of St. Augustine which many afterwards followed and which is in every way superior to its opposite, namely that predestination is effected by no human causality whatever, and that the only divine cause of it is God's will and good-pleasure. The third opinion therefore is this, that predestination is not the result of foreknowledge of merits, . . . and I consider that the opposite view is not only false but dangerous and closely akin to the error of Pelagius.' . . . Behold, then, Father Robert, the most learned professor in the Society, condemning the opinion of those other professors as dangerous and savouring of Pelagianism.[2]

That was a clever but rather unfair use to make of Bellarmine's authority, because, though this matter of predestination *ante praevisa merita* was the solitary point on which he agreed with the Louvain party, they endeavoured to create the impression that he was with them in everything. How far this was from the truth may be seen by a mere glance at the judgment which he passed on twenty propositions of Janson's that Lessius had submitted to his notice. Janson was the ablest lieutenant of the party, for Baius himself had had to keep in the background since his condemnation. Of the twenty pro-

[1] Le Bachelet, *Bellarmin avant son Cardinalat*, pp. 163–164.
[2] *L.c.*, p. 164, note 1.

positions Bellarmine described eleven as scandal-giving because open to a Calvinist interpretation, and the remaining nine as heretical because, as they stood, they were incompatible with the freedom of the human will.[1]

The next communication of Lessius, dated 25 September 1587, shows that Papal censures had by no means taken the fight out of Baius and his party :

Reverend Father in Christ, *Pax X^i.*

I was greatly encouraged by your letters of July 24 and August 30 because I hoped that our Louvain friends would acquiesce in the judgment of your Reverence and the Roman theologians. But it was already too late, as the censure they had written against us was then in circulation, though we had not yet been permitted to see it. Following this, they had spread abroad many rumours about us, and were so free with their threats and denunciations that it would have been derogatory to their authority and position to abandon the campaign. Consequently, on September 12 they handed us the censure passed by the faculty of theology on certain opinions, arguments, answers, and commentaries on passages of Scripture and the Fathers which, torn from their context in our lectures and strung together, were thought to be more open to a sinister interpretation. I answered the censure without delay and, on the advice of Father Rector, immediately dispatched my manuscript to Father General, because it looks as if these men will never be quiet until the Holy See intervenes. I am sorry to be a trouble to his Paternity and to your Reverence, but no other remedy seems left to us. My censors here are convinced that all the Italian and Spanish universities are Pelagian in their theology, and need to be corrected and taught safer doctrine by themselves. But I think your Reverence is well aware how little competent they are in dogmatic questions, and you know too the errors in which they have become entangled.

It is almost impossible to describe the extent to which they are inflamed against us. Some of them say that we have lost the faith and teach plain heresy, and the majority of them believe that our opinions are at least erroneous. These rumours are spreading throughout the whole country. Your Reverence will see in the preface to their censure how abominable are the views which they fasten upon us. Our aim, according to them, is to overthrow the teaching of St. Augustine. They say that they find practically nothing in our writings except the complaints and ideas of the Semipelagians. And they allege many other grievances which would seem to have issued from nothing else than an itch for calumniating us, because the propositions collected by them, however obscurely stated, have no resemblance at all to the opinions

[1] Le Bachelet, *Bellarmin avant son Cardinalat*, pp. 162–163.

with which we are credited in their censure. Indeed, I have always professed to follow St. Augustine in everything, and I have shown in my answer that there is not a single one of my opinions which may not be found in clear and express terms in the writings of Ruard Tapper.[1] My critics, however, have abandoned the teaching of their predecessors at Louvain. They have rejected the scholastics, and have monopolized St. Augustine, being, it would seem, the only people in the world who understand that Doctor. Your Reverence knows the hideous opinions to which their false interpretation of him has given rise.

The man responsible for this stir against us is Dr. Michael Baius himself, as a certain professor who wished to make friends with us confessed. The only reason we can think of for Michael's wrath is that I have refuted his views, perhaps more successfully than he could have wished, though I did not mention his name. It is said that he still continues to propagate those views behind the scenes, and sometimes too in public. In retaliation for my lectures, he, with a few of his disciples, began a diligent examination of my writings, annotating whatever they considered deserving of reprehension. While the Apostolic Nuncio was alive they did not dare to take any action against us, but now, with that good man out of the way, they have begun to raise these tumults, though the opinions which they denounce were taught a year ago without anybody finding them objectionable. But, please God, with the assistance of Father General and your Reverence, there will be a happy end to the struggle, to the great gain of this University and all Belgium. . . .

As for other news, I am now fairly well again, though during the month of August I had a hæmorrhage of the lungs which was followed by some days of rather severe pain in the chest. There was also some danger of paralysis setting in, but at present I am feeling better. Father Hamelius is taking the waters at Aix, and is expected home soon. Our external students are fairly friendly towards us, but they do not dare to manifest their sentiments openly on account of the University authorities. The interpretation of the passage of St. Augustine [2] which your Reverence gave me in your letter is very satisfactory. I had already discovered the answer to my other question, whether a baptized person can rise from sin without the help of *gratia excitans*, in the manuscript of your Louvain lectures, which Father Hamelius had in his pos-

[1] A distinguished doctor of Louvain (1488–1559) who taught theology at the University for 39 years and eventually became its Chancellor.

[2] *De Correptione et gratia*, c. xi, n. 32 : ' Si autem hoc adjutorium vel angelo vel homini, cum primum facti sunt, defuisset ; quoniam non talis natura facta erat, ut sine divino adjutorio posset manere si vellet, non utique sua culpa cecidissent: adjutorium quippe defuisset, sine quo manere non possent. Nunc autem quibus deest tale adjutorium, jam poena peccati est, etc. . . .' P.L. XLIV, col. 935–936.

session. These same lectures were also helpful to me in many other respects. . . .

Now good-bye, dear Father, and remember me in your holy prayers and at Mass. Would you also please give my greetings to Fathers Benedict, Augustine, and Gabriel.

Your Reverence's servant in Christ,

LEONARD LESSIUS.[1]

In the defence of his teaching, referred to in this letter, Lessius sums up the controversy between himself and the Louvain doctors under four heads or questions. The third question runs as follows: 'Whether a man who has been sufficiently stirred and prepared for faith and conversion by *gratia excitans* or *praeveniens* can believe or not believe, be converted or not converted, without a new grace which anticipates and causes his consent in such a way that, given this new grace, the refusal of consent becomes an impossibility, while without it the consent itself is impossible?' The answer of the Jesuit professor is to deny vigorously that any such new grace is needed. Beyond the sufficient grace given him, he says, it is only necessary for a man to have the supernatural concurrence of God in order that he may elicit the salutary act. Nay more, this new grace, which, according to the Louvain doctors, compels consent, is the twin brother of efficacious grace as the Calvinists understand it. The Council of Trent defined that man's will remains free under the influence of grace, but it would not remain free if this theory were correct, for the essential point of it is that efficacious grace of its very nature determines consent. They will answer me, continues Lessius, that freedom is not destroyed, for, though the will cannot refuse its consent when the efficacious grace acts upon it, yet it retains the power to dissent when the influence ceases. In reply to this it may be said that no heretic ever denied the freedom of the will so interpreted, but the Council of Trent was not satisfied with such an explanation and refused to account it true freedom at all. What it comes to when analysed is that God is free but man is not.[2]

Towards the end of November 1587, Bellarmine sent Lessius his considered judgment on the Apology. 'Valde placet,' was his general comment, though there were one or two points,

[1] Le Bachelet, *Bellarmin avant son Cardinalat*, pp. 169–172.

[2] *Apologia a R.P. Leonardo Lessio scripta: Responsio ad censuram Facultatis sacrae Theologiae Lovaniensis.* Published in L. de Meyer's *Historiae Controversiarum*, etc., ed. 2a. Venetiis, 1742, t. 1, pp. 753–770. A few words will be said later about Meyer's History.

not connected with the question of grace, which seemed to him open to criticism. In other words, he agreed with Lessius in entirely rejecting the Louvain doctors' theory of intrinsically efficacious grace. The third and last of his comments on his friend's paper runs as follows :

At the end of the preface to the Apology where there is mention of Father Robert Bellarmine, it should be added that the aforesaid Father had, in his lectures on predestination, agreed with the Louvain doctors in one point only, namely about sufficient grace not being given to all men. But while still professing at Louvain he had deserted them in this matter also, and in a very lengthy dissertation had openly taught that sufficient grace is given to every human soul according to its needs and circumstances. Further, he taught that efficacious grace does not consist in any determination of the will by God. It is the call or summons of God to those who He has foreseen will respond. Finally, it should be mentioned that this Father had in the same course of lectures refuted briefly and publicly, without naming their author, all the articles of Michael Baius which Pius V had condemned.[1]

In compliance with Blessed Robert's request, Lessius immediately added the following lines to the Apology : ' At the conclusion of their censure the Doctors exhort me to follow the opinion of Father Bellarmine. That is exactly what I already do, for I have learned practically everything I teach on these matters from Father Bellarmine's lips or writings.'

Meantime, the controversy pursued its heated course in Belgium, as may be seen from the next letter of Lessius to Bellarmine, dated 29 December 1587 :

After the Doctors had presented us with their censure, they requested us, if we had any objections to offer, to signify the same in writing. Before we could do anything, however, Doctor Henry Gravius was dispatched to obtain the approbation of the Belgian hierarchy and the University of Douai for the censure. It is said that the Archbishops of Cambrai and Malines and the Bishop of Ruremonde have already subscribed. The Faculty of Douai, though anxious enough to give its support, was afraid to do so, as there were rumours that the question had already been laid before the Holy See. Meanwhile, the Faculty of Louvain has begun a new course of public lectures against us, in which our opinions on grace and free-will are refuted and their own defended. This

[1] Le Bachelet, *Bellarmin avant son Cardinalat*, pp. 172–175. The teaching of Lessius on predestination at this period seemed to Bellarmine to be a mediate form of the *ante praevisa merita* theory. This accounts for his tolerance of it.

move, however, has done them no good, for as soon as the students perceived the way they twisted the Council of Trent, and how close they came to Calvin's error and the condemned propositions, they lost whatever sympathy they may formerly have had for their views, and very many embraced our position. I greatly desire that if your Reverence has not yet published the controversies on grace and free-will you would treat the questions pertaining to efficacious grace at some length, as this is their chief battleground. . . . I notice that in Spain, also, there are some who hold their view, as for instance, Casale and Bañes, but these men do not seem to have read the writings of the heretics. Your Reverence knows that it is a pernicious view, so I beg you to oppose it with all your might, and to establish your own opinion from the Scriptures and the Fathers. . . .[1]

As the weeks went by the struggle instead of abating became more intense. After being repeatedly urged by the Archbishop of Cambrai, Douai University at last issued a monster memorial of over a hundred pages against the teaching of the Jesuits.[2]

I know not [wrote Lessius to Bellarmine] whether Catholics were ever so zealous in opposition to heretics as are the Louvain and Douai theologians against us. . . . Unless the Holy See intervenes, it is all over with the reputation of the Society in this part of the world. Throughout the whole country we are defamed as heretics, even by the rustics and artisans, and every day some new and more horrible rumour is spread about us. We have tried every means to persuade our censors to meet us in the presence of judges and a notary, but apparently they have decided that pens and not tongues are the most effective weapons for blackening our good name. . . .[3]

A month later Father Leonard writes again, lamenting that the controversy should have arisen at such an unfortunate juncture, when Pope Sixtus V was meditating drastic changes in the constitutions of the Society of Jesus :

Who could have foreseen that these men would raise such a storm about opinions that were commonly held and well-adapted for the confutation of the heretics, especially as your Reverence had taught those very opinions when you were a professor in Louvain ? Practically the whole controversy turns on the question of sufficient and efficacious grace which you treated.

[1] Le Bachelet, *Bellarmin avant son Cardinalat*, pp. 175–177.
[2] Le Bachelet, *l.c.*, p. 183 ; Du Chesne, *Histoire du Baianisme* (1731), p. 208.
[3] Le Bachelet, *l.c.*, p. 183. Letter of 19 March 1588.

It is plain that our enemies were inspired to attack us by the belief that his Holiness is little favourable to our Order. Indeed it was a common sneer with them that we no longer had our Gregory.[1] I told your Reverence in an earlier letter the name of the chief instigator and fomentor of the tumults. Although he is an old man now, he watched me from the start and denounced me to the Faculty for my views on Scripture. . . . Recently, he addressed a letter to the Rector charging us with having taught that St. Augustine and Calvin are at one on the question of efficacious grace, though in my lectures I had given out the exact contrary and had refuted the false interpretation which the Genevan heretic had put on St. Augustine. Dr. Michael's disciples do not fail to spread similar stories about us every day that so they may bring us into disfavour with ill-instructed people. . . .[2]

The extracts given so far make it clear that, with all his deep piety and brave patience under a heavy load of physical sufferings, the Venerable Leonard Lessius was a born fighter. Indeed, he addressed such a multitude of voluminous letters and documents to Blessed Robert that that unfortunate man found himself out of breath trying to keep pace with the valiant endeavours of his friend. In some points of theology, too, he was apt to be more original than Bellarmine liked, though these points lay apart from the main controversy. As far as that was concerned Bellarmine was his whole-hearted supporter. Sure of his old master's sympathy, Father Leonard wrote again on 17 May 1588 :

Dr. Janson, who at first was our chief adversary, has told myself and others that he has now come round to our views on providence, predestination, reprobation, and the fate of infants. The whole controversy, then, is reduced to the question of efficacious grace. Janson says that he and those who think with him do not consider that efficacious grace destroys free-will, for even under its influence a natural potency of freedom remains. . . . Calvin himself would admit freedom in that sense. I hear that your Reverence has told Father Eleutherius Dupont that certain Dominican Fathers agree with the Louvain Doctors. Now this news astonishes me vastly for the Dominicans teach that sufficient grace is given to all men, as is plain from Medina's commentary on St. Thomas (1. 2, q. 109, a. 10), and that God is prepared to give efficacious grace to all men if they so will, which they have it in their power to do. Further, they teach that this efficacious grace is a supernatural concurrence similar to God's general co-operation with the human will, though

[1] Pope Gregory XIII, who had confirmed the condemnation of Baius in 1579.

[2] Le Bachelet, *Bellarmin avant son Cardinalat*, pp. 186–192.

by this concurrence they would have it that the will is in some way applied and determined before it begins to act, which seems to me to be an error in metaphysics. The Louvain Doctors, on the other hand, hold none of these views, and though they have read Medina, they have never dared to quote his authority. . . .[1]

Memorials and counter-memorials began at this date to pour from many zealous pens. Bellarmine continued to do all in his power for his beleaguered brethren in the Low Countries, and in the hope of clearing up the issues drafted a long report *de Controversia Lovaniensi* for presentation to Cardinal Madrucci, the Prefect of the Inquisition. As this document is of considerable importance some lengthy extracts from it must now be given, notwithstanding their aridity :[2]

The controversies that have arisen between the Louvain Faculty of Theology and a certain professor of the Society of Jesus, concerning divine providence, grace, predestination, and perseverance, all spring from one root, namely the question of God's co-operation with the free-will of man. The Faculty of Theology considers that God, both in natural actions by means of His general assistance and in supernatural actions by His special assistance, not only co-operates with our free-wills in all their works but also determines the free-will to this or that particular work before the free-will determines itself. The Jesuit professor, on the other hand, while holding, indeed, that God co-operates with the will in all its works, so that no natural action whatever can be done without His general assistance and no supernatural action without His special assistance, still does not admit that the free-will is determined by God *prius natura*. The will, he says, is determined by itself, with the concurrence and co-operation of God. . . .

Having introduced the root problem in this straightforward fashion, Bellarmine proceeds to speak with equal bluntness about the various controversies to which it had given rise. That done, he asks, *Quid a Sancta Sede Apostolica desideretur*—what measures are to be looked for from the Holy Apostolic See ? The answer is as follows :

[1] Le Bachelet, *Bellarmin avant son Cardinalat*, pp. 200–203.

[2] It is a curious thing that people should so resent the intrusion of a few technical terms from theology when they will endure any amount of such things from other departments of human interest. Thus nobody minds how much Conrad, for instance, talks about halyards, booms, luffs, etc., in his novels, though they have only the faintest conception of what these mysterious terms stand for. Such indulgence is not commonly extended to theological terms. However, the reader's remedy is obvious.

The Jesuit professor, who was the first to appeal to the judgment of the Apostolic See, does not seek for a decision as to which of the two parties holds the truer views about the matters in dispute. Such a decision would, perhaps, require lengthy investigations. His sole desire is to know which opinions are the safer, and particularly whether his own teaching is free from error and venturesomeness, as the Theological Faculty has stigmatized it as erroneous in a public censure. By this censure Catholics have been scandalized, the heretics filled with joy, and the said professor, together with our whole Order, branded with infamy. A decision as to the soundness of the doctrine can be given without much difficulty, for by general consent that doctrine is wont to be accounted safe which is the more common in the Church and which has been handed down hitherto by many approved authors. If, for this purpose, investigations are begun, as seems altogether desirable, the whole question will easily be settled, for, with regard to the root of all the controversies, several authors among the Fathers and Scholastics teach in express terms that the will is not predetermined in its free acts. Indeed, to confess the truth, I have never read any one who held the contrary view, except the heretics.

Thus St. Thomas, when explaining (1. 2, q. 9, art. 6) how the will is actively moved by God, says that this is so because God alone created the will and put into it an inclination to the good in general, in which inclination its bent towards every particular good is included. . . . In his reply to the third objection he says that the will, through the agency of the reason, determines itself whenever there is question of a particular good. '*Ad tertium dicendum, quod Deus movet voluntatem hominis, sicut universalis motor ad universale objectum voluntatis, quod est bonum; et sine hac universali motione homo non potest aliquid velle; sed homo determinat se per rationem ad volendum hoc vel illud, quod est vere bonum, vel apparens bonum.*' In this passage the adversative particle *sed* shows that the particular determination is to be referred to the will itself, not to God antecedently determining it, whereas the universal determination to the good in general is to be referred to God, who is the universal cause.

Again, in another passage (1. 2, q. 80, art. 1, ad 3), the same St. Thomas says: '*Dicendum quod Deus est universale principium omnis interioris motus humani; sed quod determinetur ad malum consilium voluntas humana, hoc directe quidem est ex voluntate humana, et a diabolo per modum persuadentis, vel appetibilia proponentis.* Similarly, the holy Doctor teaches (2. 2. q. 174, art. 1), following St. John Damascene, that God has foreknowledge of some future events, as being events that He will Himself bring to pass, and these He predefines and predestinates. Other events He foreknows as coming about through the agency of our free-wills. These He does not predefine but foreknows only.

The fact that St. Thomas teaches (1 p., q. 105, a. 5, et quaest. 3, *de potentia*, a. 7, et lib. 3 *contra gentes*, c. 70) that God has not only given man a will and conserves the same, but also applies it to act in every work, is in no way contrary to the view stated in the previous passages. He says, indeed, that God applies the will to operate, but he does not say that God determines the will to this or that particular kind of operation. Nay, he expressly lays down the contrary (in quaest. 3, *de potentia*, a. 7, ad 13): '*Voluntas dicitur habere dominium sui actus, non per exclusionem causae primae, sed quia causa prima non ita agit in voluntate, ut eam de necessitate ad unum determinet, sicut determinat naturam; et ideo determinatio actus relinquitur in potestate rationis et voluntatis.*'

This doctrine is asserted in another passage also (1. 2. q. 10, art. 4), and there St. Thomas explains how God, while moving the will by applying it to its act, yet does not determine it, but leaves the determination in its own power. The same point is treated more fully in the opusculum, *De Malo*, (q. 3, a. 2): *Attendendum est, quod motus primi moventis non recipitur uniformiter in omnibus mobilibus sed in unoquoque secundum proprium modum.*' This is what Capreolus, Cajetan, and Francis of Ferrara mean when they say that the influence of God is modified and determined by the second cause, since, according to the scholastic maxim, *unumquodque recipitur secundum modum et dispositionem recipientis*. Now since this ' modus ' and this ' dispositio ' are presupposed, plainly they must be considered as in some way prior both to the action of the will and to the motion and influence of God on the will. It is nothing else, then, than a certain negative determination through which the will permits itself to be moved by the object which the intellect presents to it, or through which the will resists, not by acting but by refraining from activity. Such a negative determination can exist apart from any act, and consequently it does not need the influence of God, and is the first root of the will's freedom.[1] This is so because from it proceeds the practical judgment of the reason, which in its turn leads to the act of choice. . . .

Having finished with St. Thomas, Bellarmine quotes three other famous theologians who are opposed to the predetermination of the will taught by the Louvain doctors. These are St. Bonaventure, Gregory of Rimini, and Scotus. Continuing, he says : ' Many similar authorities might be adduced, but those already given seem to be sufficient, as it would, perhaps, be impossible to mention a single theologian of note who taught the contrary.' Next, a regiment of Fathers is brought to the support of Lessius, telling passages being cited

[1] This subtle theory is explained at greater length in the Controversies. *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, l. iv, c. xvi (*Opera omnia*, ed. Fèvre, t. vi, pp. 34–35).

from St. John Chrysostom, St. Jerome, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. John Damascene, St. Anselm, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, St. Optatus, St. Augustine, and St. Bernard. Finally, the Council of Trent is appealed to in justification of the Jesuit professor :

This opinion of his [says Bellarmine], which denies that the will is predetermined by God, is not only not repugnant to any doctrine of our faith, and in agreement with the teaching of previous theologians, but it so directly accords with the dogmas of the Church that many men, including, I must confess, myself, cannot understand how the contrary opinion is to be reconciled with the teaching of the Council of Trent, nor how it does not destroy free-will. When the Council dealt in such careful detail with the question of justifying grace, it nowhere mentioned that theory of a divine motion which predetermines the will. It laid down that the will is prepared by the rousing influence and illumination of God, and that God co-operates with it in every good work, adding that it remains in the power of the will to consent or dissent, to reject the grace or to accept it. This certainly could not be said about grace that determines the will.

That such grace would destroy free-will is plain from the following argument : By common consent a free cause is a cause that can act or not act when all impediments have been removed and all conditions necessary for activity are present. Now according to the opponents of the Jesuit professor the predetermination of God is one of those conditions essential for activity. When it is present, however, the will is powerless not to act, nor is its absence or presence in any way in the control of the will. Therefore the will is not a free but a necessary cause. Neither Calvin nor any other heretic would dissent from such a view as this of the Louvain Doctors. . . . One of the principal errors in the system of Dr. Michael Baius and his party was that they taught a theory about free-will according to which the divine assistance is so prerequisite for all free acts that in its presence the will cannot but choose good, while in its absence the will is powerless to choose anything but evil.

Since, then, the gist of the controversy that is being waged at present is concerned with the same question, and since the accusers are the same Dr. Michael Baius and his disciples, careful consideration is needed both with regard to the policy of these men and the action in the matter that would best become the dignity and responsibility of the Apostolic See. To my mind, it is plain enough that our Society's professor drew upon himself the disfavour of the Louvain Faculty simply and solely because he refuted in his lectures the opinions of Baius that had been condemned by the Holy See, though, as I have learned from the professor's own

letters, he neither mentioned Dr. Michael's name nor qualified his opinions as either heretical or erroneous. Those who first began to talk about heresy and error, in this controversy, were the theologians who published the censure against the Jesuits. . . .[1]

In another document of this period Bellarmine relates that the Jesuits asked Baius on one occasion how he reconciled his theory with the definition of the Council of Trent that the will remains free to consent or dissent under the influence of grace. The Doctor's answer is interesting. 'He said that the Council had not spoken on the point exactly as St. Augustine speaks, that the dogmatic chapters containing the definition had not been properly revised, and that a certain error had been discovered in another place also.'

During the autumn of 1588, Henry Van Cuyck, Dean of the Louvain Faculty of Theology, sent the Dean and Doctors of the same faculty at Mayence a resumé in thirteen articles of the teaching that they had censured, with a request for a decision about the matter. The German professors answered as follows:

> We cannot forbear making known our great astonishment that so celebrated an Academy should have started a fresh controversy in these exceedingly troubled times, about many propositions, all of which are probable and consequently tenable in debate. Unless this dispute is quickly settled there is reason to fear that it may not only open the way to Schism in Belgium but also that the heretics of France and Germany may find in the affair, when it comes to their knowledge, an excellent opportunity for further insolent raving against the Church.
>
> With regard to the propositions which the Louvain Doctors have condemned, it is our opinion that, as explained by those who hold them, they are perfectly true, entirely free from any suspicion of error or heresy, and in thorough agreement with the received doctrine of the Catholic schools. Turning next to the propositions of the Louvain Doctors themselves, we think that, though probable, some of them sound too harsh, and because they would appear to lean in a fashion towards the stoical errors of the Calvinists on predestination and free-will, we cannot give them the same measure of approval.[2]

4. Writing to Bellarmine on 19 October 1588, Lessius announced the following item of news:

[1] Bellarmine's Memoir was first published in Meyer's *Historiae Controversiarum*, but it is from the more careful edition in Le Bachelet's *Auctarium* (pp. 94–100) that the above excerpts are taken.

[2] Le Bachelet, *Bellarmin avant son Cardinalat*, p. 218.

It is said that the Doctors were at first greatly perturbed on reading our *Apologiae*, but that afterwards having lighted on the commentary of Dominic Bañes [1] their spirits somewhat revived. I showed a few of them, however, that Bañes was not such a friend as they imagined, because, according to him, efficacious grace is a *concursus* by which free-will was determined, even in Adam and the angels. All this is contrary to their view, and accordingly they have made but little use of that author.[2] The Bishop of Middelburg, a learned man and a great friend of ours, is preparing a book against this Bañes, which he will soon forward to the Inquisition, for it seems that he holds many dangerous views, and puts them forward, apparently, in a spirit of opposition to our Society's theologians. . . .[3]

The Dominic Bañes mentioned in this letter was the spiritual guide whom St. Teresa always spoke of affectionately as ' my Father.' In March 1581, Teresa wrote the following lines to a friend : ' I feel lonely as regards my soul, for there are none of the Society [of Jesus] here whom I know. In fact, I feel lonely wherever I am, for our Saint [4] seemed to bear me company even when he was far away, so that at least I could write and tell him about things. . . . What do you think of the creditable manner in which Fray Domingo Bañes obtained the chair ? God protect him, for I barely succeeded in winning it for him. Trials will not fail him in that position, for honour costs very dear.' [5]

The chair referred to by the Saint was that of theology at the great University of Salamanca, and trials certainly did not fail Fray Domingo while he occupied it, nor the Society of Jesus either. It is a well-known fact in Christian spirituality that solid and genuine holiness may co-exist with marked faults of temperament. St. Jerome was anything but a model of meekness and St. Teresa herself was litigious enough to carry on half a dozen law-suits simultaneously. Bellarmine, too, as has been seen, was not without a temper, so there is no harm in mentioning, what was undoubtedly the truth, that

[1] *Scholastica commentaria in primam partem Angelici Doctoris D. Thomae usque ad sexagesimam quartam quaestionem complectentia.* Salamanca, 1584. *Scholastica commentaria super caeteras primae partis quaestiones.* Salamanca, 1588. Bañes himself spelt his name as printed here.

[2] The Louvain Doctors held that God's predetermination of the will by grace was not necessary in the state of unfallen nature.

[3] Le Bachelet, *Bellarmin avant son Cardinalat*, p. 225. Lessius bursts into Greek in this letter to express his dissatisfaction with the conduct of the Papal Nuncio in Flanders.

[4] Father Baltasar Alvarez, S.J., who had died in 1580.

[5] *Letters.* Translated by the Benedictines of Stanbrook, vol. IV, p. 147.

Dominic Bañes had a spice of the proud hidalgo in his fine character. The spirit of rivalry was strong in him, and also that pathetically human tendency to consider one's own pet cause, the cause of God. He was a theologian of very great ability and like most theologians of great ability he had theories to which he was attached. One of these theories was connected with the problem of grace and free-will which we have seen debated with considerable warmth in Belgium. Spain being a land where the sun shines more fiercely than in Belgium, it was to be expected that when the controversy crossed the Pyrenees it would turn into such a joyous battle as the countrymen of the Cid have ever delighted in. And so, indeed, it happened.

In their inquiry into the nature of God's dealings with the human soul, Catholic theologians had to keep a firm grasp on two fundamental truths. The efficacy of divine grace had to be defended against Pelagians old and new, and the freedom of the will had to be defended against the Lutherans and Calvinists. So far all Catholic writers were at one. It was only when they set out to try to reconcile the efficacy of grace with the freedom of the will that they began to part company, and this was natural enough because the Church had never given any decision about the profound problem they were investigating. It was a ' No Man's Land ' of theology and, as the history of secular warfare has shown, the strips of ground so entitled are not usually haunts of domestic peace.

Bañes, we might say, started his inquiry from God's end of the chain, making God's supreme dominion the first postulate of his argument. Here, at once, we observe a profound difference between the Spanish Doctor and the Louvain Doctors in their respective methods of approach to the problem, inasmuch as the latter started, not from the noble and majestic principle of God's overlordship, but from the gloomy exaggeration of mankind's utter indigence and vileness. God, writes Bañes, in the fourteenth question of his great commentary on St. Thomas, is the First Cause and Prime Mover of all things and no secondary cause can act unless efficaciously determined by Him. Moreover since secondary causes cannot act until moved by the First Cause, God's concurrence with His creatures must be conceived, in our human fashion, as antecedent and not merely simultaneous. The influence which He exerts upon the secondary cause, then, is not a pure and simple *motio* but a

praemotio, and, since He is an omnipotent Being whose decrees are irresistible, this *praemotio* must be understood to work not by any mere moral suasion, but in the necessary way that physical causes act. It is a *praemotio physica*.[1]

All creaturely activities without exception are dependent on such divine predeterminations, but God's influence adapts itself to the peculiar nature of each, and disposes all things so sweetly that the freedom of human wills remains intact. He determines them, freely to determine themselves. Corresponding to *praemotio physica* in the natural order, is efficacious grace in the supernatural sphere, and corresponding to both in the mind of God is the predetermination whereby from all eternity He decreed to influence His creatures in such and such ways, using *praemotiones* and efficacious graces of infinite variety, but all infallibly certain of their effect. This divine *praedeterminatio*, of which *praemotio physica* is the temporal instrument, constitutes the medium of God's foreknowledge of the future free acts of human wills. He foresees everything that men will do in the decrees of His divine will, because it is only in virtue of these decrees that men can act at all.[2]

For the purposes of the present chapter the point of chief importance in the theory is that it places an intrinsic and substantial difference between sufficient and efficacious grace. *Gratia sufficiens* confers only the power to act, but *gratia efficax* includes in its very definition the completed act itself. The one leads up to the consent but is powerless to cause it;

[1] In more precise language, the adjective *physica* signifies that the *praemotio* produces its effect, not on account of its congruity or for any external reason, but from its own very nature (φύσις).

[2] Bañes himself did not touch the question of God's knowledge of conditioned future acts or *futuribilia*, that is acts that would take place if certain conditions were fulfilled but which never will take place because the conditions will not be fulfilled. It was this particular kind of knowledge that Our Lord used when He declared to the obstinate Jews that the people of Tyre and Sidon would have done penance in sackcloth and ashes, if they had been privileged to witness the signs and miracles which were wrought in Corozain and Bethsaida (Matt. xi. 21 sq.). Some of the early disciples of Bañes even denied that God had infallible knowledge of such contingent future events, but later theologians of the same school, especially Billuart, succeeded by means of the theory of hypothetical divine decrees in reconciling the infallibility of God's foreknowledge of *futuribilia*e with the rest of their system. In modern times the theory of *praemotio physica* has been very fully discussed by Father Norbert del Prado, O.P., in his treatise, *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, t. II, pp. 146–200. Bañes himself was not the first to teach it, as its main points have been found in the works of Capreolus († 1444), who like Bañes was a Dominican. A very distinguished member of the same Order, Père Sertillanges, published an admir-

the other causes it infallibly, and that in virtue of its inherent, irresistible might. Bañes claimed, and those who hold his theory still claim, that it is the true interpretation of St. Thomas. To say the least, the claim is open to serious question, but we are happily not called upon here to do more than register our doubts.[1]

5. About the middle of the year 1588, a Spanish Jesuit, Luis de Molina, who was professor of theology at the University of Evora in Portugal, had a book ready for the press, entitled : *Concordia liberi arbitrii cum gratiæ donis, divina præscientia, providentia, prædestinatione*, etc.—the harmony of free-will with grace, divine foreknowledge, providence, and predestination. It is a piquant circumstance that this book which was to rouse such a controversial storm as had never before swept through the dignified seclusion of the Catholic schools, should have begun with the word harmony. There were two reasons for this, for the book was both critical and constructive. Molina possessed an intellect of great power and subtlety, and he applied it in full force to the theory of efficacious grace championed by Bañes. The gist of his criticism was that the predetermining decrees of the Divine will, postulated by the theory, must necessarily destroy the freedom of the human will. These decrees, then, cannot be the medium in which God foresees the future free acts of men. Rather must we suppose the reverse order, speaking humanly, in the operations of the Divine mind, namely, first the foreknowledge and then, dependent on it, the decrees.

Molina's greatest title to fame as a constructive theologian

able work entitled, *Saint Thomas d'Aquin*, in 1910. We may be pardoned for calling the reader's attention to the following lines from this book : ' . . . Que de poussière n'a-t-on pas soulevé autour de ces deux mots, *prémotion physique*, et la plupart ne se sont pas rendu compte que, si l'on veut par là qualifier l'action même de Dieu conçue comme en relation avec la nôtre, d'abord on oublie cette loi générale que les relations ne sont pas de Dieu à nous, mais uniquement de nous à Dieu. Ensuite on commet, en ce qui concerne le cas présent, une triple hérésie verbale. Hérésie quant au plan de l'action, qui n'est pas le plan " physique," mais le plan ontologique ; hérésie quant à sa forme, qui n'est pas proprement " motion," mais création ; hérésie quant à sa mesure, qui n'est pas temporelle (*prae* . . .), mais immobile et adéquate à l'éternité. Toutes expressions de ce genre employées par les grands penseurs doivent se comprendre comme qualifiant l'effet de la transcendance divine, non comme introduisant celle-ci, même à titre premier, dans l'ordre des moteurs et des mobiles, par conséquent dans l'ordre temporel ' (t. I, pp. 265–266).

[1] The matter is still a subject of lively controversy among learned men, as may be seen by consulting so recent a work as Stufler's *Divi Thomae Aquinatis doctrina de Deo operante*. Innsbruck, 1923.

was his masterly exposition of the theory of *scientia media*, which like Bellarmine, though with far greater elaborateness, he introduced to explain the infallibility with which efficacious grace operates its effects. All the elements of the theory are in St. Thomas,[1] Molina's most original contribution being just the very appropriate name. God's knowledge of conditioned future events is called ' middle knowledge ' because it embraces all objects that are found neither in the realm of pure possibility nor strictly speaking in the realm of actuality, but partake in a manner of both extremes. They are purely possible in the sense that they might but never will exist ; they are actual in the sense that they would exist, were certain conditions granted. In the light of this knowledge God foresees from all eternity what attitude the will of man would adopt under any conceivable combination of circumstances, and then only, though the relation is not temporal but ontological, does He decree to share out His graces according to His absolute good pleasure. Efficacious grace is a grace that He foresees will infallibly be accepted. Sufficient grace differs in no way intrinsically from efficacious. It is perfectly adequate in itself for the purposes of salvation, but God foresees that those to whom it is offered will infallibly refuse it.

This doctrine (writes an eminent theologian who is neither a Dominican nor a Jesuit), is in perfect harmony with the dogmas of the gratuity of grace, the unequal distribution of efficacious grace, the wise and inscrutable operations of Divine Providence, the absolute impossibility to merit final perseverance, and lastly, the immutable predestination to glory or rejection ; nay more, it brings these very dogmas into harmony, not only with the infallible foreknowledge of God, but also with the freedom of the created will.[2]

Molina was naturally a little anxious about the fate, at the hands of the Inquisition, of a book that had cost him thirty years of labour, as he knew that the official censor of that body, Bartholomew Ferreira, was a member of the same Order as Bañes. Ferreira, however, proved a true friend, for though some of his religious brethren, to whom he submitted the manuscript, declared that it ought on no account to be allowed

[1] Cf. Stufler, *Divi Thomae Aquinatis doctrina de Deo operante*, pp. 282–290.

[2] Joseph Pohle, Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the University of Breslau. Cf. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, art. ' Molinism ' (vol. x, pp. 439–440).

to pass, he refused to be swayed by them and drafted the following notable approbation :

I, Brother Bartholomew Ferreira, master of sacred theology, deputy of the holy Inquisition and censor of books, by order of his Highness Prince Albert, Archduke of Austria, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church and grand Inquisitor of Portugal, have examined with all possible care this book, *Concordia liberi arbitrii*, etc., written by the most learned Father Luis Molina of the Society of Jesus, . . . and have found nothing in it contrary to our religion. Nay, it elucidates whatever in the holy Councils may appear at first sight to be obscure and difficult, and also expounds and explains most eloquently a multitude of texts in both Old and New Testaments. Therefore I consider it to be a treatise very well worth printing for the good of the whole Church.[1]

When the Fathers to whom Ferreira had shown the book discovered that he had given his *nihil obstat*, they appealed to Juan de las Cuevas, Prince Albert's Dominican Confessor, telling him that the work contained several propositions which had been condemned by the Inquisition of Castile. Cuevas put the matter before his Highness, who thereupon sent to Castile for a list of the propositions, and bade a certain Dr. Cano examine Molina's book to see if they were to be found in it. Cano reported affirmatively, and then Prince Albert, who was nothing if not fair, invited Molina to defend himself in writing. This the good man did with a will, and so thoroughly as to satisfy all the members of the Portuguese Holy Office. A few months were spent over these formalities with the result that, though the book was in print before the close of the year 1588, it did not make its public appearance until the spring of 1589.

The reception which the *Concordia* met with was some compensation to its author for the patient labours of half a lifetime. Within six years it had gone into five editions, and these in cities so far apart as Lisbon, Lyons, and Venice. Like Bellarmine's great tomes in the sphere of controversy, the unpretentious volume marked a turning point in the history of speculative theology. With all its obscurities of style and difficulties of matter, it was impossible for any theologian who took his business seriously to ignore it. Within a few years of its publication Molina's name was as familiar in universities, seminaries, academies, and other places throughout Europe

[1] This approbation is to be found prefixed to the first and all subsequent editions and reprints of the *Concordia*.

where learned men forgathered for high discourse, as the name of St. Augustine himself. Among Jesuits, no one hailed the book with greater delight than Leonard Lessius from his outpost at Louvain. Writing on 12 July 1590, to Bellarmine, who was then in Paris, he said :

I have not been in correspondence with your Reverence for a long time, nor heard from you either, for that matter, the cause being, I am sure, that you are very busy. Now, however, that I have some private news I cannot let slip the opportunity to make it known to one whose kindness and charity I have so often experienced. While it was impossible to obtain from Rome any decision or information about our controversy here, lo, there suddenly comes to us from Portugal a work by Father Luis Molina entitled, *Concordia liberi arbitrii cum donis gratiae*. In this book, all those views which our friends the Doctors visited with their censures, are most accurately explained and defended, and sometimes almost word for word as we explained and defended them. He understands efficacious grace and predestination in precisely the same way as your Reverence . . ., and holds that sufficient grace is given to all men, which adults have it in their power to render efficacious or inefficacious. . . . This work, I must say, has given me the greatest delight and it has also, I think, considerably upset our adversaries. They are keeping quiet, though, and appear to have suppressed the copy they bought. Now, they can easily see that we shall not be condemned, for Molina's work has been approved by the Portuguese Inquisition. So, by the goodness of God, we are living in peace and they no longer worry us, though behind the scenes the old back-biting still goes on. . . . Michael Baius, their leader, being now dead, I do not think we have much more to fear from them. . . .[1]

Blessed Robert, it must be said, did not share all his friend's uncritical enthusiasm for the *Concordia*, for there were minor details in its pages with which he found himself unable to agree. The author of the book sent Father Aquaviva a list of propositions that were attributed to him and that had been subjected to censure. When the Jesuit General passed these on to Bellarmine for examination, he wrote against four of them the laconic comment : '*Hæc quatuor sunt vere in libro et non placent !*'

At Douai University one Jesuit professor named John Deckers had adopted Molina's theories whole-heartedly in his lectures, a piece of unwisdom that led to dreadful scenes at a public disputation on 7 December 1590. Dr. Martin Rythovius, who

[1] Le Bachelet, *Bellarmin avant son Cardinalat*, pp. 271–274.

presided, denounced the teaching in unmeasured terms, and there and then, with rather unpresidential fury, tore to pieces several notebooks of the students into which it had been copied, sternly forbidding their owners to go any more to the Jesuits' classrooms.[1] This was the beginning of a lively duel between Deckers and Rythovius, in which Bellarmine soon became involved. Aquaviva, for one thing, invited him to pronounce on the merits of the dispute, and he also had enormous letters inflicted on him by Lessius, Deckers, and the Belgian Provincial. They are extremely interesting letters, and the Provincial's in particular shows that the Belgian Jesuits were undergoing a veritable persecution for their opinions, not from the Dominicans, but from bishops and theological faculties.[2] As, however, they are too long to quote, we must be content to give only some sentences from the reply of Bellarmine to Deckers, 5 October 1591, which summarizes what he had already said on other occasions :

Reverend Father in Christ, *Pax Christi.*

I have read your letter and the little work on the efficacy of grace. Though I am very busy preparing my third volume for the press, I shall try to answer you, at least briefly. My opinion has not changed, and I am still entirely unable to approve the view that efficacious grace is in our power, or that a man who does all that he possibly can to act rightly *ex viribus solius naturae* will infallibly be given grace.[3] Indeed, I think that this is the opinion so often denounced by St. Augustine, when he asserts that grace is not given according to merits. . . . Your Reverence should look up the holy Doctor on the point and also St. Prosper, St. Fulgentius, the Council of Orange, St. Thomas, and St. Bonaventure. . . .[4] Be it known to you that I have not approved nor do I now approve the theory of the predetermination of free-will, as Dominic Bañes and some others teach it. Indeed, I have argued against it expressly in my third volume and answered Bañes by name, for I consider that free-will could hardly be defended if such a predetermination were allowed.[5]

[1] Letters from the Rector of Douai and the Belgian Provincial to Aquaviva, cited by Le Bachelet, *Bellarmin avant son Cardinalat*, p. 287, note 1.

[2] Le Bachelet, *l.c.*, pp. 292–310. In one letter Lessius remarks that his foes are making but small headway against him, 'eo quod habeantur parum sani cerebri'!

[3] Molina taught this but guarded himself against the charge of Semi-pelagianism by postulating a free compact on the part of God, by which He bound Himself to give His grace to all who should make good use of their natural faculties.

[4] Minute references are given to all these sources.

[5] Blessed Robert deleted the name of Bañes before publishing his third volume.

Your Reverence thinks that I have changed my views about some doctrinal matters, here in Rome, since the departure of Father Procurator. I think still more strongly that it was you in Belgium who shifted your ground after having read Father Molina, for I gathered from the letters and writings of Father Lessius that, formerly, you never admitted efficacious grace to be other than the grace which God gives a man according as He sees it to be suited to his character and circumstances, and which has within itself the cause of its acceptance. Otherwise, if free-will by its co-operation is the reason why grace avails, then it is free-will and not grace which is efficacious. The opinion to which you direct me in the *Ratio Studiorum* says, indeed, that of two men having the same help (auxilium) one may be converted and the other not, but the *Ratio* is speaking of the same interior impulse and not of the same grace. This impulse will be congruous in the one case, that is, it will be exactly suited to one man's dispositions, and in the other case it will not. There can be no doubt that God gives the first man a greater grace than He gives the second, though the impulse in both cases is the same. . . .[1]

Deckers was not in the least satisfied with this answer, and showed a good deal of annoyance because Bellarmine would not give his unqualified blessing to the theory which he had embraced. He still maintained that the Roman Fathers had changed their views, arguing from the fact that the latest draft of the *Ratio* had *aequale auxilium* instead of the *aequalis gratia* of the earlier versions. 'If this is not to give up something of their former view,' he wrote to his Provincial, 'then I shall willingly reduce my intellect to captivity and never again open my mouth about these matters while such things go on at Rome. . . . I beg your Reverence not to let Father Bellarmine see what I have written about him, for I am sure he would be annoyed at my calling him a turn-coat and dissimulator.'[2] Doubtless he would have been, especially as the brusque impeachment was quite untrue.

Bellarmine's real position with regard to the subtle questions under consideration is made quite clear in the concluding volume of the Controversies which appeared, at long last, in 1593. In what does the efficacy of grace consist? the author asks, and then sets down two extreme answers which had been given, without mentioning the names of those responsible for them. The first answer, he says, makes the efficacy of grace consist in the consent and co-operation of the human will. Grace is called efficacious

[1] Le Bachelet, *Bellarmin avant son Cardinalat*, pp. 312–313.
[2] Le Bachelet, *l.c.*, p. 313, note 1.

because it obtains its effect, and this effect is the result of the will's co-operation. These authors, then, consider that it is in a man's power to render a grace efficacious which otherwise of itself would have been only sufficient. There can be little doubt that Bellarmine had the opinion defended by Molina in view while he was writing this passage, but it must be remembered that it had been defended much earlier by several scholastics, e.g. by Henry of Ghent, Thomas de Argentina, Gabriel Biel, etc. Consequently, it cannot be said that Blessed Robert was directly attacking his brother Jesuit. He would have been obliged to mention and refute the opinion even if Molina's book had never existed. His judgment of the theory is in the following strong words: 'This opinion is entirely alien to the mind of St. Augustine, and, as far as I can see, it is also repugnant to the divine Scriptures.' [1]

Then the other view is given, according to which efficacious grace is a physical[2] action of God determining the will to wish and choose the good that *gratia excitans* has inspired. Since it cannot be that God should physically determine the will and the will yet remain undetermined, it follows that this grace must infallibly have its effect. Once again, Bellarmine mentions no names but names were not needed, for the theory he has described is unquestionably the theory of Dominic Bañes. This is his opinion of it: 'To my mind it seems to be either identical with the error of Calvin and the Lutherans, or not to be very different from that error. Just as the former opinion destroys efficacious grace and predestination, so does this one destroy sufficient grace and free-will.[3] Having proved by copious textual citations that St. Augustine's authority could not legitimately be invoked on behalf of *præmotio*, Blessed Robert proceeds to state his own view, which comes midway between the two extreme theories he has been criticizing: 'It is impossible to understand how efficacious grace can consist in an interior persuasion of the will, which the will can resist but which must nevertheless infallibly have its effect, unless we add that God uses on those whom He has decreed to draw efficaciously and infallibly the kind of persuasion which He sees is adapted (*congruere*) to the dispositions of their souls, and which He knows for certain will not be resisted by them.'[4] Continuing, he points

[1] *Opera* (Fèvre's ed.), t. v, *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, p. 527.
[2] Physical in the sense that it works its effects of its own nature.
[3] *Opera*, t. v, p. 529. [4] *L.c.*, p. 531.

out that the great difference between this theory and the one defended by Molina lies in the fact that the latter makes the efficacy of grace depend on the will of man, whereas the other makes it depend on the will of God :

> Grace does not consist only in the interior movement and excitation of the will, but also in the circumstances of place, time, persons, etc., which accompany its bestowal. If the same help is accorded to two persons with the result that one of them believes while the other does not, this without any doubt is due to the fact that the person who believes received the impulse in the manner and place and at the time that God foresaw were suited to his dispositions and would infallibly lead to acceptance. This man, consequently, was given a much greater grace than the other to whom the impulse did not come in similarly favourable circumstances.[1]

The theory of congruism here put forward is, as we are now in a position to see, only a clearer statement of what Bellarmine had taught orally both at Louvain and Rome, many years before Molina had been heard of outside Portugal. Yet though he disagrees with that great theologian in one delicate but most important point, his system is based entirely on the *scientia media* and implies the complete rejection of *praemotio physica*. It is very strange, then, to come upon the following words in the extraordinarily sympathetic article devoted to him in Bayle's famous *Dictionnaire historique* : ' Il a été bon Thomiste,[2] et nullement Moliniste.' This ridiculous remark is the echo of a curious legend which Bayle had borrowed from the Jansenist Quesnel,[3] who in his turn had got it from the writings of certain followers of Bañes.

A book of anonymous authorship on efficacious grace was published at Toulouse in 1644. In this work, which was substantially a defence of the Thomist position, the author affirmed that several Jesuits, even, had rejected *scientia media* and taught *praemotio*. Among those whose names he gave were the ' Patres Colonienses, immo et Bellarminus, sincerus et non adulteratus.' Serry, the Dominican historian of the controversy, says that the person chiefly responsible for the

[1] *Opera*, t. v, p. 533.

[2] As Bañes and his disciples considered that their theory was the true interpretation of St. Thomas, they took to calling it the ' Thomistic ' theory, and themselves ' Thomists ', early on in the dispute. The other side apparently did not mind, for we find Lessius using the term as a party badge in 1590, quite serenely.

[3] Quesnel, *Apologie historique des deux Censures de Louvain*, Cologne, 1688, pp. 172–178.

treatise was a certain Father Anthony Reginald, O.P. Father Anthony's suggestion of a genuine and a falsified Bellarmine brought him into conflict with Father Francis Annat, S.J. An acrimonious controversy followed, in the course of which Reginald cited Bellarmine's biographer Fuligatti where that writer recounts how Blessed Robert gladly suffered the German Fathers of Ingolstadt to make certain changes in his text, as it was going through the press, that the work might thus be more serviceable against the heretics. Reginald's rather gratuitous theory was that the changes consisted in the suppression or doctoring of passages too favourable to the system of Bañes. Sufficient evidence has been given in the preceding pages to enable the reader to form his own judgment on the matter.

6. Turning back now to examine briefly the course of events in Spain, we find Bañes bestriding them like a Colossus. Whatever his human failings, he was a great man and wielded great influence. Being a pupil of the redoubtable Melchior Cano it was in a way natural that he should have harboured no love for the Society of Jesus. Six years before the appearance of Molina's book, he was in open conflict with the Jesuits of Salamanca on a question of theology, and worsted them too. On that occasion, the Augustinian, Fray Luis de Leon, famous in Spanish literature for his exquisite prose and poetry, took up arms for the Jesuits. Giving his impressions of the battle at a later date, he said that the object of Bañes seemed to be to humiliate and discredit the Society of Jesus. That was the main reason why he had himself interfered in the discussion.[1]

After the publication of the *Concordia* Fray Domingo naturally began to like the Jesuits less than ever, if that were possible. He would not have been human had he not felt very keenly so direct an onslaught on a theory to which he had devoted the best efforts of his genius, and he would not have been Bañes had he not faced his assailant with all the weapons of war. Very soon the two schools were locked in a glorious mêlée, diversified by such incidents as the sermons of Fray Alonso de Avendano, the disputations of Fray Diego de Nuño, and the

[1] 'Lo segundo digo, que yo me moví a decir esto [viz. his words in support of the Jesuit who was defending in the disputation], no porque el sustentante lo hubiese comunicado conmigo ni yo supiese o sospechase que lo había de decir, porque el venir a decillo fué cosa muy accidental, sino movíme lo uno, por parecerme que los Padres Dominicos le querían oprimir por ser de la Compañía, contra la cual se muestran apasionados'. *La Ciudad de Dios*, t. XLI (1896), pp. 104 sqq. In this same number of the Review all the documents are published that refer to the part played by Fray Luis in the Salamanca incident.

AN ENGRAVING FROM SERRY'S 'HISTORIAE CONGREGATIONUM DE AUXILIIS . . . '

Venetian edition, 1740, *col.* 289.

famous midnight ride of the Jesuit courier from Madrid, which deserves to rank with the equestrian exploits of heroes like Paul Revere and Dick Turpin.

At this distance of years we can afford to look back on the struggle with a certain amount of amused detachment. It would be as ridiculous for a modern man to be sensitive about it as for a Spaniard of to-day to blush at mention of the Armada, or as for a contemporary Englishman to feel hurt when the band plays ' Scots wha hae.' Time has, or surely should have, long ago laid its reconciling dust on the pages of both Serry and Meyer, the famous rival historians of the controversy.[1] They are now only museum curiosities and we ought to be able to take them out and handle them with as little stirring of our pugnacious instincts as we should feel when examining the battle-axe of Bruce or the sabre of Napoleon.

By the summer of the year 1594, things had come to such a pass between the two schools of theologians in Spain that the ecclesiastical authorities deemed it their duty to report to the Holy See. Accordingly on May 20 of that year Cardinal de Castro wrote as follows to Pope Clement VIII, after having first given a résumé of the conflicting opinions :

This, then, is how the Dominicans treat the teaching of the Jesuits. In their public discourses and lectures they qualify it as erroneous, and warn the people to avoid its defenders as men

[1] Serry was a Dominican and published his huge tome at Louvain in 1700. This was answered in a work of still larger proportions, published by the Jesuit Liévin de Meyer at Antwerp in 1705. Vigorous and picturesque rhetoric abounds in both authors, and perhaps it would not be inaccurate to say that they helped rather to perpetuate animosities than to render a service to the truth. In many ways Serry was a brilliant writer, but his imagination was too vivid for the business of history. His stories of Gregory of Valencia ' that martyr of Molinism ' are often genuinely witty, but just as often entirely untrue. Meyer, on the other hand, lets his indignation get in the way of his judgment. Both men are insufferably diffuse, and they have a habit of putting long speeches into the mouths of their heroes or villains which one cannot help feeling are about as authentic as the elaborate ones Homer attributes to his warriors. By general consent the best recent accounts of the controversy are to be found in the following books, which are based largely on original manuscript documents : De Scorraille, *François Suarez*, t. I (1913), pp. 365 sqq. ; Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*, t. IV (1913), pp. 115–385. Both these works are by Jesuits but except for a few minor details in de Scorraille, their fidelity to the facts is beyond suspicion and has not been contested. There is no recent account of the controversy of any length from a Dominican pen. Pastor has devoted a good deal of space to it in his latest volumes, which appeared after the present work was written. Cf. *Geschichte der Päpste*, Bd. XI (1927), SS. 513–576, Bd. XII (1927), SS. 163–181.

tainted with heresy. . . . As their authority is very great in Spain, the Jesuits have become suspects and are reckoned as people of no account. The two parties struggle before the tribunals of the Inquisition and the Nuncio, the Jesuits endeavouring to have their own opinion declared orthodox and that of their adversaries condemned as destructive of free-will. . . . Such, Holy Father, is the state of affairs. In my opinion it is full of danger, for two religious orders of great renown are in conflict over the gravest of questions, a question that bears on the integrity of the faith. And this battle is carried on in public, in sermons and lectures. All sorts of people are mixed up in it, both learned and ignorant, some siding with the Jesuits, and others holding their teaching to be suspect. Those who keep neutral are torn with anxiety, asking themselves on which side is the truth. The most serious aspect of the matter, however, is this. When the conflict comes to the knowledge of the faithful living in heretical countries, as it is bound to do, they are certain to be troubled and discouraged, learning that the Jesuit theory, in which they had put all their confidence, is regarded as erroneous by a religious Order of great and universal authority. The heretics, on the other hand, will triumph and be able to laugh at the Catholics, seeing that the doctrine of those whom they regard as their most redoubtable adversaries is condemned by their own co-religionists as opposed to the faith. It is to you, Most Holy Father, that it belongs to prevent these evils, by prescribing according to an authentic interpretation of the canon of Trent what must be held as true in this matter. Then these two orders, which at the present day suffer themselves and make the faithful suffer by their discords, will, by their common submission to the decisions of your Holiness, re-enter the ways of peace, to the great advantage of everybody.[1]

Other letters to the same effect, though not so patently pro-Jesuit, reached the Vatican from the Grand Inquisitor, Cardinal Toledo, and from King Philip II. In accordance with their wishes, on 28 June 1594, Cardinal Aldobrandini, Secretary of State to Pope Clement VIII, bade the Nuncio in Madrid announce that the whole affair had been taken over by the supreme tribunal of the Church. The superiors of both orders were to draw up complete statements of their respective cases, and, pending a decision, were to forbid, by the Pope's express command, all further discussion, private as well as public, of the matter in dispute. Superiors and subjects, alike, were threatened with the severest penalties for any infraction of this ruling.[2]

[1] De Scoraille, *François Suarez*, t. I, pp. 379–380.
[2] Astrain, *Historia*, t. IV, pp. 199–200.

In the early months of the year 1597 the theologians who believed that the truth lay with Bañes in the controversy drew up, in accordance with the Pope's wishes, a statement and defence of their position. This was presented to the Holy Father in the June of the same year. As suited the direct and vigorous methods in vogue during that epoch, the defence largely took the shape of a frontal attack on Molina's position. This was all right except for a less polite turn of language here and there, as when Suarez is called a *sophisticus argumentator* and Molina is described as *spiritu superbiae ductus*. What the authors of the Memorial wanted appears from the following reference to the *Concordia* :

> Prostrate at the feet of your Holiness, we humbly beg that if the book be found pernicious you would condemn it. . . . There is manifestly great danger in delay, as we who live in Spain know from daily experience. Young theologians, who in a spirit of youthful rivalry embrace these new and curious opinions in a matter so difficult to understand, will afterwards tolerate, only with great reluctance, the true and ancient method of reconciling grace with free-will.[1]

As Bellarmine at this time occupied the post of Papal theologian, the Holy Father bade him examine and report on the document presented by the Thomists. His report fills twenty-four large columns in Le Bachelet's *Auctarium*, so we can do little more here than give a bare summary of its contents. Seven questions are dealt with, the first being that of efficacious grace. On this matter, he says, there are three opinions. Some scholastics taught that grace owed its efficacy to the consent of the will, and Molina seems to agree with them in the *Concordia*. If a man is willing to co-operate with the sufficient grace he receives, he thereby turns it into efficacious grace. Consequently, these authors hold that if two men are given the same grace it may happen that one will be converted and the other not. They argue thus because they consider that free-will and the real sufficiency of sufficient grace cannot be saved in any other way. 'This opinion seems to me to be false and therefore rightly reprehended in the censure of the Dominicans.' According to the second view, not only does the efficacy of grace in no way depend on the consent of the will but that consent is physically and intrinsically determined by the grace. The Dominicans teach

[1] Serry, *Historiae Congregationum de Auxiliis divinae gratiae*, 150. pp 149–150.

this opinion because they think that it was what St. Thomas held, and that the true efficacy of grace cannot be defended on any other hypothesis :

It seems to me to be no less false and dangerous than the first opinion ; for to begin with, it destroys sufficient grace as the other does efficacious grace . . . ; then, it appears to contradict the Council of Trent (Sess. VI, cap. v, can. 4) . . . nor do the distinctions, *in sensu composito* and *in sensu diviso*, at all help the situation . . . ; thirdly, this opinion does not seem to save free-will nor can it be distinguished from the formulae used by the modern heretics. . . . I do not, however, dare to condemn it absolutely, as I know it is defended by great men. But I would be very glad to hear the voice and decision of the Holy See on these matters.

Father Robert next gives his own view which, he says, he has borrowed from the Louvain theologian Ruard Tapper. As we are already acquainted with the theory under the name ' congruism ', we need not delay further on it here. Before proceeding to his next section, he comments on some propositions which the Thomists had severely censured in the *Concordia*. The first is the familiar one about two men endowed with equal graces. Molina apparently held that if they were confronted with the same temptation, one of them might resist *ex sola sua libertate*, and the other be overcome. The Thomists contended that this statement was erroneous and contrary to Scripture and the Fathers.

Though it appears false and badly worded [continues Bellarmine], I do not think that it should be condemned as erroneous in the sense in which the author understands it. . . . St. Augustine speaks exactly like Molina (*De civ. Dei*, l. XII, c. vi) . . . , and as we are accustomed to explain the holy Doctor's words in a favourable sense, lest they should appear to conflict with many others of his passages, so, too, can we put a good construction on Molina's words. . . . By the phrase, *ex sola libertate*, he does not exclude prevenient and concomitant grace but only a new prevenient grace . . . given to the man who resists and not to the other. . . .

Another of Molina's propositions ran as follows : it might happen that a man with more and greater graces than his fellow should be damned, while that other, owing to his correspondence with the lesser graces given him, should be saved.

This statement [says Father Robert] seems to be false, unless carefully explained, for speaking absolutely, the man who is saved

received the greater grace, inasmuch as it was efficacious. Furthermore, the fact that he was ready to co-operate ought not, I think, to be attributed to his free-will alone but also to the circumstance that the grace given him was congruous. Explained in this sense, or with reference only to God's external helps such as preaching and miracles, the proposition is absolutely certain from the Gospels. The Jews were not converted by all the words and miracles of our Lord, and the Ninevites were converted by a single sermon of Jonas without any miracles at all. . . . The objections which the Dominicans offer seem to me to be practically worthless. . . .

Third proposition: The theory that grace receives its efficacy from a physical motion of God cannot be defended in accordance with the Catholic faith :

This proposition seems to me to be true, nor do I know what can be said against it. The freedom of the will, which the Catholic Church upholds, requires that a man should be able to accept prevenient grace or to reject it, however efficacious it may be, and this certainly could not be done if God were physically to determine the will *ad unum*.

Fourth proposition : the distinction between efficacious and inefficacious grace is based on the consent of the will, because it is the consent or the refusal of consent which renders the grace efficacious or inefficacious :

This statement seems to me utterly false and entirely opposed to the teaching of St. Augustine. I should not, however, dare to condemn it as Pelagian, as the censors do, because there is no express text of Scripture or decree of the Church declaring the contrary. The passages urged by the Dominicans would easily be refuted by Molina, for they are not to the point. . . . Besides, this view was held by many of the Scholastics whom the Church has not condemned, and I myself heard the learned Cardinal Toledo teach it in Rome. Finally, the opinion has already been examined and passed three times by the Spanish Inquisition, notwithstanding the censors' objections.

This first part of Blessed Robert's report was intended to be a kind of general introduction. In the other six questions he returns to various points on which he had touched briefly in it, that he may develop them more fully. *Scientia media*, the very core of Molina's book, naturally leads off. He begins with a lengthy and very careful exposition of the system, showing how it is borne out by the Scriptures and St. Augustine. Then he takes the Thomist objections, one of the

chief of which was that the name *scientia media* had never been heard of in theology before. What does that matter? he answers. 'Though the name be new the thing it signifies is as old as eternity, and was taught by many authors.'

Next comes the great question of the Divine co-operation with free-will:

> Here there are two opinions in conflict, the first of which is that God co-operates by moving the free-will itself to produce its effect, whereas the other says that He co-operates in the production of the same effect only as a second partial cause, just as two horses do to pull a coach. The first is the Dominicans' opinion, and it seems to me to be truer than the other, which Molina champions. . . . Neither view, however, bears on the faith, and both have always been defended freely in the schools. . . . With all respect to the censors, the objections which they bring against the second view from Pontifical documents, Councils, and Fathers, are entirely irrelevant, for these sources are not speaking at all about God's general co-operation, which is the point in debate, but about His co-operation by grace. . . .

Praemotio physica is then dealt with. Father Robert denies that it was taught by St. Thomas, and says that he has the proof of this ready for any who care to challenge him. He dwells at considerable length on the various arguments against it. It is a dangerous theory, as it appears to make away with free-will, and further, supposing it to be true, it is impossible to see how God is not the cause of men's sins. The distinction, *de sensu composito et diviso*, on which the Thomists relied so much, is very trenchantly criticized, and the discussion then closes as follows:

> I do not venture to condemn the authors of the censure, for I consider them to be very pious and learned men, but I must state that I believe the contrary opinion, which is Molina's, to be safer and sounder in every respect. The Fathers of Trent believed this, too, for it is related in the Acts of the Council, which are preserved in the Castle of St. Angelo, that when two religious brought forward the theory of *praemotio physica* in the debates, it had a bad reception, as it did not appear to be a very Catholic opinion. As a result, the decree was drawn up according to the common opinion of the rest of the Council.

The fourth question is on predestination. Here again there are two main opinions to be considered, that according to which predestination is entirely gratuitous and in no way dependent on God's prevision of man's merit, and that which

postulates such a prevision. The first opinion Bellarmine calls ' verissima ' and says that it is followed not only by the Dominicans but by most Jesuits also. Molina is an exception, but though Father Robert describes the theory which that theologian advances as false and dangerous, he would not allow that it had yet been condemned, however much it might deserve condemnation.[1] In spite of his repugnance to it, he considered that the Thomist censure was much too harsh, for Molina was right on the main point, teaching as he did explicitly that God's good-pleasure is in the last analysis the true and only cause of predestination.

In the fifth question, too, he sides with the censors against Molina's view that God does not intend all the effects that flow from natural causes. The reason why Molina held such a view was that he thought it would be repugnant to the goodness of God to make Him, for example, intend directly the death-throes of a drowning man. Though Bellarmine was not convinced by his arguments, he writes : ' I consider that Molina's opinion is in no way erroneous and indeed the authors of the censure seem to me far too ready with their condemnations.' Then he proceeds to show how much there is to be said for the view. In the sixth question, which is about the graces accorded to Adam, he is entirely with Molina, whose opinion the Dominicans had, once again, censured as contrary to the faith. ' They are plainly mistaken,' he comments, ' for Molina's view is not heretical nor false, nor contrary to St. Thomas, St. Augustine, nor the Council of Orange. It is in perfect agreement with them all, and beyond the shadow of a doubt as true as true can be.'

The seventh and last question bears the curious title : ' On Confessions by letter.' Its relevance in a controversy about efficacious grace is not immediately apparent, but there was a purpose for its introduction, as it is a well-recognized principle in legal practice that one must use every endeavour to discredit the witnesses of the opposing party. Accordingly, the authors of the Memorial informed the Pope that ' a certain theologian of the Society of Jesus named Juan Jeronimo' had preached at Toledo, ' that confessions and absolutions sent through the post were valid.' ' Francis Suarez holds this opinion ' they

[1] Modern theologians have a more favourable opinion of Molina on this point, and no one would now say that the theory of predestination *post praevisa merita* was deserving of condemnation. Rather the contrary.

continued, 'as well as many defenders of Molina.' Bellarmine's answer, which takes the shape of a diverting *tu quoque*, comes to this: 'Molina has written nothing about this matter, nor any other Father of the Society either, so far as I know. In any case it is not a new opinion . . . for many authors have taught it, *ac praesertim Ordinis Prædicatorum*.' Then he cites with full references nine distinguished names, of which one was borne by a canonized Saint and another by a Pope.[1]

We have given the story of the Memorial at some length because Bellarmine's criticism not only serves to make his own position quite clear, but also illustrates better than anything else could do, the balance and impartiality of his judgment. The cause of Molina was in a very real sense the cause of the Society of Jesus, for the Spanish doctor's opponents had successfully contrived that this should be so. Bellarmine's devotion to the Society might without exaggeration have been described as passionate, and he was the most loyal of men. He could easily have glossed over the differences between his own views and those of the man who personified Jesuit theology in the great struggle. No one would have been the wiser; or if his Louvain lectures were thrown in his teeth, as they had been by the partisans of Baius, he could have disowned them as the mere theological fumblings of a young professor feeling his way. The reason that he did not follow such a course and that he was so consistent and straight all through can only have been his loyalty of loyalties, which was to the truth as he saw it.

7. The law of silence with regard to the controversy about grace that had been passed by the Pope in 1594 weighed heavily on both parties to the dispute, and efforts were naturally made to secure exemptions. Serry tells of the methods employed for this purpose by one prominent Thomist, to whom he applies the vivid, complimentary phrase, 'emunctae naris homo.'[2] These attempts were made at the court of King Philip II. On 28 October 1597, Bañes addressed a similar petition direct to the Holy See, and the Pope, as before in the case of the first Memorial, placed the new document in Bellarmine's hands, with instructions to write a criticism of it. The criticism opens as follows:

[1] St. Antoninus, O.P., III p., tit. XIV, cap. XIX, § 9; Pope Adrian VI, in IV, q. 1, de Confessione, § *Sed oritur ex his*.

[2] *Historiae Congregationum*, etc. (Venice ed., 1740), p. 138.

This Memorial gives six reasons by which its authors endeavour to show that the law of silence should have been imposed on the Fathers of the Society of Jesus alone. As the reasons do not prove what they were meant to prove, as they appear to contain statements that reflect discredit on the Pope, as some of them are plainly false and others beside the point, and finally, as they run now and then into what looks like calumny, I have undertaken to discuss them briefly at the command of him to whom I owe obedience under many titles. My only purpose in the discussion is to bring the truth to light.[1]

The answers which follow indicate clearly enough how deeply men's hearts were stirred by the controversy. Astrain and Pastor supply a wealth of much more eloquent documents in illustration of the same point, but we may content ourselves here with giving some specimens of Blessed Robert's work as counsel for the defence, prefaced in each case by a short summary of Bañes' contentions.

Bañes : The Dominicans have a claim to be exempted because the law is directed against innovations in theology, and they hold the ancient doctrine that was taught in the Church since the time of St. Augustine. While the law remains in force, they are in a manner deprived of their immemorial possession of this doctrine. The Jesuits, on the other hand, knowing that the law puts them on an equality with the defenders of the venerable teaching of St. Augustine and St. Thomas, try by every means in their power to delay the sentence of the Holy See. Owing to this fact, and also to the vastness of the inquiries which are being pursued, there is reason to fear that a conclusion will not be reached for a very long period. Meantime the new theories tend to be regarded with as much respect as the ancient doctrine of the Church.

Bellarmine : 'This first reason appears plainly derogatory to the Pope, for it equivalently says that his command was both unjust and dangerous. . . . The authors of the Memorial coolly assume that they alone possess the ancient doctrine. But this is the very point in dispute. . . . The question is not whether St. Augustine, St. Leo, and the Council of Orange, are to be followed. All the Fathers of the Society, including Molina himself, profess to follow them, and if printed books are made the test, it will be found that the Jesuits, to say the least, are not behind the Dominicans in

[1] Le Bachelet, *Auctarium*, pp. 114–122. The Memorial of Bañes is printed in Meyer's *Hist. Controvers.*, vol. 1, pp. 798 sqq. Serry, curiously, omits it altogether.

their anxiety to have ancient authorities at the back of all their arguments. The real question is whether God's physical predetermination of the human will is, or is not, in accordance with the Scriptures, the Councils, and the Fathers. The Jesuits contend that it is not, and consequently is a new theory. As the matter is still *sub judice*, the authors of the Memorial show a good deal of impudence by talking as if it had been decided, and as if the Fathers of the Society, whom they invariably style innovators, had already been condemned. What else is this but to anticipate the judgment of the Holy See and chant triumphal odes before obtaining the victory? Besides, they admit in this first reason that so many Fathers, Universities, Prelates, and Bishops, have been called as witnesses by each party that two years would scarcely suffice to read the evidence. Why, then, are they so ready to account the doctrine of the Society new when by their own confession multitudes of patristic testimonies are alleged on its behalf? As for their charge that the Jesuits are trying to delay a decision, I can only say that I know for certain that the contrary is the truth. . . . The Pope knows this better than anybody, and it is very strange that they should endeavour by their flat affirmations to call his judgment in question.'

Bañes: During the long period that must elapse before the Holy See gives its decision, it is greatly to be feared that the Church and her theologians will suffer harm from the law of silence. According to the maxim of jurisprudence, it is safer to permit scandal than to let the truth be abandoned. For this reason St. Paul withstood St. Peter to his face, and that is why we, the disciples of St. Thomas, in imitation of the Apostle, complain to your Holiness that we should be compelled to keep silence while new and curious doctrines about grace are being openly disseminated. We have ever been impatient of novelty in doctrine, to which the Jesuits are prone. It was this liking of theirs for curious theories which gave rise to the present tempest. We need not now commemorate the many signal marks of esteem and approval which the Church has shown for the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas. In our age, however, these men, our juniors in the Lord's vineyard, laugh at St. Thomas, and not one of them considers himself a perfect theologian until he has invented and taught theories beyond or rather totally opposed to what St. Thomas taught. One of them has publicly maintained that women are eligible for minor orders.[1] Another preached in the cathedral of

[1] The statement that a Jesuit taught the eligibility of women for minor orders had this much foundation. Many theologians held that minor

Valencia that prayers ought not to be offered for the universal Church, his reason being, apparently, that the predestined should not be prayed for, since they cannot but be saved. Another, in a printed disputation, maintained errors about the most Holy Trinity. Another taught in public that the Gospel rule about fraternal correction should not be followed, and finally 'Robert Bellarmine of the same Society, a man otherwise pious and learned . . . denies that images are to be adored in the manner taught by St. Thomas. . . .'[1]

Bellarmine: 'In this second argument we have another reprehension of the Pope as if through fear of scandal he had been afraid to decide in which direction lay the truth. They should have remembered when quoting the legal maxim that, according to the teaching of St. Thomas, it is only when the assertion of the truth is necessary and its concealment sinful that it has to be proclaimed, even at the cost of scandal (2. 2, q. 43, a. 1). Now it is not evident that the postponement of a decision in the present case involves sin. More unfortunate than this line of argument, however, is their comparison of themselves to St. Paul when he resisted St. Peter, because that first Pope's dissimulation was hindering the Jews from accepting the Gospel. . . . Their insinuation is, though they do not dare to say it openly, that the present Pope like his predecessor Blessed Peter has so erred by his dissimulation that it is a duty to resist him to his face.

Their next statement is to the effect that the Fathers of the Society do God an injury by withdrawing men's free actions from the scope of His eternal decrees. Much contumely is here flung at the Society, but all that I shall say about the matter is that they are confusing the issue, whether on purpose or through thoughtlessness I do not decide. The question is not whether God has from eternity predetermined all contingent and free actions, for every one admits that, but whether God so determines our wills that freedom of choice is not left to them under His influence. Nor do we disagree with them, though they would like it to appear as if we did, when they say that God by His infinite power disposes all things strongly and sweetly. That is a

orders were instituted by the Church. In the course of a theological disputation, the defendant took this common opinion for the basis of an argument. The objector then asked whether, if the opinion were true, it would not be possible to confer minor orders on women provided they got a papal dispensation. Yes, said the defendant, incautiously, and that was the whole of the story. Another 'error' attributed to the Jesuits was apparently against the opinion of the great Dominican theologian Soto. Bellarmine answered: 'Everything Dominic Soto teaches isn't necessarily an article of faith.' In general, he had the profoundest respect for this writer.

[1] Meyer, *Hist. Controvers.*, t. 1, pp. 800–801.

plain matter of faith which everybody believes. Where we do disagree with them is about the manner in which God operates, that is, whether physically or morally.

When, a little later, they conclude from the arguments which they have alleged that the law of silence should continue to bind us but not themselves, it is very strange that they should have failed to see the injustice of such a petition. As the controversy has been taken to the tribunal of the Holy See, by what right do they petition leave for themselves alone to talk, and traduce the Fathers of the Society as heretics without the latter having an opportunity to reply and repudiate the atrocious charge ?

Strangest of all, though, to my mind, is that they should count it a sin on the Jesuits' part to try to render easy the reconciliation of grace and free-will. They even call us busybodies and inquisitive meddlers because we investigate such things, as if our conduct was opposed to the saying of St. Basil : *Taceant curiosi in Ecclesia.* If that charge is justified, then St. Anselm, too, must be taken to task for writing his book, *De concordia gratiae et liberi arbitrii.* Many others did likewise, and St. Thomas himself was the biggest busybody of them all. At the beginning of his third part, he discussed the Incarnation from every angle, and that was the very mystery about which St. Basil said : *Taceant curiosi in Ecclesia.* But, of course, the holy Doctor was not speaking against those who investigate mysteries in order that they may give an account of the faith that is in them, according to the Apostle, but only against men who will not believe unless they first understand. . . .

At the end of this their second reason, the petitioners enumerate certain new errors of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, about which manœuvre I must make a few remarks. First, these errors have nothing to do with the controversy on grace, and consequently they appear to have been mentioned with the sole purpose of bringing the Jesuits into disrepute by every possible means. If the Fathers of the Society liked to give tit for tat, they could adduce an incomparably larger number of unpleasant things. They could say not only that some very distinguished Dominican Doctors had been condemned by the great universities, and that many Dominicans have been and are daily punished by the Inquisition, but also that a number of them had publicly embraced heresy, and indeed had become leaders among the heretics. Religious charity and modesty, however, do not permit such reminders to be given, nor is it fair, in any case, to defame a whole Order on account of the errors of a few of its members.'

At this point Bellarmine answers each of the charges in turn, but it will be enough to give a few extracts from his long apologia for the view which he held about the worship due to images, complained of by the Thomists:

> 'It has pleased the authors of the Memorial to have a hit at Robert Bellarmine before concluding, because he does not use St. Thomas's language about the worship due to images. Robert Bellarmine's answer is that he does not speak like St. Thomas because St. Thomas does not speak like the Popes and the œcumenical Councils. St. Thomas had not been able to examine the testimonies of the Popes and Councils, as it was only after his death that they were either committed to writing, or published if written much earlier. If he had seen them, he would certainly have expressed himself differently, for he was a most exact observer of ecclesiastical regulations. . . . So, too, if he had witnessed the Church's public celebration of the feast of the Immaculate Conception, he would probably have inclined to an opinion which he saw the greater part of the Church maintain. The Dominican Fathers ought not, then, to be so aggrieved if, with the majority of Catholics, we abandon the great Doctor's teaching on a few points.
>
> The state of the question is this. In the second General Council of Nicæa it was expressly defined that "the images of Christ are to be venerated and adored in a becoming manner but not with the adoration of *latria*, which is to be paid to God alone." Again, in the acts of the same Council we find these words: "Let them show honourable reverence to images but not, according to our faith, true latreutic worship which belongs to the Divine Nature alone. . . ." St. John Damascene, at the same period, frequently repeated in his sermons that images were to be worshipped, but not *cultu latriae*. . . . A little later, the eighth General Council under Adrian II approved and confirmed the decrees of Nicæa, teaching that "the same kind of honour is due to images of Christ as is shown to the Book of the Gospels and the sacred vessels." This was the doctrine of the Church about the year 800 A.D. when the iconoclast heresy was rampant. During the early times of the Schoolmen, however, that is, after the year 1100 A.D., the acts of the aforesaid Councils, the letters of Pope Adrian, and the sermons of St. John Damascene, were hidden away in archives, only to be discovered and published in the present century. The consequence of their disappearance from view in the Middle Ages was that Alexander of Hales began to teach that images of Christ should be adored *cultu latriae*, because

Christ who is God is so adored. Thus was a novelty, unheard in former ages, introduced into the Church ; and because there were no plain ecclesiastical pronouncements to be adduced to the contrary, some theologians, including St. Thomas, who was a disciple of Alexander of Hales, admitted the new opinion, though not a few cried out against it.

In our own day, when the iconoclast heresy came to life again, the Council of Trent, which embraced the doctrine of St. Thomas willingly in other matters, did not think well to imitate his manner of speaking about this matter. In its twenty-fifth session it avoided not only the word *latria* but the word *adoratio* also. . . . This, then, is the reason why Bellarmine did not adopt St. Thomas's style. He thought it better to speak as Popes Gregory and Adrian and the General Councils of Nicaea and Trent had done. . . . Why, then, do the Friars Preacher take him to task, unless their aim be to stir up enmity against him, and through him against his Order ? But no matter. With the help of God we shall try to fulfil His counsel : " Pray for those who persecute and calumniate you." '

Owing to exigencies of space we must combine the next three reasons in one :

Bañes : If the Dominicans are obliged to remain silent, their preachers will be unable to instruct the people in the ancient doctrine of grace and free-will. Lacking such instruction, it is greatly to be feared that they may easily become tainted with Pelagianism. Secondly, the training of students in theology will suffer, for there can be no thorough discussion of many allied dogmas if it is not permitted to say anything about the relations between grace and free-will. The law is a much more serious inconvenience to the Dominican masters than it is to the Jesuits, because the Dominicans occupy all the more important posts in the universities. Besides, the Jesuits would be only too pleased to find their novel opinions shelved for a time, provided the ancient doctrine taught by the Friars Preacher suffered a like eclipse. They exult, as it were saying like the pretended mother before King Solomon : *Let it be neither mine nor thine but divide it.* The Order of Preachers on the other hand which, if not the mother of the ancient doctrine, is certainly its most faithful nurse and guardian, cries out and will ever cry out : *I beseech thee, my Lord, give her the child alive and do not kill it.* Let the Holy See command the Society of Jesus to follow its saintly Founder's instructions, which were that it should hold and teach the doctrine of St. Thomas. . . .

Instead of doing this, the Jesuits try to evade the law of silence by proxy, begging secular masters to defend their opinions in public. Moreover, they endeavour to persuade such men to come to our disputations and thereat inveigle us into making some statement about grace which they may immediately denounce as an infraction of the law of silence. . . . Thus the Jesuit Rector at Valencia is known to have gone about from house to house with a lantern, late at night, urging secular theologians to come to our lectures fortified with arguments that would compel us to say what we thought about the divine concurrence. . . .

Bellarmine: 'The fact that the Dominican preachers are precluded from holding forth to the people about disputable questions relating to predestination and such subtle matters, far from being a disadvantage to their congregations, is truly a great boon.[1] . . . Nor is the ancient doctrine of St. Augustine and St. Thomas given over to oblivion while the law of silence remains in force, because the point to be decided is precisely whether the Dominican opinion on grace and free-will *is* that ancient doctrine or a new theory recently invented. The Jesuits, just as much as the Dominicans, profess to hold and teach what Augustine and Aquinas taught. If, meantime, some Fathers of the Society disagree with some of their Fathers on the interpretation of St. Thomas, that is only what very frequently happens in the Order of Preachers itself, inasmuch as Dominican disagrees with Dominican on the same point. . . . Again, there is no danger that Pelagianism may once more be revived, and this both because the Fathers of the Society, who are suspected in the matter by the authors of the Memorial, are bound by the same law of silence as themselves, and because the said Fathers embrace with all their hearts the dogmas of St. Leo and the Council of Orange, by which the last vestiges of Pelagianism were stamped out. . . . The errors of Pelagianism, those last vestiges of the heresy which the Fathers of the Society are most injuriously suspected of reviving, have always been condemned by the Fathers of the Society and by Molina in particular. If the Dominicans can produce a single passage from a Jesuit book wherein such errors are taught, let them do so. We shall, every one, detest and repudiate it with all our hearts. . . . As for the difficulties that beset their professors, owing to the law of silence, when matters connected with grace have to be discussed, they show indeed that a speedy

[1] Blessed Robert characteristically introduces St. Francis at this point: 'Rectissime B. Franciscus in Regula praescribit materiam concionum, vitia et virtutes, poenam et gloriam, cum brevitate sermonis.'

decision is desirable, but they do not prove that the Pope's precept was unjust or imprudent, nor that the Friars Preacher ought to be exempted from the law while it continues to bind the Jesuits. If their professors have difficulties, so have ours, for we, too, possess chairs of theology and a vast concourse of students. . . .

It is not true that the Fathers of the Society suffer no inconvenience from the law, but rather find it to their liking owing to the fact that their professors are not able to boast theological degrees. Even though the Society shuns academic distinctions when they are mere signs of honour, it has under its control, public schools, public lectures and disputations, and at least as many scholars as the Dominicans. . . . Nor is it any more true to say that the Fathers of the Society are eager in the interests of peace to see their own new theory buried in a common oblivion with the ancient doctrine of the Dominicans, thus imitating the woman who said, in Solomon's presence: *Let it be not mine nor thine but let it be divided.* Still, even should the Jesuits have adopted such an attitude, they would have been better advised, in the interests of the Catholic Church, than their opponents, who assume to themselves the words of the other woman in the story: *Give her the child alive and do not kill it.* It would, of a surety, be less harmful to the Church if the old teaching and the new were buried together, than if the new were to prevail and the old be consigned to the grave. . . .

In the last part of this section, certain facts are alleged and certain words attributed to some Jesuits, about the truth or falsity of which I have no knowledge. I have heard from more than one Father, who has recently come from Spain, that they are mere inventions. Were they true I certainly could not defend them, but neither, on the other hand, ought any one to approve of all that, by common report, the Friars Preacher say or do against the Jesuits, to the scandal of the faithful.'

Bañes: The Dominicans ought to be exempted because they alone suffer real harm and inconvenience from the law. 'The Jesuit theologians, meantime, are in no way embarrassed. Nay, with good reason they rejoice and exult because by the law they see themselves put on an equality with us who have borne the burden of the day and the heats, our Order always having stood out as the champion of the ancient teaching in the teeth of heretical violence and persecution. Would that the Jesuits and ourselves were now in strong alliance against the heretics! But alas, our sad battles have to be with them, and if we gain the victory,

as we hope to do, we shall have little joy of it seeing that it must carry with it the disgrace and confusion of some Brothers of the Society of Jesus. . . .

I, Brother Dominic Bañes, have, by commission of the Master General of the Order of Preachers, translated this Memorial from Spanish into Latin. I have also added some matters and suppressed others, as I judged expedient to render the Memorial better fitted for presentation to his Holiness, our Lord, Clement VIII. . . . St. Stephen's, Salamanca, 28 October 1597, Br. Dominic Bañes, Professor.'

Bellarmine: 'This sixth reason contains nothing new, except that the authors of the Memorial let us know more clearly that their grievance is to see the Jesuits placed on an equality with the Dominicans who have borne the burden and heat of the battle against heresy. But charity envieth not, as St. Paul tells us, and if the Dominicans would only consider with an impartial eye what the Fathers of the Society have done and are doing, God helping them, in Germany, France, and England, they would bless God thankfully rather than mourn. Otherwise, to their complaint: *These last have worked but one hour and thou hast made them equal to us that have borne the burden of the day and the heats*, might not the Master of the House answer: *Friend, I do thee no wrong. . . . Take what is thine and go thy way. I will also give to this last even as to thee. . . . Is thy eye evil because I am good?* I quite agree, however, that the Fathers of the Society ought to show the greatest deference to the Dominicans, and not consider themselves the equals of men who excel them, not only in the antiquity and size of their Order, but also in holiness and learning. On the other hand, it is fitting that the Dominicans should in their fatherly charity rejoice at the success and progress of the Jesuits, and not only refrain from detracting them but take up their defence against detractors. . . .

At the end of the Memorial, Dominic Bañes says that he has made certain additions to the original text, on his own responsibility. In other words, it is not a faithful translation, and there is good reason for suspecting that the unpleasant passages, which we have commented on, did not emanate from the Master General, whom we know to be an upright man and a lover of the Society of Jesus, nor from the whole Dominican Order, in which we are well aware that there are very many excellent and most learned men, but from Dominic Bañes and Dominic Bañes alone.'

8. The manuscript from which Le Bachelet printed the foregoing criticisms in his *Auctarium* contains an interesting

postscript of the same date (1597), in Bellarmine's hand, giving his suggestions as to the best way of ending the controversy between the Thomists and Molinists. As this piece of advice, *de remedio quod praesenti dissidio adhiberi posset*, is not in Meyer's History, and consequently very little known, it may be well to give an exact translation of it now :

It does not seem that the present dissensions can be healed by a decision on the theories in dispute, for the matter with which they deal is a most serious and important one that would require many years and protracted investigations for its elucidation, especially as both parties have dealt with it in book after book. Besides, it is not possible easily to convict either party of manifest error since both admit the authority of the Councils of Orange and Trent, and each alleges on its own behalf at least apparent testimonies from St. Augustine and St. Thomas. Further, it is difficult to believe that the Holy See could be induced to fix a charge of error in doctrine on a whole religious Order and on entire universities. Now, according to my information, the university of Salamanca favours the Dominicans to a certain extent, while the university of Alcalá is almost completely on the side of the Jesuits. Therefore it is vain to hope for an end of the controversy by a definite decision on the points in dispute. It seems to me, then, with due deference to better judgments, that the dissensions and scandals could be stopped, that both parties could be satisfied, the security of doctrine maintained, and the Holy See relieved of great trouble and uneasiness, if the Pope would deign to issue an edict to the following effect : First, he would seriously and paternally exhort the contending parties to be mindful of brotherly charity in their mutual relations, to avoid dangerous teaching, and to turn their literary weapons against the enemies of the Church alone. Secondly, he might forbid each Order in virtue of holy obedience, or if it be thought well under pain of excommunication, to qualify the teaching of the other as temerarious or erroneous, much less heretical, in lectures, disputations, sermons, or even in public or private conversation. Each party, however, would be permitted to refute the opinions of which it did not approve, by solid arguments. In this manner all opportunity for unseemly quarrelling would be removed. . . .[1]

A few months after the above document was written, the law of silence was relaxed for both parties, but the Pope did not think well to follow Bellarmine's other counsels. Instead, he appointed a commission of seven members to examine Molina's book. These men carried out their task with extraordinary rapidity. The Spanish censors of the *Concordia*

[1] Le Bachelet, *Auctarium*, pp. 121–122.

had taken three years over their work, but a little more than three months sufficed for the Romans. 'We are of opinion,' they pronounced, 'that, in the interest of the Catholic religion, the book entitled *Concordia* etc., by Luis Molina, and the doctrine contained therein, ought to be prohibited. . . .'[1] Meantime, by 28 March 1598, a 'big wooden box covered with tarpaulin,' had arrived in Rome, containing all the reports, censures, memorials, and other documents bearing on the controversy, which the Pope had ordered to be collected and forwarded from Spain. Clement had shown surprise and annoyance that the commission should have taken their labours so lightly, and, feeling that they could not possibly have given the matter the consideration it deserved, he bade them go over the ground again, using the contents of the famous box as a help to their judgments.

Eight months later, November 1598, they reported that they were of the same opinion as before and that the book ought to be condemned. From these eight months a few should be deducted representing the sacred time of *villeggiatura* when, as Astrain drily remarks, ecclesiastics are not given to reading complicated theology. That left six months at the most to work through a mass of documents which average men—and by all accounts the commissioners were no more than average[2]—would have required almost as many years properly to digest. It is possible, then, that the Jesuits had had good reason to complain, as they did, of unfair treatment. Molina himself addressed a huge letter to the Pope, in which he said some plain things about Bañes,[3] and professed himself willing to come personally to Rome, broken by age and infirmity though he was, to defend his honour and the truth.

Soon, the news spread like wild-fire throughout the length and breadth of Spain that the case had gone against the Jesuits, and that the condemnation of the *Concordia* by the Pope was only a matter of time. Profoundly afflicted by these rumours, the Fathers addressed letters to various persons in high station, imploring them to intercede for their Society. The new King of Spain, Philip III, wrote directly to the Holy Father on their

[1] Astrain, *Historia*, t. IV, pp. 218–219. De Scoraille, following Meyer, will have it that it was the Dominicans who persuaded the Pope to appoint the commission, but he gives no real proof. *François Suarez*, t. I, pp. 405–406.

[2] Their names are not to be found even in Hunter's all-embracing *Nomenclator Litterarius*.

[3] Neither Bañes nor any other Dominican held a place on the commission.

behalf, and so did the Empress Maria of Austria, and her son, the Archduke Albert, who had originally licensed the incriminated book. These and many other influential appeals outweighed in the Pope's judgment the report of his hasty commission, and decided him to adopt an entirely new plan. On the first day of the year 1599, it was arranged that picked theologians from each of the contending parties should expound and discuss their respective theories in the presence of Cardinal Madrucci, the Prefect of the Inquisition.

After Bellarmine's elevation to the cardinalate at the beginning of March 1599, he was nominated, together with the Dominican, Cardinal de Ascoli, to assist the harassed President in the conduct of the debates. In spite of the efforts of all three to keep the debaters to the point, these gentlemen continued to talk at cross purposes, so that the conferences degenerated into a mere occasion for mutual recriminations. To add to the trouble, two further memorials were drafted by the rival schools in June, which, when published, says Astrain, resounded through Rome like explosions of dynamite.[1] Not long afterwards a Spanish Thomist named Davila brought out a book in the City containing a thinly-veiled denunciation of the Molinists as heretics. The accused men at once lodged a protest with the Pope, whose praises were sung in the dedication of the book. Clement consulted Bellarmine, and Bellarmine who knew his *Concordia* from cover to cover answered Davila in the most convincing way by simply taking the sixteen worst allegations he could find in his pages, and placing beside them sixteen passages from Molina. The inventory concludes with the following words: 'These are the opinions plainly expounded by Molina. His teaching is so uniform and consistent throughout that this critic who tries to fasten contrary opinions on him, cannot possibly have read his book.'[2] Pope Clement was satisfied with the justice of this reasoning and at once prohibited the further sale of Davila's volume.

It might be thought from what has been said so far that the Pope's sympathies leaned towards the Molinist theory, but that was by no means the case. So far as the Holy Father may have had personal inclinations in the matter at all, they would certainly seem to have been on the side of Bañes. After the death of Cardinal Madrucci in April 1600, the commission that had been appointed two years earlier to examine the

[1] They are both reproduced in Serry, *Hist. Cong.*, col. 182–190.
[2] Meyer, *Hist. Controvers.*, pp. 217–218.

Concordia, was once more invested with authority, and once more condemned Molina. This time, however, they censured only twenty propositions, while on the two previous occasions the figures had been 61 and 42 respectively. Had the Pope obliged them to revise their work a fourth time, they would, if they kept to the same plan of dropping a score of censures on each occasion, have ended with but a solitary grievance against the man and his book. However, there was no fourth revision. The twenty censures stood, and once more news went abroad, even as far as Chili and Peru,[1] that *scientia media* was doomed. In Spain it was widely rumoured that Molina, who was on his death-bed at the time, had been burned in effigy in the streets of Rome. That was not true, though the Romans were certainly deriving considerable amusement from the battle in other ways.[2]

9. At one meeting of the commission, held in presence of the Pope on 23 January 1601, Bellarmine assisted, and, hearing the usual charge of Pelagianism proposed against his brethren, remarked that there were many ways of interpreting Pelagius. According to the bitterly anti-Jesuit Pegna, who was in the room, the Pope became angry and asked, 'Do we still want to defend Pelagius?' Then after a short silence, he added, 'We have already decided to promulgate a definition on this

[1] Astrain, *Historia*, IV, p. 295.

[2] Literary people found a vent for their high spirits in pasquinades, which, though somewhat lacking in good taste, are not without humour. The following is a passage from one of these. It was posted up in the streets :

Dialogus Pasquini et Marforii

Marforius : Quid novi, Pasquine, de jesuitis et dominicanis ?
Pasquinus : Exorta est inter eos contentio super divinum auxilium maneat semper nobiscum.
Marforius : Quid dicunt dominicani ?
Pasquinus : In tympano et choro, in chordis et organo, in decachordo psalterio cum cantico in cithara, fiat voluntas tua ; et dicit omnis populus : fiat, fiat.
Marforius : Quomodo se habuit Molina in tuenda sua propositione ?
Pasquinus : Inclinavit ex hoc in hoc, verumtamen faex ejus non est exinanita.
Marforius : Quid agunt dominicani ?
Pasquinus : Laetati sunt quia Deus deduxit eos in portum voluntatis eorum.

Poussines, *Historia Controversiarum quae inter quosdam e sacro Praedicatorum ordine et Societatem Jesu agitatae sunt*. Autograph MS. (circa an. 1659), lib. V, num. 11.

matter and, if it be necessary, we shall assemble a General Council.'[1] There is no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of this story and it shows plainly enough where the Pope's sympathies lay at this time. Bellarmine, however, instead of losing heart took his pen and wrote a long dissertation entitled, *In quo positus fuerit error Pelagii et quam directe illi repugnat Molina*, which was duly presented at the Vatican for the consideration of his Holiness.[2] The following extract from Blessed Robert's autobiography shows that he did not confine himself to arguments on paper :

> Once when N.[3] was at Tivoli with the Pope, the conversation turned on to this matter of grace, and his Holiness called the opinion of the Society *our* opinion, that is, his and the Society's. But afterwards he changed completely, and while N. remained in Rome did not want the matter discussed in public for fear of his intervention. . . . Nevertheless, N. often warned him to beware of deceits and not think that he, who was no theologian, could by his own private study arrive at the understanding of a most obscure question. Moreover, he predicted openly to his Holiness that the question would not be defined by him. When the Pope retorted that he *was* going to define it, N. answered : ' Your Holiness will not.' . . .[4]

On another occasion in the year 1601 Cardinal del Monte had the following interesting little conversation with Blessed Robert :

Del Monte : I believe his Holiness is going to issue a definition on this matter of efficacious grace.

Bellarmine : His Holiness will do no such thing.

Del Monte : Why are you so sure, my Lord ? The Pope, you must admit, has the power to define the question, and I know that his mind is made up to define it.

Bellarmine : Yes, he has the power, but he will not exercise it.

Del Monte : How on earth do you make that out ?

Bellarmine : Because he will die before he gets the opportunity.[5]

[1] Quoted in *Auctarium*, p. xxiii. Serry adds some piquant but probably imaginary details.

[2] Reproduced in *Auctarium*, pp. 129–138. The authorship of this document has been disputed but Le Bachelet gives good reasons for attributing it to Bellarmine, *l.c.*, p. xxiii.

[3] N., as remarked before, stands for Bellarmine himself.

[4] *Autobiography*, n. xlv.

[5] Fuligatti, *Vita*, p. 167. Fuligatti had this story, which dated from four years before Pope Clement's death, from Cardinal del Monte himself.

The rumours and stories which were current everywhere in Spain so troubled the Jesuits that a prominent Father of the Society there named Padilla wrote to Bellarmine for some definite information. On 9 March 1601, the Cardinal replied:

Reverend Father,

I am not surprised that the affair of Molina should be giving you anxiety in Spain, knowing as I do by sad experience the trouble it is creating for us here every day. What does astonish me, though, is the audacity of those who, at the peril of their souls and their salvation, are spreading such portentous lies. You may rest absolutely assured that no one here ever dreamt of burning Molina in effigy. . . . Even his adversarieis in Rome admit freely that he is a good Catholic and a good religous. The principal point of the whole controversy, namely the predetermination of the will and the cause of sin, is not now being discussed. When it comes up for debate, we hope in the Lord that the theory which affirms it and so destroys the indifference necessary for freedom of choice will be judged at least very dangerous. . . . Though I do not know what the final decision of his Holiness will be, I am sure that if Molina's book has to be revised, it will be in the passages where he agrees with our adversaries, and not in the matter controverted between them and the Society. . . .[1]

The next step in the long negotiations was a debate between some prominent Thomist and Molinist theologians on the twenty propositions censured in the report of the Pope's commission. It was then that the famous Thomas de Lemos, Serry's hero of heroes, first came into public notice, arguing with the Jesuit, Gregory of Valencia.[2] The debate ended in May 1601. After its close, the commissioners, who were still strongly opposed to Molina, devoted several months to editing their censures and writing hundreds of pages in their justification. When the mountain of documents was brought to the Pope in December, he asked its bearers somewhat angrily whether they expected him to read them all. Thereupon, according to Serry, they humbly craved pardon for their prolixity which was rendered necessary by the artifices of the Molinists, and assured his Holiness that he need not fatigue himself studying each and every one of their arguments, since his penetration of mind and erudition were so great that he might justly dispense with the labour.[3] At the same time

[1] Meyer, *Hist. Controvers.*, vol. I. p. 246.

[2] Any one in search of a little amusement would do well to read Serry's account of the duel between these two men.

[3] *Hist. Congregat.*, col. 256.

they begged him not to let the Jesuits see what they had written, for that would mean more apologies and the prolongation of the dispute. The Jesuits, however, were wide awake, and protested so vigorously that the Pope ordered 138 folio pages of the record to be handed over for their criticism. Then was added another monster memorial to the pile that steadily mounted to heaven like a theological Tower of Babel.

Bellarmine had an interview with the Pope on November 8, of which he gave an account to Aquaviva the following day. Clement had shown himself particularly friendly to the Society, he said, 'so profiting of this benevolence, I handed him a document I had composed . . . which, if my sins do not stand in the way, may be of some use to us. As his Holiness remarked to me that he had read in St. Augustine: *Solus Deus operatur in nobis velle*, I propose to send him this evening another document explaining these words. . . .'[1]

Clement's friendliness did not last long, to judge by the famous letter which Blessed Robert addressed to him some weeks later. 'Most Holy Father,' it begins, 'With all humility and reverence I beg that you would deign to read this letter, and then burn it, as I do not wish it to be seen by any eyes but yours.' Having thus introduced himself, the Cardinal immediately embarks on a long, closely-reasoned discussion of certain passages in St. Augustine. These passages dealt with Pelagius and his opinions on grace. The point was, what had Augustine considered to be the views of Pelagius on the question? Some writers strove to show that, judging by the Saint's account of him, Pelagius must have held opinions very similar to those championed by the Society of Jesus. The texts and arguments by means of which Bellarmine shatters this contention are too abstruse for reproduction here. If it were true, he concludes, then that British heretic must have been as sound a Catholic as St. Paul, St. Augustine himself, and the Fathers of the Council of Trent.

And now since I have once begun to speak to my Lord [the letter continues], I beg your Holiness to deliver the Church from the scandal of these quarrels as soon as possible, to restore concord between the two orders, and to deprive the heretic of his gaiety at our expense. If I, the creature and faithful servant of your Holiness, may be permitted to say what I think, I beg you to consider

[1] Le Bachelet, *Auctarium*, p. xxiii. The document is printed in the same collection, pp. 139–142.

whether the way you have chosen for deciding this controversy may not prove a long and laborious one for you. Your holy predecessors did not rely chiefly on study and reasoning in their endeavours to penetrate the profundities of dogma. They sought to discover what was the common opinion of the Church and, above all, of her bishops and doctors, for which reason the Popes from the time of St. Peter have availed themselves of the help of Councils, in order to determine the truths of the faith. I may say further that many Popes, without fatiguing themselves in study, have happily condemned errors not a few, with the assistance of Councils and universities, while others who studied much have brought both themselves and the Church into considerable difficulties. Pope Leo X, for example, condemned the Lutheran heresy without burying himself in books. It was enough for him to approve the censures passed by the Catholic universities, Cologne, Louvain, and others. . . .

John XXII is an example of the opposite kind. He was convinced that the souls of the Blessed do not enjoy the vision of the divine essence, and, thinking that this was what St. Augustine taught, tried hard to establish it. Knowing that the University of Paris was opposed to the view, he refused to submit it to the judgment of a council or of learned academies, and spent his time diligently searching for passages of St. Augustine in support of it. Villano records that he used to give ecclesiastical benefices to those who brought him such testimonies, the result of his zeal being that few had the courage to speak freely to him about the matter, and thus he slammed the door of truth in his own face. However, during his eighteen years' reign he did not attain his desire, because the divine protection which watches over the Holy See did not permit him to define a matter that was contrary to the truth. . . .

Your Holiness knows, too, the danger in which Sixtus V, of blessed memory, placed both himself and the Church by his decision to revise the Bible according to his private lights. I, certainly, do not know if the Church ever ran a greater danger. Most Holy Father, I am not recalling these instances in order to turn you from study and investigation, but to convince you that such a way out would take far too long and only result in grave harm to the faith. You say that the question appertains to the faith, but if that be so it is everybody's concern, according to the dictum of Pope Nicholas. Therefore it should be discussed in the full light of day, and not secretly, with a mere handful of advisers. Of course all Catholics are in duty bound to believe and obey when your Holiness issues a decree, even though you alone be responsible for it. Still, such action on your part would inevitably lead to murmurs and protests from the various sections of the Church and the universities, who would complain that their

views on the matter had been entirely ignored. That, at least, was not the customary, beaten track followed by our forefathers, from which your Holiness is not wont to stray. As, notwithstanding your studious labours, it is fitting that the question should be discussed in public, either in an episcopal synod or a congregation of learned men from various universities, it would have been better if this course had been adopted earlier, and it is well to adopt it now at once, without waiting until you have finished reading all that you had intended to read. There is no necessity for your Holiness to put yourself to such trouble, for you have already seen and read enough.

In conclusion, I beg your Holiness, for the love you bear to God and the Church and the holy hatred you have of dissension and heresy, that you would commend this affair to the Almighty and firmly resolve to extinguish the present conflagration. There are only two ways of doing so. It might, in the first place, be allayed by temporizing and imposing silence on both parties to the dispute. The Council of Trent affords us an example of this method, for though the Fathers knew that the opinion or error of predestination *ex praevisis operibus* was much discussed in the schools, and that some theologians present at the Council, such as Catharinus and Turrianus, defended it, yet they considered it better to omit such controversies from the debates, especially at a time when the principal enemies of the Church were those who degraded or entirely denied free-will. The other method would be to convoke an episcopal synod or, should you so prefer, to call to Rome delegates from all the Catholic universities. If this does not meet with your approval, the points of disagreement might at least be put before the doctors in writing, as well as the arguments which have already been offered on both sides. After such public inquiry and investigation, your Holiness might decide the question as God should inspire you.

Meantime, however, I beg you with all my heart to stop the mouths of those who assert that your mind is already made up, that your sympathies lean decidedly to one party in the dispute, and that you listen only with reluctance to what the other party has to say. Were that true, nobody would dare to express his real convictions about the controversy. For my part, I confess that I had thought of retiring from the struggle and refusing to discuss the question with any one in the future as soon as I was informed of certain harsh remarks that your Holiness had made about *scientia media*, a theory which is commonly taught in the schools as being consonant with the Scriptures, the Fathers, and plain logic. If I, your Holiness's devoted servant, who have spent more than thirty years in the study of these matters, lost heart and thought of withdrawing through fear of giving you offence, what will not other men do? It is not for me to suggest how these slanderers should

be silenced. Your great prudence and wisdom will know the remedy. And now, asking your forgiveness for my presumption, I kiss the feet of your Holiness with all reverence. Your most humble and devoted servant, Robert Cardinal Bellarmine.[1]

At the beginning of the new year, 1602, the Pope, appalled by the size of the dossier upon which he was expected to base his decision, and, perhaps, influenced to some extent by Bellarmine's letter, finally made up his mind to have the whole question thrashed out orally in his presence. That was the origin of the celebrated *Congregatio de Auxiliis*. Bellarmine did not take part in its meetings during the first years because he was not in Rome. The Pope, who appears to have been worried by the presence of such a highly-qualified but too candid critic at his court, began, it would seem, to look about for some means of gracefully 'rusticating' him. Immediately after the first meeting of the Congregation, the Holy Father is said to have found the opportunity of which he was in search.[2] Blessed Robert's own account of events contains no reference to ulterior motives in the mind of Clement. It runs as follows :

In the year 1602, the See of Capua fell vacant and Pope Clement VIII gave it to N. His Holiness consecrated N. with his own hands on the second Sunday after Easter [April 21] when the Gospel *Ego sum pastor bonus* is read at Mass. Two days later the pallium was conferred, and the day after its reception N. retired from the Vatican to shut himself up in the Roman College for four days, that he might escape the intrusions of visitors. On the Friday, he gave an exhortation to the community and then went away to his diocese. This hurried departure from the City astonished many people, including the Pope himself, because it is usually found very difficult to get men who reside at Court to quit it. . . .[3]

As soon as the Cardinal was well out of the way, the Spanish Thomist, Davila, tried by every means in his power to procure the condemnation of the *Controversies* as containing propositions contrary to the Council of Orange and savouring of Pelagian-

[1] Le Bachelet, *Auctarium*, pp. 143–148. The translation is from the Italian text.

[2] There is no definite proof that the Pope had determined to remove Bellarmine from Rome, but there are many indications that such was his intention. Pastor considers them sufficiently strong to justify him in writing : 'Beim Papst brachten freilich Bellarmins Vorstellungen, nur die Wirkung hervor, dass er ihn zum Erzbischof von Kapua machte und dadurch aus Rom entfernte.' *Geschichte der Päpste*, Band XI, S. 567.

[3] *Autobiography*, n. xxxv.

ism.[1] Other men of the same theological persuasion endeavoured, on the contrary, personally or through their friends, to show that Bellarmine was opposed to Molina, and thus his authority continued to be invoked on both sides, to the confusion of everybody.[2] The Cardinal's agent in Rome kept him informed about the illegitimate use that was being made of his name by Thomists and Molinists alike. This news drew from him the following avowal :

The Fathers of the Society who defend Molina do not contend that all his views are true, but only that they are not Pelagian. It is a great impertinence for any one to say that the opinion of the Fathers is heretical. As for what I have written myself on the matter, the assertion that I go against St. Augustine or St. Thomas could only come from people who had read neither of these doctors, or who understood nothing of what was said. Leaving aside the question of *praedeterminatio physica*, which is not being discussed in the congregations taking place just now in the presence of his Holiness, the Dominican Fathers constantly bring forward my books as evidence against Molina on the other matters that engage their attention at the moment. Indeed, the Pope himself has told me several times that the Dominicans consider me to be their ally. How then can the statement which you attribute to Father N. be true ? It is not true either that Father General begged him to be favourable to the Society. In fine, I care very little what anybody says, and your Reverence should not worry either. The truth will at last prevail and every good Christian is bound to embrace it, whether it be found on the side of the Dominicans or on the side of the Jesuits. Meantime, while the Pope has pronounced no decision, those who charge either party with heresy are guilty of the greatest rashness. Our Holy Father has the assistance of the Divine Spirit, and besides, he is naturally very prudent. Consequently we may rest assured that whatever sentence he may issue will be true, just, and helpful to religion.[3]

As the months went by and the clamour grew, Blessed Robert was missed more and more by the moderate men of all parties. Some of them begged him to return at once, Baronius, for instance, writing thus : ' I long to have you in Rome again in order to be able to pour into your ear the story of a heart that is drowned in a sea of troubles.' The Jesuits, of course, felt the loss of their great advocate more keenly than

[1] Poussines, MS. *Hist. Controvers.*, lib. v, pp. 1241 sqq.
[2] Two documents that prove this are published in the *Auctarium* (pp. 182–184).
[3] *Summarium additionale*, n. 10, p. 95. The identity of ' Father N.' is not known.

R P LUDOVICUS MOLINA
E SOCIETATE JESU DOCTOR THEOLOGUS et in Eborensi
Academia primarius Professor Obiit anno 1600 12 Oct: aet: 65

anybody. Bañes was still aggressively active in Spain,[1] and in Rome events shaped more ominously every day for the cause of Molina. That sorely-tried man had gone to his rest in October 1600, before the meetings of the *Congregatio de Auxiliis* began. The Breviary that he used up to the end was black and almost undecipherable from its sixty years of service, but he could never be persuaded to accept a new one. When he was sent to Madrid to occupy the chair of moral theology at the Jesuit College there, he carried his manuscripts in an old corn-sack, 'as if they were so much rubbish to be thrown into the Tagus.' Just before his death the superior of the house asked him what were his wishes with regard to these fruits of his genius. 'Let the Society do with them whatever it likes,' he answered, and then he passed out of the storm into peace.[2] Just four years later Bañes followed him to the grave. 'Shortly before he died,' wrote the Jesuit Provincial of Castile to Aquaviva, 'he spoke of the Society in friendly terms, saying that he had always wished our Fathers well, and that if he had waged war against them in the controversy *de Auxiliis*, it was only because he considered his own opinion to be the truth. . . .'[3]

In December 1604, when the Molinists were at the nadir of their fortunes, they found a powerful ally in Bellarmine's friend, Cardinal du Perron. He had come to Rome on a mission from King Henry IV, and spoke to the Pope with as much frankness as Blessed Robert himself could have used: 'If your Holiness forbids as erroneous the Jesuit method of reconciling grace and free-will,' he said, 'all the Calvinists and Lutherans of France and Germany will applaud your sentence, and see in it a formal approbation of their own teaching on human freedom.'[4] That this was no exaggeration had already been proved by the shouts of joy with which the Calvinists of Belgium and Holland greeted the false rumours of Molina's condemnation. Bellarmine was greatly relieved to hear of du Perron's attitude in the controversy. Answering a letter from that learned friend, 10 February 1605, the Cardinal said:

[1] Astrain gives an account of some of his activities. *Historia*, IV, pp. 324–325.

[2] Jouvency, *Historia Societatis Jesu*, pars V, lib. XXIV, n. 51; de Scorraille, *François Suarez*, I, p. 425.

[3] Letter quoted by Poussines in his manuscript history of the controversy, already mentioned (lib. VI).

[4] De Scorraille, *François Suarez*, I, p. 443.

I render heartfelt thanks to God for having brought you to Rome while the dispute *de Auxiliis* is in progress. Though I have myself several times made plain to the Holy Father how closely the theory of physical predetermination approximates to Calvinism and how much it is disliked by the majority of the Catholic Universities, especially those in direct conflict with the heretics, the other party in the dispute have procured that full confidence should not be placed in me because I am a Jesuit and consequently an interested person. To your Lordship, however, no exception can possibly be taken, as everybody knows that you are better qualified than any other man to express an opinion on this controversy, and that you have no interest at heart but the truth and the Catholic faith. God has sent you, then, that the passions of many other people and their rivalry with the Jesuits may not obscure the truth, in a matter of such moment.[1]

Between the years 1602 and 1605 there were sixty-eight sessions of the new *Congregatio de Auxiliis*, and thirty-seven full-dress debates, but what Pope Clement himself thought or intended at the end of them all will never be known, for he died on 5 March 1605, without having decided anything. After the few weeks' reign of Leo XI, Cardinal Borghese, who had been closely connected with the *de Auxiliis* question throughout, was elected Pope, and took the name of Paul V. Bellarmine had been summoned to Rome for the conclaves, and in Rome he remained at Pope Paul's urgent request. When, in September, the meetings of the Congregation were resumed, both he and his friend du Perron took their places as assessors, to the great joy of the Jesuits. The affair dragged on wearily and indecisively for another two years, a wordy warfare that only exacerbated feelings and made a genuine reconciliation of the contending parties less a possibility than ever. The accounts of what happened during this period are vague in the extreme, and largely a matter of conjecture. All that is known for certain, thanks to the labours and researches of the German Jesuit, Gerard Schneemann,[2] is that Paul V called a special meeting of the Cardinals concerned with the controversy on 28 August 1607, the feast of St. Augustine. Each of the eight assembled was then asked for his opinion as to the best way of ending the

[1] Laemmer, *Meletematum Romanorum mantissa*, p. 382.

[2] Father Gerard was a typical specimen of the absorbed scholar. He told a lay-brother in great distress one day that all his stockings had disappeared, the German Jesuits wearing stockings and not socks. This brother got up a search party to explore the Father's terribly untidy room, and then the stockings were all discovered doing duty as book-markers in the great folios which were piled up everywhere.

long dispute, the Pope himself writing down their answers.[1] Cardinal de Ascoli, a Dominican, was the only one who voted for the condemnation of Molina; two showed themselves favourable to the Bannesian theories without, however, censuring the opposed doctrine; three remained quite neutral, considering that the question should be further discussed; and du Perron, while strongly supporting Molina, suggested that the best plan would be to postpone a decision *sine die*, in the hope that, by the mercy of God, the two parties might eventually come to terms. Bellarmine's vote was an echo of his attitude throughout the controversy. He censured *praedeterminatio physica* in plain and vigorous language but, at the same time, offered excuses for those who held that opinion. To end the dispute, he considered that it might be well to issue a Bull condemning some propositions agreed to by both parties as deserving censure, but omitting all reference to the more difficult and controversial questions. Though Pope Paul did not approve this idea of a Bull, his decree forbidding either party to qualify the views of the other as temerarious or heretical, by which the controversy was closed, was framed exactly on the lines proposed ten years earlier in Blessed Robert's criticism of the Dominican Memorial.[2]

Reviewing the long, unhappy struggle in all its phases, an impartial student must surely admit Molina's claim to a little more than divided honours. No book since the printing of books began has been subjected to such minute and ruthless criticism in every line as the *Concordia*, yet not a syllable of its 330,000 words was censured or condemned by the Holy See. All that the opposition of twenty years did was to render the name of its author immortal, and secure for him a distinguished place in the company of those who have discoursed with greatest power and penetration on the things of God. Remembering this, it is scarcely a matter for surprise that the Spanish Jesuits, or, at any rate, their friends, should have lost their heads somewhat and posted bills on the walls of Salamanca decorated with two flaming, jubilant words: MOLINA VICTOR! In Villagarcia a bull-fight was organized to celebrate the occasion, and at other colleges there were masques and fireworks in abundance.[3] As soon as Aquaviva heard of

[1] Schneemann photographed this document and reproduced it at the end of his *Controversiarum de divinae gratiae liberique arbitrii concordia initia et progressus*. Friburgi Brisgoviae, 1881.

[2] *Vide supra*, p. 52, and cf. Schneemann, *Controversiarum*, etc., pp. 287–291.

[3] Astrain, *Historia*, t. IV, p. 382.

these provocative festivities, he issued stern letters of disapproval and suspended some of the Rectors who had connived at them. Thus ended the great controversy on grace in a schoolboys' holiday, and there was a fitness in the fireworks greater than was realized when they danced in the darkness of Villagarcia, three hundred years ago. For what are the best and profoundest of man's speculations on God's methods and purposes but a momentary flare in a night of impenetrable mystery—a night in which faith can discern stars, but which neither *scientia media* nor *praemotio physica* can turn into day. When all is said, both Molinist and Thomist are left with the formula of St. Paul on their lips as the final comment of reason and revelation on their theories : *O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei ; quam incomprehensibilia sunt judicia ejus, et investigabiles viae ejus !*

After peace had been restored Bellarmine resolved that, as far as the issues lay in his power, it should not be broken again in a hurry. His determination soon brought him into conflict with his old friend, Father Lessius, whose pacific instincts were not so highly cultivated as his own. The point of their dispute was a very subtle one, with which we need not concern ourselves here. It led to a famous ordinance from the General of the Society of Jesus, but it did not impair the friendship of the two men, for they were much too fond of each other to fall out over an abstruse question of theology. On 16 May 1614, the Cardinal addressed the following letter to his great pupil in Belgium :

Very Reverend Father, I could not tell from your letter of March 14 which member of my household you were speaking about. In any case it was not from him, whoever he may be, but from Father Assistant that I received your letter. Well done, your Reverence ! I approve and am glad that you have given up writing and turned your mind to reading and contemplation, for it is almost impossible to write anything at present without laying oneself open to the cavils of either enemies or friends. Your Reverence has published quite enough already, not only on theology and law but also, I hear, on medicine, to make your name, which was written in Heaven before the foundation of the world, shine on earth too with much lustre. Like you I am spending the time left to me, when I have finished with the very troublesome and exceedingly numerous calls of external business, in meditating the Epistles read at Mass. I write out these meditations of mine so as not to forget them, but I have no intention of giving the manuscript to a printer. As to your complaint about the way your

theories are received, your Reverence should know that the other party are just as loud in their laments, on the ground that Pelagianism is being publicly taught and inculcated, in defiance of St. Paul, St. Augustine, St. Thomas, and the majority of bishops now alive. That was the reason why the Holy See recently forbade the printing of two new books by Spanish Dominicans. I think myself that a General Council alone can provide a remedy for these evils, if it should please God to grant us such in our lifetime. Having turned seventy, my lifetime must be near its close, so I most earnestly beg your Reverence to commend the passage of my soul to God, in your prayers. Good-bye, my dearest and most esteemed Father.[1]

10. To complete the story, it may be well to say a few words about the relations that existed between Blessed Robert and the sons of St. Dominic during the whole of his life. A great Dominican, Desiderio Scaglia, known as 'il Cardinal di Cremona', wrote, three years after the death of the Jesuit Cardinal who had been his intimate friend, the finest of all the many fine tributes that were laid on his grave. His praises, he said, were not only the expression of his esteem for the holiest and most learned man of his age, but still more of his profound gratitude 'for the love which he bore towards me and my Order at all times and under every circumstance. He invariably held my Order in the highest respect and was known for his special devotion to its Saints and Blessed. The Dominican Chronicles were very frequently in his hands and he used to say that each time he read them he derived ever greater help in his striving after Christian perfection. Further, it was his conviction that all well-established and well-regulated religious orders ought to keep the Dominican rule and tradition always before their eyes, that they might profit by their example of good government, of learning, and of holiness'.[2]

Bellarmine's books are the best corroboration of Cardinal Scaglia's words, for no names are mentioned in them more honourably than those of the great Dominicans.[3] The one and only occasion on which he went outside his diocese of Capua was to attend at Naples, in 1605, a solemn festival in honour of St. Thomas Aquinas.[4] Nor was he content to stop

[1] *Epistolae familiares*, CXI, pp. 245–247.

[2] *Summarium*, n. 28, *positio* of 1712, pp. 92–95. Lettera del Sig. Cardinal F. Desiderio Scaglia, detto il Cardinal di Cremona, ad un Padre della Compagnia di Gesù, 15 di Marzo 1624.

[3] Cf. *Opera omnia*, ed. Fèvre, vol. II, p. 400; vol. IX, pp. 142, 246, 249 sqq., 358, 558; vol. XII, pp. 449, 450, 461, 464, 471, 474.

[4] D. Clemente, *S. Tommaso d'Aquino e Napoli*, Naples, 1872, p. 53.

at honouring and glorifying the great men of the Dominican Order who had been already raised to the altars. None was so energetic as he in trying to get new names added to the proud list. In 1600 he urged Clement VIII not to defer the canonization of Raymond of Pennafort any longer. 'I am led all the more to urge this upon your Holiness,' he said, 'because only a few years ago you canonized St. Hyacinth. Now Blessed Raymond was exactly like St. Hyacinth. They lived in the same century, wore the same habit, reached the heights of Christian sanctity by the same holy rule, preached the Gospel with the same burning zeal and success, and were illustrious by the same glory of miracles. . . .'[1] It seems to have been due almost entirely to the Cardinal's efforts that the cultus of Blessed James of Bevagna, O.P., was first solemnly approved in 1610.[2] On 7 March 1617, the Prior of the Dominican house at Bevagna wrote expressing the *infinit' obligo* which he and all his Order felt towards him for his kindness, and begging him to continue his efforts on behalf of Blessed James's canonization. 'Besides the debt of gratitude under which your Lordship will have placed our Beato for ever, my Order will always consider itself in duty bound to pray to God our Lord for your health and continual happiness.'[3]

Among the spiritual books which Blessed Robert prized most highly, two were of Dominican authorship, the *Compendium spiritualis doctrinae* of his contemporary, the Venerable Bartholomew of the Martyrs, and the classic treatise, *De vita spirituali*, of St. Vincent Ferrer. In an exhortation on perfection, given to his brother Jesuits, he commended the study of St. Vincent's ascetical teaching as an *optima ratio proficiendi*, mentioning his work in the same breath with his own Order's *Summarium constitutionum*.[4]

Even at the period of the controversy on grace when feelings on both sides were most embittered he remained on terms of love and deep respect with individual members of the Order of St. Dominic. Thus writing from Capua, 28 February 1603, to Michael Benavides, a heroic Dominican missionary who was about to return to the Philippines, he said :

[1] Le Bachelet, *Auctarium*, pp. 472–473.
[2] Cf. Touron, *Histoire des Hommes célèbres de l'Ordre de Saint Dominique*, Paris, 1743, t. I, p. 629 ; *Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, t. IV, p. 721.
[3] Letter quoted by Le Bachelet, *Gregorianum*, vol. VI, p. 193.
[4] *Exhortationes domesticae*, p. 238.

I wish I could have embraced you as you hurried off to so good a fight, since I did merit the happiness of seeing you when you first came to Rome. If, however, the Prince of Pastors will at last bring us together in our Heavenly country, we need not greatly regret the loss of such brief little opportunities for loving companionship as this life affords.

Bellarmine lived for many years in Rome next door to the great Dominican convent of the Minerva and during that time was on the most charmingly friendly terms with the Fathers. The room in which he worked and prayed by day looked out upon their garden, where the white-robed novices used to promenade. These young men took the greatest interest in their distinguished neighbour, and watched his window carefully, because, as they testified, the very sight of him was a lesson in Christian modesty and holiness.[1] The Fathers used to send round small presents sometimes, delicacies that had just come from Spain, or a few good wine-glasses from Murano, but these were always returned with a note of hearty thanks explaining that the Pope would do something dreadful to him, were it discovered that he accepted gifts.[2] We may conclude with the following appeal of Blessed Robert to Paul V on behalf of a good Dominican whose tired face and tattered habit had roused his pity: 'Most Holy Father, Brother Thomas Pallavicino, the Assistant to the Master of the Sacred Palace, and the Secretary of the Congregation of the Index, works ever so hard and with the greatest care. He gets his meals at the table of the Father Master, but no other provision is made for him. Now, he needs clothes, and he ought also to have some kind of beast to carry him to and from the meetings of the Congregation. Wherefore, the Cardinals of the Index, moved by compassion, and fearing that Brother Thomas may not be able to endure the fatigue much longer, supplicate your Holiness to grant him some kind of pension.'[3] In order that economical canonists might have no loophole for objections to his proposal, our petitioner studied up the question of pensions with as much care as if they were a department of efficacious grace. A note of his still exists enumerating various decrees in support of his appeal.[4]

[1] Letter of 1622, Le Bachelet, *Gregorianum*, vol. VI, pp. 195–196.
[2] *L.c.*, pp. 195, 197. [3] *L.c.*, p. 199.
[4] *Quaedam Decreta quae habentur in libro Decretorum congregationis Indicis, super Provisione assignanda ejus secretario.*

CHAPTER XX

PASTOR BONUS

1. In the *Annals* of his friend Baronius, Bellarmine is honourably but strangely mentioned under the year 968. The reason why he was thus relegated to the Dark Ages is of interest as showing how obsessed the Oratorian Cardinal was with thoughts of the dear companion whom *praemotio physica* and *scientia media* were about to banish from his side. The April of 1602 saw the Annalist engaged on the Pontificate of John XIII. Capua came into the story, because this was the Pope who had raised it to the dignity of an archiepiscopal see. As he wrote the name, the old man's heart took control of his history. Capua spelt Bellarmine, so the six centuries between were forgotten and the *Annals* continued as follows :

> At the present moment while we write of these affairs, this same Church of Capua has acquired a new and most glorious title to renown, which must not be passed over in silence. The see being vacant owing to the death of Caesar Costa its Archbishop, who was formerly my professor of civil law in Rome, his Holiness Pope Clement VIII chose for the government of the celebrated diocese Cardinal Robert Bellarmine, a most learned and religious man whose virtues are famed throughout the whole Christian world. *Exoptatus votis, collaudatus suffragiis, atque exceptus plausu : illud Sacro Collegio conclamante, Dignus Dignae.*[1]

The motives that inspired Clement VIII to appoint Blessed Robert were probably mixed. His chief reason seems to have been a desire to remove temporarily from Rome one whose criticism of his policy in the controversy on grace was inconveniently candid, but Clement was not the man to be guided entirely by such counsels of mere human prudence. Capua was one of the oldest archdioceses in Italy. Its former pastor, good man though he was, had for thirty years been

[1] *Annales Ecclesiastici*, Joannis XIII annus 4, 968. Ed. Theiner, t. XVI (1869), p. 180.

almost continually absent from his post, with the result that the religious life of the people and the discipline of the clergy had everywhere become disorganized. The Pope knew this very well. Bellarmine's famous letter had brought home to him his responsibility, and in accordance with the Cardinal's recommendations he decided to appoint the best and holiest man he knew, who happened to be Bellarmine himself.

In an exhortation which he gave to the Jesuit Fathers of Naples subsequently, Blessed Robert said that when he heard the news, he felt as if he were once again in the ranks of the Society, ' because being an Archbishop, he could preach, hear confessions, and help the sick and dying '.[1] With such golden prospects awaiting him beyond the Alban Hills, it is not surprising that he should have quitted Rome with almost indecent haste. He was as eager to be on that ' tumultuary journey,' which Fynes Moryson, who had travelled it, describes in such frightening terms, as others were to be on the road to some fashionable place of holiday. The route, Moryson relates, lay ' through wooddy mountaines, infamous for the robberies of banished men, vulgarly called *Banditi* '. A few years before Blessed Robert set out on this his second venture over it, a whole cavalcade had been slaughtered in cold blood by the outlaws.[2] After that tragedy, it was not permitted to travel without a guard of forty or sixty horsemen, in full war regalia. One wood in particular was so notorious that the Pope had to maintain a permanent garrison on its borders. Under these circumstances of hourly peril and constant hardship, fifteen miles a day was considered good progress. As there were a hundred and twenty miles to be done, the Cardinal and his companions were on the road for a whole week before at length passing ' through a most sweet Plaine to the most pleasant City, Capua '. The Capua they entered was not the Lotus land that had conquered the Carthaginians with its charms. It was a ' newly built ' place, Moryson informs us, ' of a little Compasse, but strong, and it hath a faire Senate-House and a faire Church called *l'Annonciata*, with a faire Altar.' The monuments of the ancient city, including ' a Colossus and a cave ', are a short distance away, among the orchards.

No sooner was Bellarmine within the walls than his anxious suite must have felt that he had escaped the blunderbusses

[1] *Summarium*, n. 7, § 43.
[2] Moryson, *Itinerary*, Part 1, p. 104.

of the brigands only to suffer *peine forte et dure* at the hands of his flock. Not even in the days of Hannibal had the streets been so blocked. The city itself was densely populated, and thirty-six neighbouring towns and villages had emptied themselves into it when the news went round that Blessed Robert was approaching. But it was not to welcome an Archbishop they had come, the invaders said. It was to see a Saint.[1] A reputation for sanctity is a dangerous thing in Italy. As Bellarmine passed, or rather was pushed, along the street, and while four of the city's chief magistrates made perspiring, despairing efforts to hold a canopy over his head, the women closed in on him with womanly determination, touching him with their rosary-beads and purloining the vagrant threads of his mantle. When, at last, the Cathedral was reached, the crowd both within and without was found to be so dense that the Cardinal, whose face, Bartoli says, was by this time as red as his robe, had to be lifted up bodily, and by main force hoisted in through a side door.

The following day, Sunday, was to witness scenes of still greater enthusiasm, for on it was kept annually the feast of the translation of St. Stephen, the patron of the archdiocese. This *festa* was known by the pretty name ' La Domenica delle ghirlande '. Flowers and greenery took possession of every ledge and open space in the city, and all the girls and women wore garlands in their hair. It was invariably a joyous occasion, but that year (1602), the rejoicings exceeded anything that had ever been known. The Capuans had a saint all to themselves and the Pope had granted a plenary indulgence for assistance at his first pontifical Mass among them. Such a combination of attractions was not to be missed, even if life or limb had to be imperilled, and, accordingly, the whole town crowded towards the Cathedral long before the function was due to begin. When the canons arrived, at the usual time, to take their places in the stalls, they found it impossible to get into the Church at all and so were unable to officiate.[2] On the other hand, the grand procession which it was intended should parade through the city at the end of Mass, was unable to get *out* of the Church and had to be abandoned.[3]

[1] Bartoli, *Vita di Roberto Cardinal Bellarmino*, p. 205.

[2] A contemporary historian of the Church in Capua named Michael Monaco, is the authority for these details. In his *Sanctuarium Capuanum* (1630) he says that that Feast of St. Stephen, 1602, was ' a day never to be forgotten '.

[3] *Summarium additionale*, n. 7, p. 56.

After the service, Bellarmine met the Cathedral chapter for the first time in his official capacity. On such occasions it was customary to inform the new Archbishop that, as an act of homage and welcome, the clergy of the diocese were going to subscribe towards a fund for his private use. Blessed Robert immediately drew himself up, with a decided shake of the head. It was very good of them, but he could not dream of accepting such an offer. On this, the canons pointed out that the ' suffidio caritativo ' was a long-standing custom in Capua which everybody regarded as a right of new archbishops. Consequently, to refuse it would not be quite fair to his successors, as his example might reflect on any who should wish to benefit by the fund. The justice of this reasoning won him round, but he finally accepted only when he had been given three assurances, namely that none of the money would be obtained from poor priests, that no pressure whatever would be brought to bear on the wealthier clergy, and that he would be allowed to devote the entire sum collected, whether big or small, to the restoration of the Cathedral.[1]

2. Many years after Blessed Robert's departure from Capua, an eminent French Archbishop begged him earnestly for a character-sketch of an ideal pastor of souls, that he might engrave it in his memory.

I neither know how to comply with your request nor how to deny it [was Bellarmine's answer]. It is a very noble request, but since I failed to become a holy archbishop myself, in spite of the utmost endeavours, how am I to show others the way to success ? Still, since your Lordship presses me to tell you at least the methods I followed in my attempts to become a good shepherd to my people while I was Archbishop in the ancient and famous city of Capua, I may say that they were these : I turned my eyes and my mind to the lives of the best and worthiest bishops of whom history has record. They became, as it were, my mirror, in which was the pattern that I must copy and become like, with the Divine assistance. Accordingly, I always kept the lives of saintly bishops near my hand, and some volume of Surius lay open on my table the whole year through.... This is the best counsel I could give your Lordship. If you will turn your eyes to these mirrors and endeavour to copy what you see reflected in them, you will undoubtedly become a holy Archbishop. . . .[2]

[1] Bartoli, *Vita*, p. 205.
[2] *Summarium additionale*, n. 7, p. 64.

Those who watched the humble writer of this letter most closely during his stay in Capua said that the impression he gave was as if one of the great saintly bishops of earlier times, an Ambrose, an Augustine, or a Chrysostom, had come to life again in their midst.[1] All his heart and soul and mind and strength went out with magnificent abandon to the flock that had been entrusted to his charge. On one occasion, when his brother Thomas wished him to undertake some family business of a secular nature, he wrote back that 'his family was now the people of Capua, and his only business, the saving and sanctifying of their souls'.[2]

He had not been a fortnight in the city when he was in the pulpit, preaching with all his old fervour. It was Ascension Day, but he had very few listeners because it was an unheard of thing for an archbishop to preach in Capua. Indeed, sermons at any time except during Advent and Lent were an astounding innovation that made good people wonder what in the world their extraordinary *Santo* would do next.[3] He was not in the least discouraged by their apathy. Time would tell, and from that day on he never failed to preach every Sunday and Holyday during the three years of his ministry, except when the usual Lenten course was being given. Nor was it only the Cathedral pulpit that was honoured with his presence. Whenever he had a day or two to spare he would be off to some distant village or hamlet to instruct the people, so that it was observed how aptly the words said of his divine Master applied to his practice: *circumibat castella in circuitu docens.*[4] A cultured critic who had listened to most of the sermons wrote the following account of them:

During the first year he explained the Epistles of St. Paul which are read at Mass, during the second year, the Gospels of the Sundays, and during the third, the Sermon on the Mount. There was never a vain or useless word in his discourse. Every syllable was directed to the one end of sanctifying his hearers. This great Doctor sometimes spoke on very abstruse matters, but he had a wonderful way of making them easy to grasp. I used often to be astounded, observing how he was able to expound in plain, homely language things that other men can hardly express even in the technical terms of the schools. Like a most loving shepherd, he

[1] Bartoli, *Vita*, p. 206. [2] *L.c.*, p. 211.
[3] *Autobiography*, n. xxxvi.
[4] Process of 1712, *Responsio ad Animadversiones*, p. 47.

would many a time admonish his sheep, but the reprehension always came clothed in sweetness. He had no threats nor hard words for anybody. Rather did he beg them to hate sin and turn to the love of virtue, with a mournful countenance as though he were asking for an alms.[1]

One rather amusing story is told of the sermons, which illustrates the dangers of a preacher's vocation. A priest named Antonio Cagiano, who was Rector of the Seminary in Capua and a great admirer of Blessed Robert, came to hear him on a certain Sunday morning. Whether through staying up too late the previous night, or for some other reason, Father Antonio was in a drowsy mood and did not quite catch the drift of the Archbishop's discourse. This led to an extraordinary misunderstanding in his mind, to shame, confusion, indignation, and all sorts of unusual emotions. His account of his experience is as follows :

While the holy Cardinal was preaching, he suddenly began to compare himself with St. Gregory the Great, saying that St. Gregory had entered religion as a young man, and that he had done the same ; that St. Gregory had laboured greatly for the Church of God and had written many works, which might also be said of himself, for he, too, had laboured for the Church and had written all those works that were circulated everywhere, and then he made other comparisons.

After a short pause, he added that St. Gregory was always a virgin and that he, too, was a virgin. These words aroused my indignation. Out of very shame, on account of the many people who were present, I bent down my head, asking myself, What absurdities are these the Cardinal is talking this morning ? Does he not blush to make such a comparison in presence of this large congregation ? What kind of boasting is this I have to listen to ? And so I remained with my head bent, quite scandalized, and all the more so when the preacher went on to say that St. Gregory had been elected a Cardinal, a dignity to which he, also, had been raised. At this, I said to myself, keeping my head down all the time in indignation : Nothing is left now but that he should tell us that St. Gregory eventually became Pope and a saint, and that he himself would, one day, be Pope and a saint.

After this, I raised my head and beheld the face of the Cardinal shining like the sun. Dazzled by the sight, I was forced to lower my eyes again, rubbing them in astonishment for the space of a *Pater Noster*. Then I looked up once more, to study the phenomenon closely. The splendour was still around him and it lasted

[1]Michael Monaco, *Sanctuarium Capuanum*, p. 257.

for about the space of a *Credo*.[1] All amazed and wondering within myself, I went straight to find my confessor and tell him what I had seen. This man, who was a Clerk Regular, bade me say nothing to anyone until the Cardinal had gone to a better world. . . . This is the truth, and I am prepared to testify to it on oath, should my superiors ever request me to do so.

I, John Antony Cagiano, have written this evidence with my own hand and sealed it with my own seal.

NAPLES, 21 *July* 1623.[2]

This story, in Cagiano's version, was to become very celebrated, as various *Promotores Fidei* found it exactly to their purpose. Unfortunately for them, there was a second version from the pen of Michael Monaco, who also was present at the sermon. The matter is of sufficient interest to give the account in his own words :

So meek and kind of heart was the Cardinal that some overzealous people took scandal at his mildness, and complained that he did not punish offences. Rumour of the complaints reached his ears, but being meek he did not become angry. All he did was to defend his forbearance against the wrath of the zealots, which was during a sermon that he preached on the feast of St. Gregory *Nazianzen*. The feast that year fell on a Sunday,[3] and the Cardinal, with a certain pleasing dexterity, made his panegyric of the Saint into an apology for his own way of acting.

First, he expounded the Gospel, *Vos estis sal terrae*, and showed how all that was said in it applied to St. Gregory Nazianzen. Then he told his flock that he had ever cherished a great devotion towards this Saint, explaining that he had been moved to venerate and love him, chiefly because he had discovered a certain resemblance between the circumstances of Gregory's life and those of his own. His words were as follow : ' Gregory was a religious, I am a Jesuit ; he was a Bishop and I, though unworthy, have been chosen for the same office ; he was a writer on theology, and I also have written some books in defence of the Church ; *he composed a splendid poem on virginity and I, when young and fond of poetry, devoted my very*

[1] Other witnesses besides Cagiano saw the radiance round Blessed Robert's head, and that on more than one occasion. Cf. *Summarium*, n. 8, § 90, p. 16.

[2] *L.c.*, n. 8, pp. 17–18.

[3] Cagiano had thought that Blessed Robert was comparing himself with St. Gregory the Great, as his remark about the Cardinal becoming Pope proves. He was also very sure that the sermon took place on a Sunday. Now reference to old calendars shows that the feast of St. Gregory the Great did not fall on a Sunday during the whole time Bellarmine was in Capua, whereas the feast of St. Gregory Nazianzen did fall on that day, in the year 1604. If Father Antonio was thus muddled at the outset, he was not likely to get the other circumstances correct.

first verses to the same subject; finally, Gregory's meekness and clemency of heart were accounted criminal negligence by some people, and I hear that there are not a few who complain about me on the ground that I do not punish offenders.

'But I ask you, dear brethren, how am I to punish offences of which I have not been notified? And supposing that they have been denounced to me, would you have me to impose penalties when, after diligent inquiry, I find that the case was not at all as it was represented? Again, is vindictive punishment the only kind with which you will be satisfied? It is true that the pains and penalties decreed by secular magistrates are primarily vindictive, but it is the duty of bishops to punish with a view to the improvement of the offender. We have the example of Ambrose, Augustine, our Nazianzen, and other holy bishops, to guide us in the matter. Consequently, it is my purpose to inflict only such penalties as I may hope and trust will bring about the conversion, lasting improvement, and salvation of sinful souls.' This was what our meek Bishop said in his sermon.[1]

3. Very soon, Blessed Robert's sermons and selfless charity began to have their effect. The church became more and more packed each Sunday that went by, till at length even the nobility of royal Naples used to come over expressly to hear him. Reports reached the Pope of the extraordinary changes that were taking place in the daily life of Capua. On 8 June 1602 he addressed a special brief to the Archbishop. *Gratulamur tibi fili*, it ran, *et Deo gratias agimus, cujus te solam gloriam quaerere certo scimus.*[2]

Gambling appears to have been the predominant vice of the people. Capua was the Monte Carlo of those days, and cards and dice were not mere pastimes but the serious occupation, the business, and the means of livelihood of a large part of the population. Blessed Robert quickly realized that this evil was at the root of most other evils in his diocese, so war between him and the gambling-halls was soon declared. There were already laws on paper prohibiting them, but he found, as so many reformers have found, that the government officials were themselves abettors of a practice from which they drew not a little illegal revenue, in the shape of bribes. The owners of the halls were, consequently, able to laugh at their new Archbishop's tirades from the pulpit, in which

[1] *Summarium additionale*, n. 14, p. 155. The italics, except those of the Latin text, have been inserted.

[2] *L.c.*, n. 7, p. 65. The original is still to be seen in the secret archives of the Vatican.

he described with terrifying details the murders, suicides, brawls, blasphemies, and ruin to whole families, that were the direct result of their vile occupation. He might bark as much as he liked, they said, because everybody was aware that he could not bite. But they did not know the man with whom they were dealing.

All his passionate appeals proving of no avail, he dispatched his trusty Maestro di Casa, Signor Guidotti, with a letter to Martos, the Minister at Naples who had control of Capuan affairs. The letter was written in such a careful, conciliatory, diplomatic style that it completely won over both Martos and the Viceroy, Francis de Castro. Vigorous action was immediately planned and, profiting by a change of governors at Capua, a new decree was published, absolutely forbidding under the sternest ecclesiastical and civil penalties gambling of every kind throughout the whole archdiocese.[1]

Even in his campaign against this vice, there are episodes of gentleness which give some colour to the accusation that Blessed Robert was too mild in his treatment of offenders. One of his own canons, who was very poor, was accused of frequenting the tables. When questioned by the Archbishop, he said that he did not gamble himself but only went to houses where gentlemen played, in the hope of picking up some small present, such as a pair of gloves, now and then. 'Well,' said Blessed Robert with a smile, 'let us make a bargain. Whenever you are tempted to go to those houses in future, come to my house instead and I promise to give you just such a present as you might have been hoping to obtain from the gamblers.' [2]

Many other little stories are told of his reluctance to punish any poor delinquent who had harmed nobody except himself. Shortly after his arrival in Capua, some of his very modest property in plate had been stolen. As he took no steps to find out the thief or recover the articles, the magistrates of the city, feeling that this offence against their new Archbishop reflected on themselves, offered a reward to any one who would help them to capture the burglars. No sooner did Blessed Robert hear of this than he begged the authorities, as a personal favour, not to proceed any further with the matter. The guilty parties, he urged, were probably in extreme need, and had not dared to apply for assistance to one who was as yet a stranger to them.

[1] Bartoli, *Vita*, pp. 208–209. [2] *Summarium*, n. 14, p. 35.

The next story, which we shall allow the chief character in it, a canon of the Cathedral named Carresio, to tell, brings the Archbishop before us very vividly:

While the interior arrangements of the Church were being altered, a stonemason named Strozza, who was employed on the work, stole a large, round piece of red porphyry. A few days earlier, I had asked this man to see whether he could find me something which would serve as a pestle to grind precious stones for medicinal purposes. Now he comes to me with this piece of porphyry, telling me that it had been given to him by some men who were digging for curiosities on the site of the ancient Church of St. Peter, in old Capua. It was a very fine and valuable piece of stone, so I asked the man several times whether he had not taken it from the Cathedral. He insisted that he had not, and that it had been given to him by one of the curio seekers.

Then we began to talk about the price, and he said that he would give it to me for a ducat. I thought that that was a very good bargain indeed, and immediately closed with him, but he asked me not to pay him there and then, as he had to go to work and the ducat would be safer in my keeping. Well, I waited for him to come back, but that day and the three following days passed without ever a sign of him. At last his non-appearance made me suspicious again that the stone had been taken from the Cathedral, so I went to the Cardinal and asked him whether he had missed a piece of porphyry from the Church. His Lordship sent for Signor Pietro Guidotti and put the same question to him. Says Peter, Yes, a large round piece of porphyry is missing. Thereupon, a servant was sent to see whether the piece in my chemical laboratory was the same. Having learned that it was, the Cardinal asked me to tell him, in strictest secrecy, who had taken it. I was at first very reluctant to do this, but when he assured me that he did not want to know in order to punish the thief, I told him the man's name. The Cardinal then had Strozza summoned from the Church where he was at work, and he ordered me to stay in the room.

As soon as the poor fellow came in and saw the two of us together, he began to wail and beg for mercy, saying that it was his poverty that had driven him to commit the theft. Hearing the man cry out, a number of servants rushed into the room, but the Cardinal bade them go away at once. Then he shut the door, leaving the three of us together, and when he had quieted Strozza, he sat down on a chair with the pair of us seated on stools in front of him. In a long exhortation, he next showed what a serious sin it was to steal things, and especially to steal them from a church. Finally, knowing that the man was very poor, he gave him with his own hands a huge quantity of coppers, which Strozza himself told me afterwards amounted to ten ducats. 'Did you not know,' he said to him,

'that I am here to help all poor people who turn to me in their need? Why did you not come and tell me of your troubles?' He then made him promise that he would never steal any more and that should he ever be in difficulties again he would immediately let him know. I learned afterwards that his Lordship had settled six ducats a month on this man who had stolen his piece of porphyry.[1]

4. The clergy of his diocese were, of course, the new Archbishop's first care, knowing as he did that good priests meant good people. Only a few days after his arrival in the city he invited all the local clergy who could come, to meet him in the sacristy of the Cathedral. The past, he told them, was the past, and he was not going to inquire nor investigate how each had carried out his duties during it. If there were any guilty ones among them, they now received his fullest pardon, and the only penance he would require of them would be a strong resolve to live up to the dignity of their sacred calling in the time to come.[2]

His Cathedral chapter had special claims on his attention, as by its constitutions he was the first of its canons. Day and night his head was filled with stratagems for its improvement. Contrary to the decrees of the Council of Trent, only ten out of the forty canons were priests. Half were mere subdeacons and firmly intended to remain such, if passive resistance and family influence could maintain the *status quo*. Blessed Robert was not deterred for an instant by the opposition. Stubborn nephews and protesting uncles and aunts were soon his docile worshippers, and there were twenty priests or more in the stalls on a Sunday morning.

It was the same in everything else. Just as when religious superior at Rome or Naples he had always been most careful not to take advantage of his position in order to force his opinions upon those whom he consulted, so now he won his way without constraining anybody or giving occasion for the least grievance. He never himself brought forward or supported a proposal in such a manner as to diminish in any degree the freedom of the canons to speak out their minds on the matter. If he anticipated that a particular measure would be hotly debated, he used to entrust it to the dean, and come into the discussion himself only when everybody else had said all that they wanted to say. Then he would frankly and

[1] *Summarium*, n. 14, pp. 35–36. Evidence of Marius Carresio.
[2] Bartoli, *Vita*, p. 212.

clearly expose his own view, with the reasons for and against, and somehow it was that view that nearly always prevailed.[1]

The decrees were carefully registered in the official *Acta* of the chapter, and those which were concerned with old abuses were posted up in the sacristy. At the end might invariably be read the phrase *nemine prorsus discrepante*, words that were the clue to the lasting value of his legislation. Is it not the very genius of government to rule others without ever appearing to rule them? All cases of misconduct in their body he left to the jurisdiction of the canons themselves, reserving only the right to commute or lessen their sentence if he judged it to be too severe. In the same way, they were given entire control of the elections to the various posts of honour and emolument in the chapter.

Their temporal interests and the honour that was their due had in him a most faithful guardian. One of his great aims through life, when in a public position, was to keep on good terms with the civil authorities. He would make any sacrifice, except a sacrifice of principle, rather than trespass on their jurisdiction. Now in Capua the clergy were subjected to a certain amount of unfair taxation, which fell very heavily on poor priests. Bellarmine decided to end the injustice by a plan which only he could have invented. He went to the town hall, asked to see the documents in which the tax was assessed, and paid the entire sum out of his own pocket. After that, what could the commissioners do but drop the imposition altogether? [2]

He looked upon the ecclesiastical benefices in his diocese, not as a private fund at his disposal, but as the property of his Church. All the interest in the world was thrown away, if used on behalf of any one whom he considered unworthy. He would simply answer that he could not give away what was really a reward. If a man wanted a benefice, he must win it by sheer merit, for that was the only valid claim. As a help to the just bestowal of these prizes, he drew up and kept by him a list of all his clergy, with notes and comments on the character, virtue, attainments, etc., of each priest. No benefice to which the care of souls was attached was ever given except by competition, and the Cardinal made a point of assisting at the examinations, both for these *concorsi* and for holy orders, in rochet and mozzetta, the semi-state robes

[1] Bartoli, *Vita*, p. 213.
[2] M. Monaco, *Sanctuarium Capuanum*, p. 297.

of a bishop, with six of his canons seated round him, and with his auditor and chaplains, all men of known theological ability, in the room. It was a rather formidable tribunal for the poor examinees to face, and it is not surprising to learn that only a select minority survived. Even these, if they were candidates for the priesthood, had a worse ordeal to go through afterwards, as Blessed Robert insisted that their titles and previous records should be thoroughly investigated. In this he was not being too severe, for the frauds which were constantly practised to create fictitious titles for ordination, and the wretched poverty into which priests often sank in consequence, had led, in the past, to numbers of these *déclassés* clerics seeking a livelihood by begging, or among 'the banished men vulgarly called banditti.' [1]

5. After the clergy, the church. Blessed Robert loved with a passionate love the beauty of God's House and the dwelling-place of His glory. The chapter on his Louvain sermons has shown what he thought about men who neglected to keep everything used in the service of the altar spotlessly clean and, as far as their means allowed, of the best quality. His predecessor had not worried very much on this score, with the result that the Cathedral had fallen into a sad state of disrepair. Renovations and restorations of every kind were immediately set on foot by the new Archbishop. The high altar was furnished with a magnificent tabernacle of alabaster; the side chapels were lined with white marble; the stalls were transported to a more suitable position; a new organ and choir-loft were erected; and the sanctuary was separated from the rest of the church by a splendid marble balustrade which ran right across the huge nave.[2] These, however, were but a few of the plans which he carried out during his brief stay in Capua. And the other churches of the diocese were not forgotten. The thought of the expense and trouble which his restorations would necessarily entail seems never to have caused him the least anxiety. Two examples of his method, out of many, are given in the following letter to a canon whom he had made procurator of his abbey of St. Benedict at Capua:

I ordered the visitation of the churches in the jurisdiction of the Abbey of St. Benedict. One of these, in Teano, was discovered to be full of earth, and in use as a barn. I have entirely restored it and have also made a present of everything necessary for Mass, the

[1] Bartoli, *Vita*, p. 217.
[2] *Summarium*, n. 23, p. 53.

high altar, chalice, missal, vestments, albs, corporals, candlesticks, crucifix, bells, etc. A chaplain has been appointed to serve it whose salary I shall pay myself. The other church, in Sessa, was not in such a dilapidated condition, but the poor priest in charge there had no house of his own, and only a wretched income of forty Neapolitan ducats. I have now instructed him to take possession of a house near the church, with a little garden attached, which belongs by right to him and not to the abbots of St. Benedict's, though they have long claimed it. In order that he may feel secure in his tenancy, and not merely while I happen to be abbot, I am going to obtain a Brief from the Holy See, transferring the residence once and for all to the priests who serve that church. . . .[1]

The following letter is rather long, but it illustrates so well the Cardinal's zeal for the glory of God, and scrupulous sense of fair-play in dealing with his fellow-men, that it would be a pity to pass it over. It is to a friend in Rome, and dated from Capua, 14 February 1604:

My very Reverend and dearly loved Friend,

In the exterior wall of our Cathedral here, there is a little chapel which adjoins a market-place somewhat like your Campo dei Fiori. Mass used to be said in this chapel for the people in the Piazza, but they paid no attention, going on with their business and merely kneeling down at the Elevation when they heard the bell. Afterwards, the noise of buying and selling at once recommenced. Straight in front of the chapel there is a tavern, and the brawling that usually goes on in such places was perfectly audible to the priest. On my visitation, I forbade this Mass altogether because it seemed to me both unbecoming and unnecessary to celebrate the Divine Mysteries in such circumstances. Near at hand there is a door through which anyone who wants to hear Mass may enter the church.

The market people and the town authorities are now pressing me to withdraw the ban, saying that they are willing to raise the chapel higher, and decorate it more becomingly. I have the greatest scruple about allowing the Mass to go on, but I promised them that I would write to Rome, and if the Congregation of the Council thought well, then I would tolerate the custom. Will you please speak to Signor Fagnano, or to some Cardinal of the Council, or to the Cardinal of S. Marcello himself, my very dear master, that he may say a word about the matter in the congregation.

It is not that I wish them to push my opinion. All I want to know is the rights and wrongs of the question, and what is most for the glory of God. The reasons for and against having the Mass

[1] *Summarium additionale*, n. 9, p. 80.

are as follows : First, in favour of tolerating the custom is the very fact that it is a custom. Secondly, it gives a number of country people a chance to hear Mass, who otherwise are never able to come. Thirdly, the same custom prevails in Naples. Finally, each time the Mass is said a collection of *quattrini* is made, out of which an alms is given to the priest who celebrates, the men who sweep the Piazza are paid, and some poor girl is allotted a dowry every year.

On the other hand, against tolerating the custom we have, first, the orders of the Council of Trent that no Mass should be celebrated outside churches or oratories, and this chapel cannot be said to be either a church or an oratory, as it has room for no one except the priest and his server. Secondly, the same Council forbids priests to say Mass if the hearers are not in a devout attitude, and the people in the Piazza are certainly not so disposed, for they are all either standing or sitting, buying or selling, or crying their wares, except during the Elevation. Thirdly, no infidel nor excommunicated person is allowed to be present at Mass, but when the service is on an open square it is impossible to exclude such people. Finally, this little chapel is so small and exposed that there is danger from rain and wind, especially if it be raised up higher, as is proposed.

As for the reasons in favour of the custom which I gave above, I do not think that they have any great weight. If every practice that has been once introduced is to be tolerated, we shall have to tolerate a very considerable number of abuses. Though for some reason or other the Mass is allowed in Naples, it is not necessary to allow it in Capua, as our churches are much more conveniently situated. Nor does it really give the market people an opportunity to assist at Mass, but only to commit irreverence, as in sober truth they do not attend at all. They wish to be both at market and at Mass, to serve God and Mammon, but this, according to the Gospel, they cannot do. Furthermore, Holy Mass was not instituted to provide street sweepers with their pay. Evil may not be done that good may come of it. We must not be guilty of irreverence towards this most sublime Mystery in order to give alms to a priest or to marry off a poor girl. . . .[1]

The writer of this letter would not admit the pious plea that is sometimes urged in defence of the ' homely ' church manners of southern nations. They are supposed to act as they not infrequently do because ' they are in their Father's house ', as if courtesy was a thing due to everybody except God, and as if any human father would permit his children

[1] *Summarium additionale*, n. 7, pp. 60–62. There were other ways of helping poor girls besides the one mentioned in this letter and we shall see presently what use Blessed Robert made of them.

to wander or talk as much as they liked at home or to spit upon his carpets. In the Cathedral of Capua there was a side door which opened directly upon the market-place outside. Not only did the noise of the traffic and the cries of the hawkers break in on the quiet of the church, but men and women, with baskets on their heads and provisions of every description in their hands, used to make a short cut right through it, without the slightest reverence to the Blessed Sacrament. As there was no other means of stopping the abuse, Bellarmine had this door walled up, and turned the exterior arch of it into a little chapel of Our Lady. The people were at first annoyed, but in a short time they grew very fond of the new shrine and used to gather round it on Saturdays to pray and sing hymns.

6. A man so careful of reverence on the part of his flock as Bellarmine was would be ten times as exacting in his demands from his priests. The devout and stately performance of the sacred liturgy was one of his chief ambitions. Like St. Teresa, he seemed ready from his words and deeds ' to die for a rubric '. On Sundays and feast-days he recited the entire Office in choir with his canons, while on the other days of the year he always took his part at least in Matins and Lauds, though he had already said them privately in his room.[1]

It was no part of his strict duty to attend, but there were three reasons, he said, which determined him to do so. The first was to make sure by his presence that the Office was recited becomingly, the second was to promote the use of the Gregorian chant, and the third was to earn a little extra money for his poor.[2] The Cathedral was bitterly cold in the winter, and to cold weather he had been from childhood peculiarly sensitive. His fingers used to swell up and become livid under its influence, but for all that he was in his place each morning without any of the gloves or wraps with which his canons defended their extremities. Nor would he ever go near the *scaldini*, or little pans of charcoal, to which the others resorted when they were nearly frozen. To encourage himself in fidelity to a practice that cost him so much, he drew up a list of saintly bishops who had been accustomed to say Office

[1] *Autobiography*, n. xxxvii ; *Summarium*, n. 8, p. 10.

[2] According to the constitutions of the Capuan chapter, the Archbishop was the first canon and had as genuine a claim as any other canon to his share in the distribution of ' choir stipends'. Cf. *Autobiography*, n. xxxvii.

in choir, among the eleven whom he found being two Irishmen, St. Malachy and St. Laurence O'Toole.[1] The lives of these great servants of God were his constant reading and meditation.

His scrupulous care for seemliness and exactitude in all the functions of the Church was evident not only at Capua but throughout his whole life. Many years later, after his return to Rome, he discovered that his brother Jesuits there were not carrying out the prescriptions of the *Ceremoniale* as accurately as he would have liked.[2] Finding that the gentle hints which he gave to the fathers concerned, bore no fruit, he addressed the following letter to the General of the Society of Jesus, Mutius Vitelleschi :

ROME, 28 *May* 1617.

As the Corpus Christi procession is to take place soon, and as, according to report, it will be larger and more solemn than ever this year, it seemed to me an opportune moment to set down in writing the reasons why deacons and subdeacons, vested in dalmatics, should officiate at the solemn Masses and take part in the processions.

1⁰. This is what is prescribed, without any exception being allowed, by the Ceremonial of Pope Clement VIII and the Ritual of Pope Paul V. That being so, I do not see what right our Society has to adopt a contrary practice, in the view of all Rome.

2⁰. The rite is observed in the churches of the entire Catholic world, in cathedral, collegiate, parish, and conventual churches, no matter to what religious order they may belong. How, then, is our Society to be permitted to act differently, especially since we use the Roman Missal, Breviary, and Ritual, and since we profess to follow in everything the directions of the Holy Apostolic See ?

3⁰. It does not look well to see the priest at solemn Masses taking the deacon's place in singing the Gospel and the *Ite Missa est*. This is done, outside our Society, only by country priests who are not in a position to do otherwise.

4⁰. Important prelates often speak about this novelty and fad of our Society, and I never know what to say in reply.

5⁰. The Society has no constitution nor rule directing us to dispense with deacons and subdeacons. It is nothing more than a local custom. I myself, when in Flanders, have sung Mass with

[1] *Summarium additionale*, n. 7, p. 64.

[2] In some houses the fathers apparently chose to have what is known as a *Missa Cantata* rather than a High Mass proper, on solemn occasions. In his book on the Mass, the late Dr. Fortescue described the *Missa Cantata* as ' the compromise of a compromise, a Low Mass with singing as at High Mass, only justifiable to enhance the dignity of Sunday Mass when a deacon and subdeacon cannot be had ' (p. 191).

deacon and subdeacon, and I have acted as subdeacon when the Provincial was celebrant.

To all these reasons it might be answered that the Society is an active order engaged in external work of a more important kind, and consequently its members have not the time to learn all the ceremonies of High Mass. There are two ways of meeting such a plea. First, the ceremonies are neither so numerous nor so difficult that they could not be learned in half an hour. This I know by experience, as I have sung many pontifical Masses myself in the Pope's Chapel, and also in Capua. The Fathers and Brothers might learn the ceremonies during a single recreation, if they were coached by someone who knew them well. This might even be a more useful way of spending the time than discussing the gossip of Rome.

In the second place, if it be found too difficult to learn such a number of ceremonies, why not give up singing solemn Masses and be content with saying Low ones ? There is nothing incompatible between a solemn procession and a Low Mass, as may be seen from the example of the Pope on the feast of Corpus Christi. In truth, it is much better not to celebrate solemn Masses at all than to celebrate them unrubrically.

This is what I had to suggest to your Paternity, and I beg you to put the case and the reasons I have given before your assistants. Afterwards, you will be able to act as God shall inspire you. I will not trouble you any more with this subject, on which I have spoken often enough already at the risk of being a burden to you. I send your Paternity my affectionate greetings, praying that God may grant you the fullest realization of your holy desires, and begging you to remember me in His presence.

Your very Reverend Paternity's humble
Servant in Jesus Christ,
Robert Cardinal Bellarmine.[1]

7. In dealing with Blessed Robert's three years at Capua it is difficult to know what to omit and what to tell. There is ' nothing but well and fair ' from first to last, the only trouble being that there is so much of that. It was the full flowering-time of all the noble qualities in his nature, and particularly of his human tenderness and boundless compassion for every kind of sorrow and suffering. Men and women who had known and loved him during those years came forward when he was dead to testify, each in turn, about something he or she had seen or heard and could never forget, some word spoken in kindness that remained a radiant memory, or some

[1] Autograph letter translated and published for the first time by Père Le Bachelet, *Gregorianum*, vol. v, pp. 525–527.

selfless deed that, even in isolation, proved him a saint. The evidence of these witnesses would, by itself, fill a volume larger than the present, so all that we can do is to take a story or a letter here and there and leave the rest.

Far more than the beautifying of his Cathedral, the good Archbishop had at heart the renewal of fervour in some religious communities that had lost their primitive spirit. One of these, the Benedictine Convent of St. John in Capua, had as a punishment for indiscipline been forbidden by the authorities in Rome to receive any more novices. At the time of Bellarmine's coming to the city, the number of the nuns had dwindled to six. Being in great distress, they begged him most earnestly to do what he could for them with the Cardinals of the Congregation of the Reform. These six survivors were good women, and their trouble was by itself a sufficient argument to bring the Archbishop to their side. He immediately dispatched the diplomatic Guidotti to Rome with letters to all concerned, and told him not to come back until he had obtained a favourable answer. Signor Pietro's task was by no means easy, as the Congregation had formed a very bad impression of the Convent. With Blessed Robert behind him, however, there was never much doubt about the issue. Novices might be received, the nuns were told, as soon as the buildings had been adapted to the rule, because previously it was the rule that had been adapted to the buildings.

Bellarmine at once set to work. He completely isolated the Convent by purchasing houses which had been erected close to it, and then began the interior renovations necessary, such as installing grilles and turning certain comfortable suites of rooms into dormitories. That done, and much money spent in the doing, he gave his attention to the constitutions, and brought two nuns from the strict Convent at Sorrento to introduce at St. John's the reforms he considered necessary. So tactfully and kindlily did he manage the whole delicate business that the two visitors whom he had put in charge were able to testify within eight months that the fervour of the community needed a curb rather than a spur. In less than half that time twenty-two novices had received the habit.[1]

Not very long after, these good ladies began to wax a little haughty in prosperity, and thus drew on their heads from

[1] *Summarium*, n. 23, p. 52. Bartoli, *Vita*, p. 218.

the Archbishop one of the longest letters which he ever wrote. The nuns apparently declined to receive any girls who were not of noble birth, and though Bellarmine was quite willing to admit the reasonableness of taking such a point into consideration, he would not agree that it was the only or the most important point:

My very dear Sisters in Christ,

Religious life cannot co-exist with the spirit of the world, nor can it be ruled by it, but by the Spirit of God alone. The spirit of the world makes account of nobility and wealth, but the Spirit of God esteems virtue and holiness of life above everything else. And so we see that Christ Our Lord did not exclude from His company either fishermen or artisans. Indeed, St. Paul says that He did not choose many noble or powerful ones, and St. James adds that He elected men poor in substance but rich in faith and virtue. The Church, guided by the Spirit of God, has never excluded any person from holy orders, canonries, bishoprics, the cardinalate, nor even the Papal office, by reason of low birth. St. Augustine, in one of his letters, says that it would be intolerable in the Church of God to prefer a noble to a plebeian, if the plebeian should happen to be the better or more learned man of the two. Nor has any sainted founder excluded persons of low birth from his order, provided they be otherwise fitted for God's service, excepting only the military orders. St. Augustine, in the rule that he wrote for his nuns, expressly lays it down that those who had been of good social standing in the world must never dare to contemn others whose condition had been lowly, as they were all the affianced of the same Lord.

Now, taking this for granted, I thought that the nuns of San Giovanni would have really laid aside the spirit of the world, and have gone out from it not less in body than in soul Often when writing to the holy Congregation in Rome have I praised you up as such, and for this reason, too, I ventured to leave you the right of refusing or accepting postulants, having first warned you to have an eye to the common interests of the Convent, to the virtues and good qualities of the individuals, and not to make any distinction between high and low.

But I have since seen to my great disgust that you pay no attention to anything except good birth, thus proving that you have still within you the spirit of the world and have not learned the humility of your heavenly Spouse. Of another thing I am very sure, too, and it is that, if perchance to punish our sins God should call to Paradise the two Reverend Mothers who are now your Superiors and you had authority to elect an abbess, you would rather have a faulty one of good birth than a saint were she low-born. And yet you know very well that it was nuns of gentle birth who caused the

ruin of your Convent as well as of St. Mary's, whereas that of the Gesù, where women of the working-classes enter, has kept up a better reputation.

If the Blessed Virgin were on earth and wanted to become a nun, she would never be able to get into your Convent, being a carpenter's wife, but the nuns of the Gesù would take her without any difficulty. This will show you in what favour you will be with the Queen of Heaven and her Divine Son, if you persist in such a spirit of worldly vanity. Now I am quite determined that the Convent of St. John must either continue in the true religious spirit, the spirit of humility and charity, or that it must revert to its old status and cease to receive novices. While saying this, however, I do not mean to disapprove of your accepting a larger proportion of ladies than others among you, provided that the candidates are otherwise equally suitable. It is quite reasonable, too, that, in the elections to the various offices, regard should be had to family and birth when other qualities are found to be evenly distributed. But allowing all that, I cannot and ought not to tolerate that anyone should be excluded from receiving the habit, or from profession, or from any position of dignity, merely because of the accident of her birth.

If sometimes in noble convents girls of less distinguished extraction are received because they bring a very large dowry, why cannot you receive a person who, though lowly by birth, has been endowed by God with singular virtue and prudence? Such a one was my countrywoman, the glorious virgin, St. Agnes of Montepulciano, who, though of very humble condition, was not only received and chosen prioress when quite young, but was of greater use, and did more honour to her house than any number of grand ladies. We must not try to impose our ideas on the Holy Ghost, debarring Him from calling to His service those whom He pleases. . . .[1]

Besides this grand Convent of San Giovanni there was another in the town, of Franciscan nuns, so poor that in order to live at all each sister had to go begging on her own account. As soon as Blessed Robert appeared, however, the tide of their fortunes turned. He took infinite trouble with their affairs, calling meetings of prominent citizens, appealing to wealthy individuals, and allowing the municipal authorities no peace until they had promised to assist. In addition to all this, he gave a hundred ducats out of his private funds, on which there were so many calls, and undertook the entire support of one nun. More, he said, he could not do just

[1] *Summarium additionale*, n. 7, pp. 68–69. Some writers, including Dr. G. Buschbell (*Historisches Jahrbuch*, Bd. XXIII, S. 55 f.), have hinted that Bellarmine was a 'snobbish' person. This letter disposes effectively of such allegations, which were based on the flimsy foundation of his entirely reasonable anxiety to see his relatives marry well.

AN OLD PAINTING OF BLESSED ROBERT BELLARMINE
TEACHING CATECHISM.

then because ' overwhelmed by a great multitude of poor people '.[1] It is now time to see how these poor people fared at his hands.

8. Their spiritual needs were, of course, his primary care, but knowing very well that starved bodies often meant starved souls, he was always most solicitous about the circumstances of the men and women with whom he had to deal. The scapegraces who went to him for help so confidently were sure of getting a hot meal before a warm exhortation, and if they were not scapegraces they got the meal or the money without any exhortation at all.

The Archbishop had reason enough to be worried about the spiritual condition of his flock. On his first Maundy Thursday in Capua, he had washed the feet of twelve poor men, and at the conclusion of the ceremony had put some questions to them on religion. One man, with a venerable white beard, who had been a stone-breaker and was nearly a hundred years old, stood for St. Peter, so the Archbishop thought he would begin with him :

' Would you say the Creed for me,' he asked.

' Say the *what*, your Lordship ? '

' The Apostles' Creed, my good man.'

' Never learnt such a thing, your Lordship,' answered St. Peter, and then, noticing the look of consternation on the Archbishop's face, ' Never was taught it, your Lordship.'

Years afterwards, the memory of this little incident used to bring tears into Bellarmine's eyes. The thought that for a whole century no one had been found to teach the poor fellow the first elements of his religion was a constant torment to him, because he feared that it was only one case out of a multitude.[2] Already he had done a great deal towards establishing regular catechetical instructions in all the churches of Capua, but from that Maundy Thursday he multiplied his endeavours on every side. The instructions at the Cathedral he kept entirely to himself. An hour or so before they were due to begin he would send out scouts to gather together all the waifs and strays of the parish, as well as the loafers and idlers from the piazzas and taverns. Every Sunday he was to be seen in the midst of a crowd of the poorest, dirtiest, and most ragged beggars in the city, the Little Catechism which he had himself written in his hands, and a look of perfect con-

[1] Bartoli, *Vita*, p. 218 ; *Summarium additionale*, n. 7, p. 58.
[2] Bartoli, *Vita*, pp. 224–225, quoting contemporary witnesses.

tentment on his face. These were the hours when he really enjoyed himself, when his heart had its holiday, for the outcast men, women, and children around him were as dear as God intended to his solicitude.[1]

Often, too, when he felt that the spur of example was needed, he would visit the other churches, and there act the part of parish priest. Even as late as Bartoli's time, in 1677, an old man was living who could remember the Cardinal going on foot, in his cassock and biretta, to take the catechism at San Marcello Maggiore.[2] He invented all kinds of devices for keeping his 'children', as he called them, keen and interested, regular prize-distributions being one of the plans, but it was the love for them shining so plainly in his eyes that was the main attraction.

It was not only Capua that had the privilege of his ministrations. Every hole and corner of his archdiocese was visited three different times in the space of three years, and each time most zealously and lovingly evangelized.[3] At his urgent request the General of the Jesuits had lent him two Fathers to help in the work of evangelization. These men were constantly employed in preaching, up and down the diocese, and their labours prepared the way for his own coming.[4] In very many village churches he found wooden pyxes, copper chalices, and vestments so tattered and torn that even tramps would not have been very grateful for them as a gift. All these articles were replaced at his expense. He refused to accept a single penny from the people he was visiting or from their priests, and all the provisions for his table were sent on to him from Capua so that he might not be a burden on any poor parish.[5]

From place to place he wandered, in Bartoli's words 'like a father seeking out the sorrows of his children, in order to comfort them.' His progress was one continued almsgiving, scattering help, as he did, on every side. The poorest of the poor had easy access to him. Indeed, it was they who received the warmest welcome, whether they came merely to kiss his ring, or to ask him to repair their cottages. However

[1] Several witnesses in the processes of his Beatification gave evidence to this effect.

[2] *Vita*, p. 224.

[3] *Autobiography*, n. xxxvi; Fuligatti, *Vita*, p. 182; Bartoli (on independent evidence), *Vita*, p. 221.

[4] He paid all their expenses himself: 'assignatis illis decem aureis in singulos menses, ne gravarent rusticos'.

[5] Bartoli, *Vita*, p. 223.

small the village might be, he would not leave it without preaching a sermon, catechizing the children, and giving the people Holy Communion with his own hands.[1]

During his visitation of Santa Maria in old Capua, he wrote the one and only work that came from his pen during those three years—a short exposition of the Creed. This he had printed and distributed among the parochial clergy, with instructions to read one article of it aloud to the people every Sunday and Holyday.[2] The following lines to his old friend Father Carminata explain why it was that he had given up writing :

Your letter of November 12 has reached me and, as always, has given me the greatest comfort. If only you yourself could come, then would my satisfaction be complete. I have so many things to tell you that are difficult to talk about in a letter.

I am very well, by the goodness of God, but all the same I am only a feeble old workman, with sixty winters on my head, a workman called at the eleventh hour to tend this vineyard, which looks only too like a jungle. Consequently, I am in a hurry to get done all that I possibly can while God gives me life and health, for these cannot last very long.

I have with me two very good and fervent Fathers of our Society. They travel about the diocese continually, preaching, hearing confessions, and teaching Christian doctrine. Their labours are bearing splendid fruit, and this is due in large measure to the fact that they accept nothing from the people. They know that I will provide them with all they need. . . .

Just at the moment, I have no important news to tell your Reverence. Before leaving Rome I had begun to write a commentary on the Psalms, and had reached Psalm xxxiv. Here, I have no time to go on with that work. From morning to night, my diocese requires all my attention. Only during the night itself have I an opportunity for real prayer, and for reading something to aid me with my sermons. Perhaps I should say for meditating and writing my sermons, as I now read next to nothing. . . .

Even requests to refute heretical attacks on the Church failed to ' draw ' him, requests that had always found him so ready in the past. There were other Jesuits besides himself in the world, he said, and they might take a turn. He had his people to think about and they required all his thought.[3]

[1] Fuligatti, *Vita*, pp. 182–183. Also many witnesses in the various processes.

[2] *Autobiography*, n. xxxvii. This manual was translated into French and much used by the French clergy.

[3] *Epistolae familiares*, p. 75.

9. About his general charity to the poor and distressed we need not say much, as his practice in this respect has already been indicated. Hundreds of stories are told of his inexhaustible generosity. The revenues from his various benefices looked very well on paper, amounting as they did to as much as 12,000 ducats a year. That was nearly £6,000, yet he never had more than a few pounds for current expenses in his house, because all that was not spent on the churches of the diocese went month by month to the poor.[1] In modern English money, he must have disbursed on them annually at least £3,000.[2] As stated sone pages back, one of his chief reasons for attending choir so assiduously was 'that he might earn his share of the stipends to give it to the poor'—*ut lucraretur distributiones pro pauperibus*.[3] His share amounted to about 200 ducats or £90 a year. This being pay for work done, he told his friend Eudaemon-Joannes, who often visited him at Capua, that it gave him peculiar satisfaction to be able to hand it over to those in need. It was his very own, the fruit of his sufferings and fatigue, nor was he under the slightest obligation to share it with anybody, as he was in the case of his benefices. 'This money,' he would say to Guidotti, when he brought it to him each month, 'must not appear in your books. It is my private wages and I want to distribute it with my own hand.'[4]

During the first year of his attendance in choir, Blessed Robert used to sit, not in his stall, but on the Archbishop's throne, which was a short distance off. As he had already said his morning office, he did not think it necessary to recite it, in choir, as loudly as the others. This gave rise to a scruple in his mind lest he might not have been heard by those in the opposite stalls, and though he had written to Rome and Naples about the matter and had been assured that all was well, he publicly and in full chapter offered to restore to the canons the sum which he had recently received, or if they preferred, since it had already gone in alms, he would make over to them the merit of the charity. He begged that any one who wished to have his share of the sum would come boldly to his room

[1] There is an interesting letter from Bellarmine to Cardinal d'Este, 1 Nov. 1602, among the Egerton MSS. in the British Museum, which expresses regret that he cannot take a servant recommended by d'Este, as he has not enough money to pay his wages.

[2] Cf. Fuligatti, *Vita*, p. 194. [3] *Autobiography*, n. xxxvii.

[4] Evidence of Eudaemon-Joannes and Guidotti, *Summarium*, n. 29, p. 102. He did the distributing, says another witness, 'con grandissimo suo gusto.' *Ib.*, n. 8, p. 10.

for it, and he promised that he would keep the claimant's name a strict secret. One canon out of the forty went. Ever afterwards, the Archbishop sat in the stalls and chanted as loudly as the rest, in spite of his age and bodily infirmities. He was not going to run any more risks where his poor were concerned.[1]

'I know for certain,' one man testified, 'that the Archbishop kept a list of many respectable but very poor families in the city, that he constantly added to this list, and that he secretly sent them all large alms each month. Further, I know that he paid, month by month, the expenses of poor students in Naples. He had a musical instrument in his house, for the use of his servants, which was scarcely ever played on. Seeing it lying there idle, he one day ordered it to be sold. Now, I bought this instrument for twenty-five ducats and I learned afterwards, from one of his men named Vibrano, that he had sold it to get money for the poor and that the twenty-five ducats had been given to them.'[2]

Blessed Robert, in the spirit of the Gospel, tried to keep his right hand ignorant of the doings of his left by transferring to others, whenever possible, the external credit of his charities. The Theatines in Capua, for instance, received fifty ducats from him every month to distribute in their own quarter, and there were many other societies or individuals who acted as his almoners without the world guessing the secret.[3] Still, it was not always possible for him to keep in the background, because his charity constrained him to go personally on its errands. The sick in the hospitals and the slums were like so many magnets to his heart. Hardly a day passed that he did not set out for the bedside of some sufferer, to see that he had proper medical attendance, to bring him fruit or wine or flowers, to hear his confession and give him the spiritual strength which he knew so well how to impart. The acts of his beatification are crowded with references to these journeys of mercy, one man testifying, for instance, that 'the said Signor Cardinal did visit the Hospital of the Annunciation an infinite number of times (*infinite volte*), and he did also constantly visit sick priests and lay people in their own homes.'[4]

[1] Fuligatti, *Vita*, p. 178.

[2] *Summarium*, n. 8, p. 15. Several other witnesses speak of his secret alms to poor families.

[3] *L.c.*, n. 8, p. 16. To judge by the records, it would seem that half the poor of Capua were kept in clothes by the Cardinal.

[4] *L.c.*, n. 14, p. 32, etc.; Process of 1828, p. 205.

A parish priest of Capua had been summoned, on one occasion, to the bedside of a dying man. All the thoughts of the poor sufferer were so concentrated on the future of three grown-up daughters, whom he was leaving behind without a friend or relative to protect them, that the priest was unable to get his confession or to turn his mind to God. In much distress, this good man hurried off to tell the Archbishop the sad story. Blessed Robert returned with him at once to the patient's bedside and, bending over him, said : ' In the past, you were the father of these girls ; in the future they will find a father in me. I solemnly promise you that I will provide for them and act by them as you would wish to have done yourself.' The dying man's face lit up at these words, whereupon the Archbishop himself heard his confession, gave him the last sacraments, and sent him to eternity in perfect peace. After the funeral, he found a home for his charges with a respectable family in the town, arranged for their marriages in due course, and gave each of them a dowry of nearly three hundred pounds.[1]

Another story tells how once at midnight, near the Cathedral, a shot suddenly broke the silence of the sleeping town. Men hurried from their houses to see what had happened and found that it was murder. A baker named Streppone had been mortally wounded by some miscreant but, instead of going to the police, the people who had discovered the victim rushed straight to the Archbishop's house and almost dragged Blessed Robert to the scene. As soon as the dying man realized who was bending over him, he whispered : ' Monsignor, I have been killed for trying to shield the honour of my family, my conscience, and the virtue of my only girl. A gentleman of Capua has long been lying in wait for me because I would not yield either to his promises or his threats. He has now had his revenge, but what grieves me more than death itself is the thought that when I am gone there will be no one to prevent him from ruining my child.'

As Streppone was sinking fast, the Archbishop left the details of the crime alone and turned all his attention to preparing the man for death. For a whole hour he knelt on the pavement by his side and then, when everything that charity could do was done, he said : ' Now, as to your daughter, I am going to relieve you of the slightest possible anxiety about

[1] The details of this story are from the sworn deposition of the Carmelite Father who attended the man. Bartoli, *Vita*, p. 362.

her future. All I ask is that you should entrust her to my care as if she were my own child, so that I may succeed to all your rights over her, and take your place as her father, with full power to do what may be best for her happiness.' By this time the poor fellow had regained complete consciousness. 'Oh quanto volontieri!' the spectators heard him gasp, as he fell back and died.

Without leaving the corpse, Blessed Robert sent to beg a worthy friend of his named Giugnano to come at once in his carriage, together with his wife. When they arrived, he explained the whole state of affairs to them and implored them for the love they bore him to go immediately to the girl's home and take her away to live with themselves. With these good people she remained until her adoptive father, the Archbishop, contrived to find an excellent husband for her. The marriage ceremony was performed by himself and he gave her a dowry such as very few working-class girls in Capua could have hoped for in their dreams.[1]

Another class of unfortunates whom Blessed Robert delighted to relieve were men in prison for debt. One of his clerks was specially charged with the duty of going round the prisons and investigating every case. When he had studied the reports submitted to him, the Archbishop paid for all who could not pay for themselves or who had come to grief through no fault of their own.[2]

Then again there were the people whom he welcomed so often to board with him at his palace. Any Jesuits who happened to be passing near Capua were warmly pressed to give him the pleasure of their company for a little while, and several, including Father Robert Persons, made experience of his perfect hospitality. 'I remember well,' wrote one man, 'how, when a guest was expected, he would go carefully round the room intended for him, to make sure that everything was comfortable and that nothing had been forgotten which his visitor might need.'[3] To judge by the description of an eye-witness plenty of things had been forgotten in the Archbishop's own room:

The walls were quite bare except for a few pictures of saints and two portraits. His few pictures had no value, save as an aid to

[1] *Summarium*, n. 14, p. 35; Bartoli, *Vita*, pp. 382–383. Streppone's speech may not have been as coherent as these documents report.
[2] Fuligatti, *Vita*, p. 196.
[3] *Summarium*, n. 29, p. 106.

devotion, and the portraits, which were of his uncle Pope Marcello and the holy boy, Cardinal de' Nobili, were not his property, for he only had the loan of them. The furniture consisted of four chairs covered with leather, a small and narrow bed, over which was a poor, shabby canopy of cloth, a prie-dieu containing a crucifix, and a table with a sand-box and a single spiritual book on it. That was all.[1]

10. The portrait of Pope Marcello in that catalogue had much influence on Blessed Robert's conduct in relation to two other classes of people,—the ministers of the Spanish crown, and his own kith and kin. In a small book on the duties of bishops, which he wrote late in life at the urgent request of some episcopal friends, he devoted two of the nine *controversiae* in it to the following matters : ' De modo agendi cum principibus saeculi, in tuenda ecclesiastica libertate,' and ' De modo agendi cum consanguineis et affinibus.' About the first matter of relations with secular princes and the maintenance of the Church's liberties, he says :

> This seems to me to be the great stumbling-block at the present day. It is very difficult to defend the Church's liberties without incurring the wrath of princes, and it is very difficult to be remiss in their defence without incurring the wrath of God. . . .
>
> Two pieces of advice occur to me in connection with this thorny problem. The first is that we should not take any step rashly and without having asked for the opinion of others. If there are none whose judgment we trust within reach, we ought to write for counsel, if time allows, to discreet and competent persons. The second piece of advice is that we should live in such a way as to convince princes and their ministers that we are not seeking to pick quarrels with them, but that in our defence of the Church's liberties we are moved only by the fear of God and zeal for His glory. Moreover, our way of life ought to make it plain to these men that we are anxious for their friendship and esteem it highly. Indeed, we should strive diligently by our good offices and services to preserve and strengthen our friendship with them.[2]

Twelve witnesses testified in the various processes of Blessed Robert's beatification that during his tenure of office in Capua he never once fell foul of the civil authorities, which was held to be ' an exceedingly rare and singular achievement.'[3] Rare

[1] Bartoli, *Vita*, p. 395, quoting the words of a certain Theatine named Father Cyprian.

[2] Le Bachelet, *Auctarium*, p. 652. Something will be said about the origin of Blessed Robert's work on the duties of bishops in a later chapter. *Vide infra*, p. 384.

[3] *Summarium*, n. 8, pp. 10–16 ; Process of 1712, *Informatio facti et juris*, p. 49.

and singular it must certainly have been, as the Spanish authorities were notoriously jealous of the ecclesiastical administration. It was the easiest thing in the world to rouse them, and yet Bellarmine not only kept the peace but won them over to him completely. Nor was this the result of mere deference on his part. He disliked litigation but he was quite prepared to go to law if the rights of his See could not be vindicated in any other way. Some properties belonging to it had been quietly annexed by certain powerful Capuan families, and for these he fought in the courts as sturdily as any unsanctified plaintiff might have done.[1] *Caesaris Caesari* was his motto, but he did not forget the other half of the divine counsel. His uncle Marcello had been threatened with death by the officials of the German Emperor if he dared to remove the Council, of which he was president, from Trent to some city outside their jurisdiction, and had laughed at the threat. That brave laugh was always ringing in the ears of Marcello's nephew.[2]

The Spanish functionaries were in the habit of sending *hortatorie*, or admonitions, to the bishops in the Kingdom of Naples. Speaking of these documents, Guidotti relates the following incident in his dealings with Bellarmine:

> He told me once that the *hortatorie* usually take this form—Monsignor, we have heard this or that report about you. We beg your Lordship to consider the matter and to desist from your present course as you value the favour of our Lord, the King. They have never sent *me* such a *hortatoria*, he continued, and if they did I would write them the following answer—Sir, I have read your Excellency's note. It surprises me greatly that you should interfere in matters that do not concern you, as you are not an ecclesiastical superior. Accordingly, I beg you to remember that you will have to give an account of your actions to God, who is much more your Master than is the King. Nor do you know how soon you will be summoned to render this account. Wherefore, I pray you to desist from your present course as you value the grace of God, Our Lord.[3]

The only time that Bellarmine went beyond the borders of his diocese, while he was Archbishop of Capua, was to attend a great celebration at Naples in honour of St. Thomas Aquinas. He went in disguise for the following interesting

[1] Fuligatti, *Vita*, p. 210.
[2] *Summarium*, n. 28, p. 103.
[3] *L.c.*, n. 8, p. 13. Evidence of Guidotti.

reason. The new Viceroy and his Lady had pressed him to pay them a visit, as soon as he arrived, and had even dispatched their confessor to Capua several times to induce him to do so. Unfortunately, the Viceroy, who was the Count of Benavente, had let it be known that he claimed equality with princes of the Church and would not yield them precedence. Blessed Robert, remembering this, determined that his Excellency should not have an opportunity of putting his claim in practice, and politely declined the invitation. The Count guessed what was holding him back, so he tried another plan to bring about the meeting on which he had set his heart. He caused a rumour to be spread that he was ill and confined to his bed, hoping that the Cardinal would be lured by the news, as questions of precedence do not arise in a sick-room. Bellarmine saw that this was only a ruse. 'Questo è un impiastro,' he said determinedly—a mere plaster to conceal and not heal the difference, and he refused to yield because the honour of his order was at stake. So genially did he carry his point, however, that we are told he and the Viceroy became the best of friends—at a distance presumably.[1]

As noted above, one of the nine *controversiae* in Blessed Robert's book for bishops is on 'dealings with relatives'. It opens in the following blunt fashion: 'Inordinate love of relatives and kindred seems to be a vice common to all churchmen.'[2] The remedy for this evil is then proposed, namely the strict and rigid observance of the rule laid down by the Council of Trent that the goods of the Church are on no account to be used for the enrichment of relatives, but only for the relief of their poverty, should they happen to be poor. That was the line of conduct followed by the two great bishops of early times, Ambrose and Augustine, for they treated their relatives, in this respect, exactly as they treated other poor people, giving alms to them 'non ut divitias haberent, sed ut non egerent, aut minus egerent.' These words from the life of St. Augustine by Possidius were deeply engraved in Robert Bellarmine's memory, and are the clue to all his methods of dealing with the claims that came so insistently from Montepulciano.

As his record up to date has shown, he was sincerely devoted to the interests of his family. Indeed, the *advocati diaboli* argued with great eloquence, in the processes of his beatifica-

[1] Fuligatti, *Vita*, p. 211; Bartoli, *Vita*, pp. 450–451.
[2] Le Bachelet, *Auctarium*, p. 652.

tion, that he had been far too devoted to them, and a learned modern writer professed himself shocked, only a few years back, on discovering that the Cardinal had set apart as much as 800 scudi a year for the support of five nephews and grand-nephews.[1] The writer might have spared himself the shock by simply inquiring into the circumstances of Blessed Robert's five beneficiaries, for they were one and all not only poor but poor clerics, and to help such out of ecclesiastical revenues was in no way a violation of the discipline of Trent.

One of the most persistent of the Cardinal's suppliants was his brother Thomas, who could point to fourteen children as so many arguments in favour of his claims. He was not satisfied with the sums that came to him from Capua, and even lectured Blessed Robert on the duty of being more generous to one's kith and kin. Let him imitate that holy disciple of St. Philip, Cardinal Tarugi, who was not given to counting the coppers when he opened his purse to his friends. On 30 May 1603 he received the following answer:

If what I have written about not wishing to enrich my relatives is displeasing to you, it is a proof that you would not mind seeing me lost in Hell, provided you were well off in this world. Read the first chapter *de Reformatione* in the last Session of the Council of Trent. . . . If some have followed another course, that is their affair. The holy canons are my law, not the example of other men. . . . God will help you, provided you do His holy will, nor will I be wanting in whatever is just and right according to my conscience.[2]

Strong as it was, that letter by no means daunted the 'molto magnifico fratello', so on November 20 of the same year Blessed Robert was obliged to write again:

I have read what you say about the duty of affording assistance to relatives and, as far as this means helping them in their poverty, I quite agree with you. The real difficulty is to know how much ought to be given, for if the Church's goods are to be dispensed on relatives at all, they must be given only as alms, *non ut fiant ditiores, sed ut minus indigeant*. . . . If, as you say, Cardinal Tarugi is

[1] Mgr. P. M. Baumgarten in *Neue Kunde von alten Bibeln*, etc., pp. 206–207. This work appeared in 1923, one of its purposes being to hinder Bellarmine's beatification. Father Tacchi Venturi answered it the same year in a work entitled, *Esame delle nuove accuse contro il Venerabile Card. Roberto Bellarmino*. The third section of the work (pp. 59–100) bears the heading, *Il nepotismo del Cardinal Bellarmino*. Very little of Baumgarten's contention is left standing at the end of that splendid piece of criticism.

[2] Given in full by Bartoli, *Vita*, p. 369.

liberal towards his kinsfolk, that is because he is not a religious under vows, as am I, and besides he has private means, which I have not. My income may be larger than his at present, but there are far more calls on it than his has to bear. He has no church nor seminary to support, whereas I must spend huge sums on the upkeep of both. Moreover there are countless numbers of poor people in these parts, and I know that the ecclesiastical revenues of any particular place must be spent on the church and the poor of that place. . . .[1]

After Thomas, the member of the family who caused the Cardinal most anxiety was Camilla, the sister who had been his special confidante and playmate when they were children together. She had married a man named Bartolomeo or Bartoletto Burratti, and Bartoletto seems to have been as bad a business man as could be found in the whole of Italy. Nothing ever went right with the poor fellow. His oxen die, and a distressful letter is immediately posted to Capua, begging for the price of a new beast; the police are on his track for rent and taxes which he has not paid, so would the Archbishop kindly come to the rescue. That long-suffering brother-in-law wrote to him as follows on 3 August 1603: 'I would like you to make your need known to my brother. Though my income is small and there are many calls on my purse, I will do all that I possibly can to pay off your debts. . . .'[2]

Besides saving Bartoletto's and Camilla's furniture from the *sbirri*, Blessed Robert granted the improvident pair a monthly pension of five silver crowns, or fifty *giulii*. We might be tempted to consider this a niggardly alms had we not Fynes Moryson to tell us what could be done with it. Montepulciano is only about forty-five miles from Siena, and of accommodation in the latter city that thrifty traveller writes:

> Our Hostesse at Siena gave us cleane linnen often changed both at bed and boord, a large chamber, a good bed, a linen canopy oft changed, and did provide our meat very cleanly; for which each man paid no more then ten giulii by the moneth.[3]

In view of this, it is no wonder that the Cardinal should have attributed the distress at the Casa Burratti to 'il mal governo'. Nor were they and brother Thomas the only relatives who considered him their legitimate prey. After

[1] Letter from the *Carte Cerviniane* in the State Archives of Florence Tacchi Venturi, *Esame delle nuove accuse*, p. 68.
[2] Tacchi Venturi, *l.c.*, p. 78.
[3] *Itinerary*, Part 1, p. 163. Moryson was in Siena in 1594.

a careful study of the documents, that temperate historian, Daniel Bartoli, came to the following conclusion :

> The twenty-two years of [Bellarmine's] life as a cardinal were twenty-two years of lively conflict with his relatives. Never once was there peace or truce, because the principles that led them to beg and him to refuse were too insuperably opposed, his answers being that he was not rich in order to enrich his family, and that he would never deviate by a hair's breadth from his principle of granting them alms only to the extent necessary to keep them from actual want, according to their state. . . .
>
> Infinite must have been the patience needed to deal with the continual stream of worrying letters from families in Montepulciano, related to him distantly or nearly, by blood or by marriage. They reached him every day, full of demands, prayers, tales of distress, arguments, and supplications, yea, sometimes of curses and abuse, vented on him by enraged or desperate persons. He was accused of inhumanity, of preferring to lavish his charities on strangers rather than on his own kindred, on rogues and blackguards rather than on gentlemen of his own country and his own blood. But neither the abuse nor the flattery ever made him abandon his principles in the slightest measure, for he cared not whether his people were pleased or angry with him, his only anxiety being to avoid doing that which he knew ought not to be done.[1]

One of the family's manœuvres to secure more control of the Archbishop and his purse may now be mentioned. Soon after his arrival in Capua, his health had begun to suffer seriously from the bad climate. The illnesses that followed were seized upon by the good people in Montepulciano as an excuse to make a secret arrangement with their bishop, Mgr. Sallust Tarugi, that he should exchange sees with the invalid down south. The terms of the arrangement were that Bellarmine should retain the entire revenues of Capua except just as much as the bishopric of Montepulciano was worth. It was generous on the part of Tarugi, and it would have been a pleasant exchange on Bellarmine's side, if comfort and convenience were the only considerations.

The plotters succeeded in winning over the indispensable Guidotti, as his beloved master's health was a strong argument in their hands. One fine morning Signor Pietro put the proposal before him, without giving any hint as to its source, and urged him very earnestly to consider it. Blessed Robert laughed. ' Ah, my dear Peter,' he said, ' flesh and blood *have* revealed this to you. It must be an idea of my relatives, but I will not

[1] *Vita*, p. 364.

hear another word about it, for to barter churches in such a fashion is not the way to Heaven.' [1]

11. To round off the impressions of this long chapter, we may now string together a few of many interesting letters that our Cardinal wrote or received during the years of his apostolate in Capua. The departure of his vicar-general for Rome, in March 1603, was the occasion of the following message to Pope Clement:

Most Holy Father,

As Angelucci, my late vicar, is going to kiss the feet of your Holiness, I wanted to send these few lines with him, to commend him to your kindness. Having been with me a whole year and having accompanied me on my personal visitation of the whole diocese, I seem to have discovered in him great worth and merit. His reasons for not staying longer are not any dissatisfaction on my part or on his. It is on entirely different grounds that he is leaving, which, if necessary, he can make known to your Holiness. And as I bear witness to the worth of my vicar, so my vicar can bear witness to my many imperfections.

Indeed, when I think of myself as full of years and destitute of virtue, old in age and a child in experience, I realize better each day how true are the Apostle's words about a bishop—*quoniam et ipse circumdatus est infirmitate*. It is the office of your Holiness, to whom Our Lord has said 'Confirm thy brethren', to have pity on such as me and to direct me by counsel and prayer, whenever you learn that I do not walk aright. It was with this hope that I accepted my great burden and it is in this confidence that I bear it.[2]

At Christmas time of the same year, 1603, the Archbishop wrote again, conveying the season's greetings to the holy Father. His letter drew from the humble-hearted Clement the following sincere and beautiful acknowledgment:

Venerable Brother,

We received your Christmas wishes with very great affection, but We should have received them with still greater pleasure had you put aside your somewhat courtier-like style and mentioned the failings which you had noticed in Us during this year, reminding Us and teaching Us how we might next year remedy them, make amends for them, and serve the Divine Majesty better than We have done so far.

We congratulate you on being at peace with the King's ministers. As they have a good man set in authority at their head, a man with

[1] Roman Process of 1622. Guidotti's evidence, quoted Bartoli, *Vita*, p. 367.

[2] *Summarium additionale*, p. 108.

whom we are well satisfied, we have grounds for hoping that you will not find it difficult to maintain this harmony.

We envy you, if such an expression is permissible in this connection, the sincere desire, which increases in you every day, to serve the souls committed to your charge. The thought of our similar charge is a constant torture to Us and alarms Us more and more. If our blessed God, who knows of what we are made and how great is our weakness, did not sometimes turn our thoughts to the consideration of His mercy, We should assuredly begin to despond. All health to your Lordship and remember Us in your holy Sacrifices and prayers. Given at our Palace, the day of the Holy Innocents, 1603.[1]

Blessed Robert, whose heart was as simple as a child's, took the Pope's words in all seriousness, and, when the Christmas of the year 1604 came round, was careful to give the advice and reminders for which he had been asked :

Most Holy Father,

Last year your Holiness deigned to reply to a letter of mine in which I had wished you all the blessings of Christmas. With your wonted kindness, you gave me a loving, paternal admonition, saying that my letter savoured somewhat of the court, and that it would have been more welcome had I given you some good advice. Now that Christmas and New Year's Day have come round again, while praying with all my heart that they may bring you the fullest measure of happiness, I would remind your Holiness, in obedience to your wishes, of one matter that seems to me to be of great importance for the service of God.

Accordingly, with the courage which you have yourself given me, I beg you when appointing bishops not to regard a talent for preaching as the least necessary quality in the candidates. Your Holiness knows better than anybody that the first bishops of the Church kept themselves free from temporal cares, saying : *nos vero orationi, et ministerio verbi instantes erimus*. It was thus that they had seen Christ, the Bishop of all bishops, do, and the holy bishops who came after them, almost to a man, have spoken and acted according to their example. So too, quite recently, did Cardinal Borromeo of blessed memory, a man about whom it might be said with reason that his like was not to be found in our days. He was asked again and again to propose Monsignor N. for a bishopric, to his Holiness, Pope Gregory XIII, but he could never be persuaded to do so because, as he said, the person in question had no talent for preaching, and preaching was the principal duty of a bishop, according to the Council of Trent.

This is evident, too, from the ceremony of consecration, in which

[1] *Summarium additionale*, n. 7, pp. 66–67.

the Book of the Gospels is placed on the shoulders of the bishop-elect to show that the chief burden of his office is to preach the Gospel. Afterwards the Book is placed in his hands, with the words, *Accipe Evangelium, et vade praedicare populo tibi commisso....*

What I say on this matter is not of such importance for great cities, where there are always plenty of excellent preachers, as it is for the huge number of small cities in the country. If the bishop does not preach in these, nobody preaches, and so the little places become like fields that never get any rain, or on which the rain falls only during one month in the year, that month, for the cities, being the season of Lent. Even then, the preachers that come to them are for the most part men who take wages, and look rather to the good of their pockets than to the good of the people.

And now, since a bishop cannot preach in his diocese if he does not live in it, I beg your Holiness to lay great stress on this most important point. Last year, you sent many bishops away from Rome to their dioceses, an action deserving of all praise. Similarly, it would now be a most holy undertaking on your part if you were to clear Naples of its episcopal visitors. The bishops of this Kingdom go there on the slightest pretext, and, once established, in the city, they seem to find it impossible to return home. Your Holiness will pardon me if my expostulation goes too far, because it is charity that drives me to say what I am saying.

I have by me a letter written at his last hour by that most learned and saintly man Father Peter Soto. It was addressed to Pope Pius IV, and its principal piece of advice to that Pontiff was that he should compel bishops to keep residence in the strictest manner. As cardinals who are made bishops do not usually live in their dioceses, he further counselled that such men should not receive episcopal consecration, but be given benefices of some other kind, and then he added the following words as his opinion of what would happen to the Pope if he neglected to take the course pointed out to him: *Non dubito Sanctitatem Vestram ultimam damnationem in Divino Judicio incursurum.*

The other Soto, namely Domenico,[1] has written clearly in the tenth book of his treatise *De Justitia et Jure*, that a cardinal who is a bishop commits no sin if, through continued residence in his diocese, he never sets eyes on Rome, but that he unquestionably sins if, through staying in Rome, he never sets eyes on his church. If these great doctors do not excuse cardinals from residence that they may serve the universal Church by keeping in close touch with its Supreme Head, what would they think of the lesser services of other prelates, considered as a pretext for non-residence?

I must not importune your Holiness any further. *Factus sum*

[1] These two famous Dominican theologians were always special favourites and authorities with Bellarmine.

insipiens, but it was your kindness, and zeal, for the honour of God that carried away my pen. . . .[1]

The same unfeigned charity of heart that inspired Blessed Robert to write to the Pope on behalf of his departing vicar is just as evident in the next letter, which was addressed to Dr. William Taylor, once Master of Christ's College, Cambridge,[2] but, in 1602, an exile for his faith:

Reverend Sir,

Truly and most sincerely do I compassionate your distress, and all the more because I do not know how I can be of much service to you. I have no authority in the Dataria now, and I am quite sure that no letter of mine to that quarter would be of any avail. The only thing I have it in my power to do, I will do, and that is to recommend your cause most earnestly to Father Robert Persons and through him to Cardinal Borghese, Vice-protector of the English nation, as Cardinal Farnese, your Protector, is away from Rome.

And do you, man of God, 'cast your thought on God and He will nourish you,' for 'God is faithful in all His words'. He has said 'Seek first the Kingdom of God and His justice and all these things shall be added unto you,' and again 'Your Father knoweth that you have need of these things.' Is William Taylor, a worthy confessor and champion of God, alone to be abandoned by God? No, this can never be! The more he seems destitute of human aid, so much the nearer and closer to him will draw the assistance of Heaven.

I know that you do not need the comfort of these poor words of mine, but they serve, at least, to express my affection for you. Good-bye and pray for me who bear, with many a groan, a heavy burden.

Capua, 7 *November* 1602.[3]

That there was an affectionate playfulness lurking behind the Archbishop's most serious moods is shown by the following half bantering letter to his friend Carminata:

My very Dear and Reverend Father,

It is not long since you had a letter from me, but I may say that it makes me happy to write to you at any time, as appears from the fact that I do so on the slightest provocation.

With regard to your first question, about my health, I can say that I am very well, thanks be to God. As to the other, about my soul, I go on timorously as usual. When you say that you are lying flat and stock still on the ground while I am hurrying on to the goal, you are talking the most dreadful nonsense and only poking

[1] Bartoli, *Vita*, pp. 466–468.
[2] Cf. Cooper's *Athenae Cantab.*, vol. I, p. 214.
[3] *Epistolae familiares*, pp. 69–70.

fun at me. You cannot deny that you work harder than I do and in perfect safety, and that my lesser labours are carried on in the greatest danger. You may remember that, for this reason, you once advised me to leave my See and go back to Rome. I did not take your advice because our Blessed Father Ignatius had taught me, in the Society, that everyone should be indifferent, and should let himself be guided by his superiors. As I did not seek for my present post, I do not think it would be right for me to relinquish it, except in obedience to those who put me here. St. Paul says, as you know very well: *Solutus es ab uxore? noli quaerere uxorem; alligatus es uxori? noli quaerere solutionem.* I have obeyed the Apostle in the first part, so why should I disobey him in the second? To me it seems a worse fate for a religious to be a cardinal, at the present day, than to be a bishop. But perhaps I am mistaken, and if so, pray God that I may know His holy will, for my only desire is to do that thoroughly.

As to my taking a rest from preaching during the hot weather, thanks for the advice. If it is sound, why do you not follow it yourself? Still, I *am* thinking of suspending the sermons in Capua from the end of August until All Saints and, during September and October, of preaching in the villages round about instead. . . .

At the end of your letter, you again chaff me, saying that those who live in my house are fortunate folk. You are an old humbug. You would not stay with us yourself either before or after your course of sermons, though, as you must remember, I begged you to be one of the 'fortunate folk' for the ten days or so that you were in Capua, before Lent. No, you would not give us that satisfaction, and must go straight back to Naples when your work was done. In view of all this, I begin to doubt whether your Reverence has not become infected with a little of the courtier's *finezza*. . . .

If you wish me well, dear Father, pray God for me and for the souls committed to my care that He may quickly deliver us both from danger by pardoning my sins, and providing them with a better guide.

CAPUA, 16 *August* 1604.

A last letter, which we may give at this stage, tells a funny story about one of the Archbishop's Lenten preachers, a certain Franciscan named Fra Stefano. The letter is to Cardinal Antoniano, whom Blessed Robert had defeated in the metrical competition on the theme of St. Mary Magdalene:

My preacher, in a sermon of his on the text, *super cathedram Moysis*, etc., so exalted priests that he made them out to be greater and higher in dignity than the Virgin Mother, than Christ, than God Himself. His proofs were very wonderful. A priest, he said,

blesses the consecrated Host in which is Christ, but he whose dignity is less is blessed by him whose dignity is greater, *ergo* a priest is greater than Christ. Again, God creates creatures but a priest creates God Himself, *ergo* a priest is greater than God, and if he is greater than Christ and God, much greater must he be than the Blessed Virgin!

I was very much afraid that I would have to put a stop to his preaching after this exploit, but, when I pointed out to him in my room what unheard of nonsense he had been talking, he edified me by his humility and obedience, . . . expressing himself ready to do whatever I should bid him. So I told him that, on the following day, he must go into the pulpit and declare that the statements which he had made in his sermon were slips of the tongue due to rhetorical exaggeration. This he did most thoroughly, and I took the opportunity to give him a good brotherly reproof, putting him in mind of the rule of St. Francis about simplicity in preaching. Then, to sweeten the medicine, I sent him a present of some trout.

I must not detain your Lordship any longer. Enough to have made known to you something of our weal and our woe.

CAPUA, 7 *March* 1603.[1]

12. In October 1604 Blessed Robert entered on his sixty-third year which, as being the grand climacteric, was reckoned in those days the most perilous time of life. Accordingly he made his will, constituting as his heir 'his dearest Spouse the Cathedral of Capua, or rather its holy patrons, Stephen and Agatha'. On becoming a Cardinal, he had at first determined not to make a will at all, for he was a professed religious, and of such St. Augustine had said: 'One of Christ's poor servants does not make a will because he has nothing to bequeath.' Finding himself in possession of the rich endowments of Capua, however, he began to fear that should he die intestate his property might not go to the poor, and consequently he applied to the Pope for leave to make a will *ad pias causas tantum*.

The grand climacteric, instead of seeing him into his grave, was to see him back in Rome. Soon after his arrival in Capua, he had devoted his spare moments to finding out the names and dates of his predecessors in the See. These he then arranged in chronological order, 'from St. Priscus, the disciple of St. Peter, down to his own day.' After writing the name of the last Archbishop, Caesar Costa, and noting that he had ruled the diocese for thirty years, something moved him to make a final entry, which ran: *Robertus Bellarminus sedit*

[1] *Summarium additionale*, n. 7, pp. 59–60.

annis tribus—Robert Bellarmine held the See for three years.[1] When the three years thus strangely forecast were nearly over, that is in the early spring of 1605, two noble ladies, Clara de' Nobili and the Duchess di Sora, happened to visit Capua. Blessed Robert courteously dispatched Signor Vignanesi to pay his respects to the distinguished visitors, a commission which that good man carried out more thoroughly than had been intended. He even reproached the two grandees gently for having grieved his master. And how had they grieved his master? Why, by not staying at his house, which was all ready and waiting for their reception! On hearing this, the ladies answered that they would be delighted and honoured to be the Archbishop's guests on their return from Naples, and then Signor Giuseppe bowed himself out of the room.

As he returned to the palace through the sharp, sobering air, he began to feel a little uneasy about the way in which he had discharged his commission. 'I had to pay them some kind of a compliment,' he explained lamely, as he told the Cardinal his news. Blessed Robert became very agitated. 'God forgive you!' he exclaimed. 'Why have you placed me in this predicament of having to receive ladies into my house? You have blundered badly, you who knew so well what my views were on the subject.'[2] Then he let his head fall upon his hands and remained for a short while wrapped in painful thought. 'When will these ladies be coming back?' he asked suddenly, fixing a none too friendly look on his *cameriere*. 'In about two months,' was the answer. As soon as he heard this the Cardinal jumped up wreathed in smiles.[3] 'Splendid!' he said. 'That solves the problem, because in two months' time we shall not be in Capua and so shall not be bothered with them on their arrival.'

Three weeks after the date of the above conversation, news came that Pope Clement was seriously ill. He died on March 5, and Bellarmine was then summoned to his first conclave. Years before it took its place in the calendar, he had felt strangely certain about the date of the Pope's death. On his appointment as Archbishop, his gentlemen-in-waiting had become very depressed at the thought of moving from Rome to dull, provincial Capua, and he had rallied them gaily,

[1] *Autobiography*, n. xxxviii.

[2] This is a literal translation of the dialogue as given by Fuligatti, who apparently had the story from Vignanesi himself. *Vita*, p. 216.

[3] 'S'alzò tutto rasserenato ed allegro.'

saying : ' Cheer up, we shall be there only for something under three years.' [1] In his Autobiography, he says in express terms that he was neither an astrologer nor a prophet, *sed casu ita loquebatur*.[2] His biographers, however, will not have it that he spoke just at random. ' C'est l'humilité qui lui a dicté ces derniers mots,' they assure us,[3] and this raises the nice point whether it is really doing honour to a servant of God to put our own private construction on his words and actions.

Vignanesi, who had so courteously and spontaneously invited the two travelling ladies to Blessed Robert's house, was always very curious about his master's predictions. Many years after their time together in Capua, he begged the Cardinal one day to obtain a certain favour for him from Pope Paul V. That was in 1619 when Bellarmine was very ill and, in the doctor's opinion, near the end of his pilgrimage. Great, then, was Vignanesi's astonishment to hear him answer confidently : ' It will be time enough for us to treat of this matter when another Pope is reigning.'

He said these words with such assurance [continues Vignanesi's narrative], that I felt eaten up with curiosity to know how and why he was so certain. Taking my courage in my hands, I said to him : Your Lordship predicted the death of Pope Sixtus while you were in France, that of Pope Clement while in Capua, and now that of Pope Paul. How do you do it ? At this question, he laughed in a most playful, tender way, though he was in great pain, and answered : Oh well, I'll tell you. All the Popes either think themselves, or other people think for them, that they will reign such and such a number of years. Now what I do is to take away a third of that number, and thus I hit the mark.[4]

On the Sunday following the reception of his summons to the conclave, Blessed Robert mounted the pulpit and preached to the people on the Transfiguration. It was Lent, and he was not accustomed to preach during that season, but he wanted to say good-bye to his flock as he felt sure that he would not be coming back. When he broke the news, a great cry

[1] Fuligatti, *Vita*, p. 215.

[2] *Autobiography*, n. xxxi. Speaking, on one occasion, about his forecasts to Monsignor Luigi Aragazzi, Blessed Robert said : ' Vi recordate Signor Ludovico della mia pazzia '—you remember that whim of mine that I should rule Capua for almost, but not quite, three years. . . . *Summarium*, n. 25, p. 58.

[3] Couderc, *Le Vénérable Cardinal Bellarmin*, t. II, p. 8.

[4] *Summarium*, n. 25, pp. 55–56. Vignanesi's evidence.

of sorrow went up from the crowded church, and when he left the pulpit, the people threw themselves at his feet, men and women, poor and rich alike, clasping his robes and conjuring him tearfully not to leave them. 'What have we done that you should abandon us? Whom can we get like you?' they exclaimed, as if determined never to let him go, and so they followed him all the way to his apartments.[1]

The following morning he said Mass in his private chapel and, when everything was in readiness for his departure, came down into the Cathedral for a last visit to the Blessed Sacrament. There he remained a long time in prayer. The whole church, the portico, and the streets that led to the city gates were thronged with people. All Capua had come to see him off, but those who wept the bitterest tears, say witnesses who were present, were the unfortunates of every class, particularly poor women, whom he had so often succoured.[2] He was in tears himself as he passed through them, blessing and being blessed. At the gates, two large bodies of clergy and laity, comprising all the canons, nobles, and gentlemen of the neighbourhood, were waiting to escort him on part of his journey and, in spite of his protests, they walked or rode by his side as far as the next town on the route.

The day after his departure, some of these gentlemen went to his house and, acting on his special instructions, distributed everything it contained among the poor, as well as a large sum of money which he had left in their hands. Indeed, had it not been for the foresight of Guidotti, the Cardinal would have been without the means to pay the expenses of the conclave. As soon as that faithful and prudent servant had heard his master speak about the approaching death of the Pope, he had written to certain people who were in the Archbishop's debt, instructing them not to pay in their dues, on any account, until he, Guidotti, should apply for them. Only thus were the poor members of his flock prevented from capturing the last penny that their selfless shepherd possessed.[3]

[1] Fuligatti, *Vita*, p. 218.
[2] The Roman and Capuan processes quoted by Bartoli, *Vita*, p. 231.
[3] Bartoli, *l.c.*, p. 232.

CHAPTER XXI

CONCLAVES AND CONFLICTS

1. Blessed Robert's first conclave began immediately after his arrival in Rome, and he must have found the new experience a strange contrast to the peaceful spiritual activities in which he had been recently absorbed. Politics seemed to have control of the issues, for the great question mooted was not who was the best man to feed and foster the flock of Christ, but who was the man who would be most acceptable to the King of France or the King of Spain.

The cardinals were divided roughly into two parties, one, mainly French in sympathies, owning allegiance to Peter Aldobrandini, the powerful nephew of the late Pope; the other, strongly Spanish, a kind of coalition whose chief bond was hostility to his influence. Owing to the determined opposition of this latter body, it was recognized that, though Aldobrandini was the foremost figure in the conclave, he had personally no chance of being elected, and Baronius was in consequence put forward as the candidate of his party. Bellarmine refused to give his unqualified adhesion to any group, but as soon as the candidature of Baronius was made known, he took up his cause with great enthusiasm.

Curiously enough, after the first scrutiny Blessed Robert himself was found to be at the head of the poll, with Baronius two votes behind. A relative majority at such an early stage of the proceedings is not usually of much significance, but it was significant enough to frighten the Jesuit Cardinal. Something was said in a previous chapter about his views on the duties and responsibilities of the Supreme Pontiff. No man who sincerely held such views could possibly want to be elected Pope, however high might be his opinion of himself. From a thousand indications it is plain enough that Blessed Robert was not inclined to overrate his own virtue or administrative capacity, and consequently it was very natural that he should not merely have had no desire to wear the triple crown,

but that he should have been genuinely terrified at the mere thought of such a burden being laid upon him. That he was terrified is proved not so much by his public actions as by his letters to intimate friends like Carminata, and the prayers that he was heard to utter when he thought that there was nobody near.

After the first ballot, he was noticed by the other cardinals and the officials of the conclave to have become very gruff and unapproachable in manner.[1] They noticed it because it was so unusual in him. He moped in his cell or said his rosary in some out-of-the-way place, and, if any one approached, he used to slink off down another corridor so as to avoid them. When he did speak to his friends, it was to harp on the fact that he came of a very long-lived race. He had drawn up a list of his ancestors who were in the running to be centenarians and this he used to produce, as much as to say, if you make me Pope you may very easily have more of me than you bargained for. His constant private prayer, during those days, was, by his own admission, *A papatu libera me Domine*—from the Papacy, deliver me, O Lord![2]

Peter Guidotti did not at all approve of his master's strange behaviour. With an eye to their own prospects, he and the Cardinal's other attendants naturally wanted him to keep in the limelight, to be affable to the electors and, above all, to cultivate Aldobrandini. 'I tried,' says Guidotti, 'to get him to pay a visit of courtesy to that Cardinal, but his answer was: I see your point. You wish to have me elected to the Papacy. Well, I may tell you that if the only act required of me in order to become Pope were to walk out of the room, I would not so much as rise from my chair.'[3]

It is unnecessary to follow in detail the intrigues and sudden changes of the conclave, as Bellarmine, through his own tactics and for other reasons, soon fell into the background. On April 1 Cardinal Alexander de' Medici was unanimously elected by adoration,[4] a result due in good measure to the efforts

[1] Fuligatti, *Vita*, p. 128. 'Era il Cardinale Bellarmino di natura piacevole nelle conversationi . . .; nondimeno dentro al Conclave fu veduto di volto, e di trattare più grave, e severo dell' ordinario.'

[2] *Autobiography*, n. xxxix.

[3] Guidotti's evidence in the Roman process of 1622, quoted by Bartoli, *Vita*, p. 238.

[4] Murray's *New English Dictionary*: 'Adoration, 3. *tech.* A method of electing a pope. 1670, G. H. tr. *Hist. Cardinals.* The third way of creating Popes is by *Adoration*, which is performed in this manner: That Cardinal, who . . . desires to favour any other Cardinal, puts himself

of Baronius. He took the name of Leo XI, and he was dead within a month of taking it. On April 29, two days after that tragedy, Blessed Robert wrote to Carminata :

Quis novit sensum Domini, aut quis consiliarius ejus fuit? A Pope was elected who, as you have heard, was a very good man, a friend of our Society, and full of intentions so excellent that if he could only have carried them into effect he would have proved himself a model shepherd of souls. I know this for certain because, on Palm Sunday, he chose to unveil his heart to me in a general confession, as he expressed it, not of sins but of good resolutions. On April 27 he died. Who can unriddle these judgments of God ?

Here we are, then, once more preparing to enter the conclave, and we need prayers more than ever because I do not see in the whole Sacred College one who possesses the qualities which you describe in your letter. What is worse, the electors make no effort to find such a person. It seems to me a very serious thing that, when the Vicar of God is to be chosen, they should cast their votes, not for one who knows the will of God, one versed in the Sacred Scriptures, but rather for one who knows the will of Justinian, and is versed in the authorities of the law. They look out for a good temporal ruler, not for a holy bishop who would really occupy himself with the salvation of souls. I, for my part, will do my best to give my vote to the worthiest man. The rest is in the hand of Providence for, after all, the care of the Church is more the business of God than ours.

And now, Father, I earnestly commend myself to your prayers in this new peril. My daily prayer in the last conclave was our Lord's *Transfer calicem hunc a me*, and it shall be the same this time, for I find myself very far from possessing those qualities which you rightly demand in a Vicar of Christ. Help me then lest I enter into this temptation.

2. Part of the business of the Spanish Embassy in Rome was to keep a careful watch on the conduct of the Cardinals. Six months before the death of Pope Clement, a conference of the officials was held to discuss the question of his successor, and among the names mentioned were those of Baronius and Bellarmine. The comment of King Philip's representatives is interesting :

Baronius is reputed to be a man of no consequence except in the writing of history books. As regards capacity for government, Bellarmine's reputation stands no higher. He is not versed in

before him in the Chappel, and makes him a low Reverence ; and when it falls out that two-thirds of the Cardinals do the same, the Pope is then understood to be created.'

Spanish affairs, and the fact of his having been a Jesuit is against him. . . .[1]

At some date, also prior to the death of Clement, the Spanish Ambassador himself addressed a memorial to his Master 'on those Cardinals to whom it might be well for his Majesty to assign pensions.' Here again Blessed Robert is mentioned:

Bellarmine, who was taken by his Holiness from the Society of Jesus, is a good man and learned in theology, but not of much practical ability (*de poca sustancia in agibilibus*). He is known to be the mere creature of the Pope and would scruple to accept a bribe. Being a native of Montepulciano, he is a vassal of the Duke of Florence. . . .

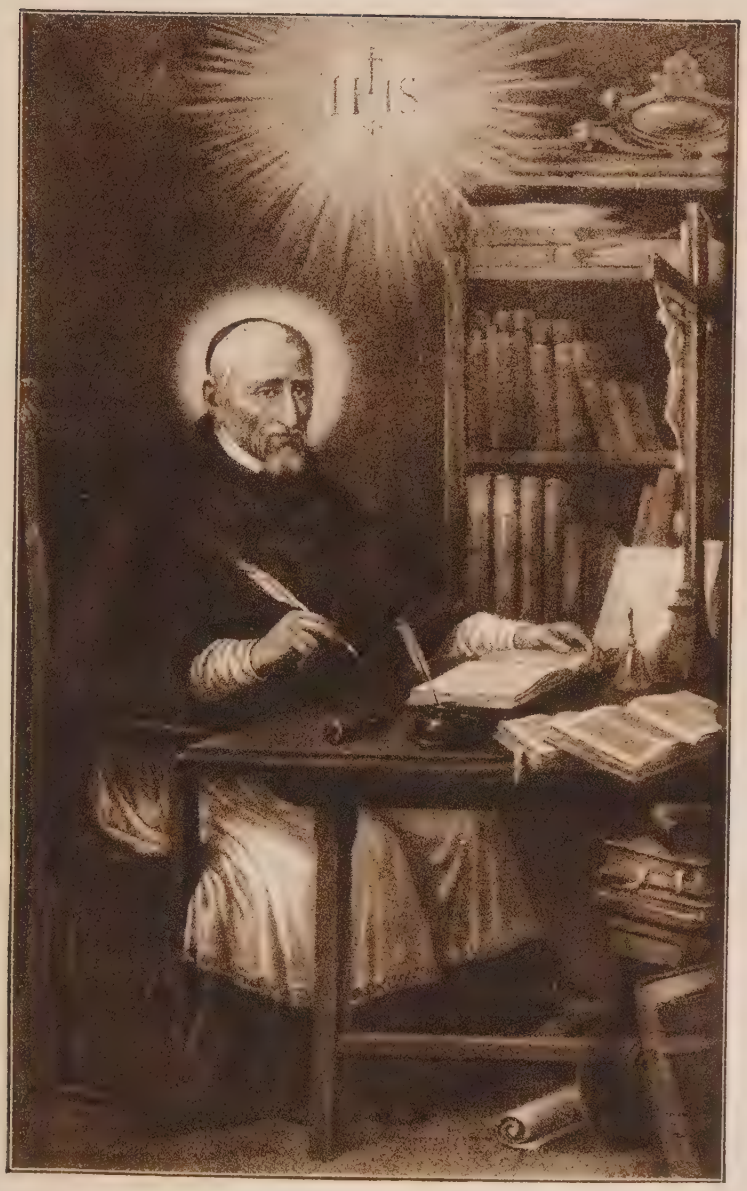
The next notes in the series, which were written immediately before the second conclave, show that the diplomatists were puzzled what to think about Blessed Robert:

Bellarmine of Montepulciano, a Jesuit, is a learned man and a good Christian, for which reason many desire to see him promoted. . . . The chief obstacle to his candidature is that he belongs to the Society of Jesus, and has given his attention to study rather than to affairs of government. His great goodness (*su gran bondad*), his learning, and his virtue render him worthy of the tiara, but his rectitude and candour are such that he would not hesitate to oppose any Prince whatever, if he considered that the good of the Church required him to do so. . . .

The Cardinals who were working in the interest of Spain also sent reports and advice to his Catholic Majesty. 'Bellarmine,' wrote Cardinal Borgia, 'deserves to be elected for his goodness, but his great rectitude and integrity of character are against him.' 'The only real obstacle to his promotion,' added Cardinal Zapata, 'is that he is a Jesuit, and might show too much favour to his Order.' When King Philip had read and carefully considered these various letters and dispatches, he came to the conclusion that it would be better not to give the Jesuit Cardinal any Spanish assistance. Taking his pen, he scrawled in huge characters on the margin of one document: *Bellarmino, que se le deje correr su suerte*—let Bellarmine be left to his fate![2] His Majesty's ministers explained in detail what the Spanish workers in Rome were to understand by leaving Blessed Robert to his fate:

[1] The Spanish text of this and the following extracts is given in Couderc's *Le Vénérable Cardinal Bellarmin*, t. II, pp. 18–32, notes. Couderc copied the documents in the Simancas Archives.

[2] Couderc, *l.c.*, t. II, p. 21.



PORTRAIT OF BLESSED ROBERT BELLARMINE AT
HEYTHROP COLLEGE, OXFORDSHIRE.

If the conclave shows an inclination to declare for him, he is not to be opposed, because he is regarded as a very learned and virtuous man. His virtue and learning, however, would raise doubts and apprehensions about him in the minds of Princes, as he professes to act in accordance with his convictions. His being a Jesuit would not do any more harm than if he were a member of some other religious order, except in so much as it is the way of Jesuits to be dependent on their Society. . . .

So far, then, as Spain was concerned Blessed Robert was to be neither helped nor hindered. In a list of likely candidates, which was transmitted to Philip III at this time, four Cardinals were described as being for Spain, five for France, three for Venice, and three for no country in particular. To these was added a mysterious fifth class, under the rubric *per la conscienza*, and in it were the names of Bellarmine and Baronius.[1] The holy old Oratorian devoted all his energies to obtaining the return of his Jesuit friend, and in the early stages of the second conclave it looked as if his efforts were going to be crowned with success. 'On May 11, Bellarmine was all the cry,' wrote one of the officials at the Spanish Embassy. *Parum abfuit quin fieret Papa* was his own account of the danger which he had run—he was within an ace of being made Pope.[2]

As soon as he became aware of the activities of his Oratorian friend, he went and implored him most earnestly to desist. 'If picking up a straw from the ground would make me Pope,' he said, 'the straw would remain where it was.'[3] Cardinal Dietrichstein visited him in his cell at the time when the prospects of his election seemed brightest.

> As I found him absolutely tranquil and without the least anxiety [this man declared], I gently informed him that there was a strong rumour in the conclave of his forthcoming election. 'God forbid!' he cried out at once, 'since my only desire is to resign the dignity which I already hold.'[4]

The persistent efforts of Baronius and the strength of his party frightened the forces hostile to Bellarmine into strenuous activity. It has to be remembered that the controversy on efficacious grace was as yet undecided, and many men thought, naturally enough, that the promotion of a Jesuit at such

[1] Couderc, *Le Vénérable Cardinal Bellarmin*, t. II, p. 23.
[2] *Autobiography*, n. xxxix.
[3] *Summarium*, n. 29, p. 103.
[4] Letter of Dietrichstein, given in an appendix to Fuligatti's *Vita*, p. 383.

a time would be highly inopportune. Aldobrandini, the nephew of the Pope who had removed Blessed Robert from Rome because of his attitude in the controversy, could not have been expected to help the quondam scapegoat into his uncle's place. Other Cardinals, such as Davila, the Protector of Spain, and the two religious, Ascoli and Monopoli, had their private reasons for wanting to keep out a Jesuit,[1] but the reason urged in public was nearly always the same, the still active controversy on grace. 'If this question *de Auxiliis* was decided,' said Davila, 'I would declare myself Bellarmine's humble servant, but until it is decided I want to hear nothing more about him.'[2]

From the documents at Simancas it would appear that the ringleader of the opposition was Monopoli:

> He opposed Bellarmine's candidature with great determination, saying that while the controversy *de Auxiliis* still raged it was not the time to place a Jesuit on the Papal throne, and that at no time should a man be elected whose printed opinions Pope Sixtus had desired to put on the Index.

3. Such plausible and skilfully urged arguments as these undoubtedly prejudiced Bellarmine's chances, but it was his own 'masterly inactivity' that was mainly responsible for his exclusion. Aldobrandini was against him, indeed, but though that Cardinal was the outstanding figure in the conclave he did not wield as much influence as Baronius. Had Bellarmine only seconded the Oratorian's endeavours on his behalf, the Church to-day might very well have had another *Beato* in the list of her Popes—the last to be so styled. How little he did second them may be gathered from an enormous letter published in the *Ambassades* of Cardinal du Perron.[3] It was addressed to Henry IV by some French official in Rome, and describes in detail all the complicated moves that led up to the election of Pope Leo XI. Every Cardinal of any importance in the Sacred College is mentioned in it, with one exception. There is not a syllable about Bellarmine.

Similarly, from another letter in which Cardinal de Joyeuse relates for his Sovereign's benefit what happened during the

[1] Davila had long been an open enemy of the Society and Ascoli was a Dominican.

[2] Dispatch of the Duke of Escalona to Philip III. Couderc, *Le Vénérable Cardinal Bellarmin*, t, II, pp. 35–36. Other documents show that the King did not at all approve of Davila's hostile manœuvres.

[3] *Les Ambassades et Negotiations de l'Illusstrissime et Reverendissime Cardinal du Perron*, Paris 1633, pp. 578–638.

second conclave, one might almost get the impression that Blessed Robert was not present at all. There is only a solitary reference to him, but the context in which it occurs is so interesting that we venture to give it in full :

On May 16, Sire, Cardinal Aldobrandini informed us that . . . he was resolved to try that day to bring about the election of Cardinal Tosco, and desired to know whether we would be content. I told him that I would speak to the French Cardinals, and let him have an answer in due course.

We then assembled, but after having thoroughly discussed the question we found it very difficult to come to a decision, because the said Cardinal did not enjoy a good reputation, had not led a very exemplary life, and was prone to anger and the use of unbecoming expressions (*des paroles peu honnestes*). . . . Nevertheless, seeing that there was little hope of electing a candidate more to our liking, and moved by the fear that one of those excluded by your Majesty might be thrust upon us, and also by the desire to please Cardinal Aldobrandini, we at last agreed to the election, as we considered that Cardinal Tosco would be likely to prove very favourable to the interests of your Majesty. . . .

Cardinal Aldobrandini then assembled his adherents and made known our resolution to them. We French Cardinals kept apart, but not more than four or five yards, as we wished to show that we were in agreement with them. Then we all went together to the cell of Cardinal Montalto, and Aldobrandini entered it to beg and conjure him to give his support. . . . He greatly abhorred and feared Tosco, but he could not do anything against him, as he had not enough followers. . . . While the crowd, the noise, and the tumult increased more and more in the narrow place where we were standing, Aldobrandini and Montalto came out hand in hand, and set off for the chapel where the election was to take place. We Frenchmen followed, but we took care not to hurry nor to have any big part in this election.

Suddenly there appears upon the scene the great Baronius,[1] for great, I think, he may be called in this conclave. He had never ceased to protest to Aldobrandini that if Tosco was chosen, he would be the last man to do him the usual reverence. This he repeated now, in a loud voice, before that confused gathering, and he said that he wanted his words to be known to posterity, using a line of the Psalmist, *Scribantur haec in generatione altera*. The man whom we were going to elect, he continued, was unworthy of the office, and his succession would do the Church serious harm. He himself did not wish to create dissensions by his opposition, but he would be the last who came to perform his adoration. Here, then,

[1] Another letter in the *Ambassades* informs us that Bellarmine was by his side. See next note.

we saw ardent zeal for the honour of God, and the very rare example of one Cardinal daring to speak so freely when all the others were united and on the point of performing the act of adoration.[1]

On hearing the words of Baronius, Montalto turned towards Aldobrandino saying: Let us make Pope this holy man who speaks with so much zeal. Immediately Cardinal Justiniano began to cry out 'Baronio!' and the cry was taken up by some others. Then began opposition shouts of 'Tosco!' and, while the names resounded throughout the whole conclave, several Cardinals became violent, some struggling for Baronius and some for Tosco, their attendants meantime, with an access of boldness, seizing rival Cardinals by their rochets or arms and endeavouring to drag them to one side or the other.

In this noise and confusion, which increased every minute, we moved towards a large room where the Popes usually receive ambassadors. At each end of this room there is a chapel, one called the Pauline, and the other, where the Pope transacts ordinary business with the Cardinals, the Sixtine. I went towards the Pauline Chapel because the adoration takes place there, and also because I saw that Baronius was being carried towards it. He resisted with all his might, clasping hold of the pillars with his feet and hands, clinging to the door and crying out: I do not want to be Pope! I do not want to be Pope! Choose a Pope worthy of the Chair of St. Peter!

Cardinal Aldobrandini and the Spaniards were taken aback by this sudden acclamation of Baronius and, instead of coming into the Chapel of the elections, led Cardinal Tosco into the other. Some of them used violence to drag thither those who did not wish to go, or to keep inside the Chapel others who had been carried there by the crowd, against their wills. We remained in the Pauline Chapel for about half an hour, so stupefied that we neither knew why we were there nor what we were doing. Then, when we had recovered a little, some began to say that we were sufficient in numbers to secure the exclusion of Tosco. I told them that they were greatly mistaken and that, on the contrary, the purpose of our presence there was to make Tosco Pope.

I and other French Cardinals then wished to leave the Chapel, but our associates begged and implored us not to stir. I was determined to go, however, but when I tried forcibly to open the door, two or three Cardinals flung themselves upon me, weeping the while, and prevented me with great violence from passing out. On this, I gave up my efforts, and contented myself with making a large Sign of the Cross several times, in order to show them the astonishment and admiration their extraordinary behaviour had caused me.

[1] Except Bellarmine, Borromeo, Pamphilio, and Bianchetti. Cardinal du Perron to Henry IV, 18 May 1605. *Ambassades*, p. 650.

We then sat down, with cold feelings towards one another, and, at the end of another half hour, Cardinal Aldobrandini came in, greatly excited, complaining to Montalto that several Cardinals were being kept there against their wills. Montalto, in his turn, upbraided Aldobrandini for doing the same thing in the other Chapel. They had hot words between them and the choler of each rose exceedingly. On this, Aldobrandini said that no Pope ought to be elected in the midst of such confusion. He would be content, he continued, if the two parties would bind themselves by mutual promises not to take any further action until the following day, after the scrutiny. All were willing to do this, but, as the parties could not bring themselves to trust each other, Cardinal Sauli proposed that they should both make the promise to Cardinal de Joyeuse, because he was born a gentleman. They agreed, and all gave me their hands.

Cardinal du Perron then said, inspired as I believe by God, that as far as we Frenchmen were concerned we would keep our word and would declare ourselves against anyone who should attempt to break the pact, even were such an attempt made in favour of Cardinal Baronius. At mention of the name, Cardinal Aldobrandini turned towards Baronius, demanding whether he was content with the agreement. This good Cardinal would not listen, but began to protest to him that his only desire was to have a good man proposed, of whom there were many among his followers. Pointing out Bellarmine to him, he said that he was ready to throw himself at that Cardinal's feet. . . .[1]

4. This long extract, if it served no other purpose, would at least explain to some extent why Blessed Robert kept in the background during the negotiations.[2] In later life, he told Father Giovanni Persino, whose manuscript *Memorie* were quoted in a previous chapter, that, during the short time when his name was prominently before the conclave, he had felt as if the Vatican was reeling in an earthquake and was about to split asunder and crush him beneath its ruins. To a man haunted in his humility by such visions of terror, the relief must have been great when on the night of May 16, after a critical struggle, Cardinal Borghese was acclaimed the Supreme Pastor of the Church. Indeed, the acclamation and subsequent formal election brought not only relief but real joy, for Bellarmine had known this new Pope, Paul V, very

[1] *Ambassades*, etc., pp. 655–660.

[2] 'Ayant apprins de Messieurs les Cardinaux de Joyeuse et du Perron les particularitez de ce dernier Conclave, il faut advoüer que c'est le S. Esprit qui fait les Papes.' The French Ambassador at Venice to M. de Villeroy, 2 June 1605. *Lettres et Ambassades de Messire Philippe Canaye, Seigneur de Fresne*, Paris, 1635, t. II, p. 607.

well, and was aware of his fine qualities. Moreover, he was only fifty-three years of age and his robust health—he stood like Saul head and shoulders above his fellows—gave promise of a long and fruitful Pontificate. However, there was a prophecy afloat that he would be dead by September. Aragazzi, one of Bellarmine's chaplains in the conclave, mentioned the story to him. 'Do not believe it,' said the Cardinal, 'for he will live a long life.' 'How long?' asked the chaplain. 'Ten years?' 'Oh, a great deal longer,' answered Blessed Robert, and then added, 'Sixteen years, he will reign sixteen years.'[1] He did.

While the conclave was still in being, the Cardinal received a letter from a Polish bishop, who was a great friend of the Jesuits, wishing him all luck in the ballot. His answer, dispatched after the election of Pope Paul, was as follows:

Most Illustrious and very Reverend Lord,

Your belief or wish that I should be made Pope, I put down entirely to your kindness. A friend easily believes that what he desires for his friend will come to pass. But, I assure you, I not only never ambitioned so exalted a throne, but have always dreaded it and prayed God with my whole heart that, as He is thoroughly acquainted with my weakness, He would never permit me to mount such a perilous height. So if you love me, you should congratulate me and thank God for me. If there is anything I can do for you while I am in Rome, which will be during the whole summer, command me freely, and continue to love me as of old.

Rome, 15 June 1605.[2]

Father Carminata was, of course, bound to receive a letter at such a period of trouble and alarm:

Rome, 21 *July* 1605.

My very Reverend Father,

You are the only one who understands. Everybody has been condoling with me, but your congratulations have hit the mark, as they are in exact accordance with my frame of mind. A sign of this is that I left the conclave a more cheerful man than when I entered it.

At the present moment I am in a great state of doubt about another matter on which I need your prayers that I may know clearly what is God's holy will. Our Fathers counsel me to resign the See of Capua and to remain in Rome, but other good friends

[1] Aragazzi's evidence, *Summarium*, n. 25, p. 58. Paul V died in 1621.

[2] *Epistolae familiares*, pp. 93–94. This Bishop of Lemberg, whose name was Prochnicki, was an old pupil of Blessed Robert, in the Roman College days. Those pupils all remained his devoted friends throughout life.

of mine advise the opposite. Personally, I am more inclined to return, as it seems to me that I would have greater opportunities of exercising there such little talents as God has given me, and of exercising them with greater peace of mind. Nevertheless, my purpose is to do whatever is most pleasing to God, if I can find out what it is. The Pope shows himself a friend of our Society and a man of good desires. So far, too, he listens willingly to what I, with my usual presumption, suggest to him. Do not grow weary of praying to God for me until both of us escape from this dangerous sea of life, and until God calls you to the reward of your great and fruitful labours.

Three weeks later, the same privileged friend had another letter from the Cardinal:

. . . As you know, I have at various times consulted with Father General and others of the Society, and with several holy persons, as to whether I should not return to Capua, a course which seemed to promise greater quiet for myself, more profit to souls, and a better example to my neighbour. But one day, when I was with the Pope and had told him that I was resolved, as soon as the weather grew cooler, to return and reside in Capua, his Holiness made this formal statement to me: 'We desire above all things that you remain in Rome because we require you at our side.'

On hearing this I replied: 'Holy Father, I am bound to pay obedience to your every sign, but yet I beg you to consider that residence in my See is still more necessary. There are numbers of Cardinals in Rome, and if some were to go away the Court would not suffer, but in Capua there is only one Archbishop, and if he does not reside his diocese will suffer greatly. If, then, your Holiness is determined that I shall stay in Rome, you must look after my Church.' When I had finished, the Pope answered, 'I repeat that I want you above all things to stay in Rome, for though there are numbers of Cardinals, there are few like yourself, so it will be well for you to think about renouncing your See.'

I then told him that I would think about it. Afterwards I proposed to him some names, and several days later, when the question had been thoroughly considered, it was resolved to give the Bishopric of Capua to Monsignor Antonio Gaetano, a man of sufficient learning, of virtuous life and quiet disposition, of noble birth, and one who was on good terms with the officers of the Crown. So you see that God, who by His Vicar gave me the charge, has now by His Vicar taken it away from me, and the whole time I have been in Rome I have prayed God for one thing only, and that was to know His holy will, as my sole desire is to fulfil it. . . .

Do you pray to God for me, Father, that I may always go straight forward and not mind anything but what is to His glory. . . . I

have a good piece of news to tell you, if you do not know it already. It is that the Grand Duke of Moscow is now a Catholic. Two of the Fathers of the Society are with him, so a great gate is open for the conquest of all that immense Empire.

5. As Blessed Robert had no fortune of his own, the Pope proposed that he should retain the revenues of Capua and pay his successor, who was sufficiently well provided, an annual pension of a thousand scudi. Bellarmine's immediate answer was that it would be a strange thing for a man to divorce his wife and yet keep her dowry. Paul, however, was determined that, as he was the cause of the Archbishop's resignation, the Archbishop should not suffer through his ready obedience to his wishes. In a Brief of September 1, whose enormous length belied its name, he arranged that Gaetano should pay him a pension of about two thousand scudi a year, to be derived from various benefices in the archdiocese.[1] A short time later, the Cardinal, who apparently thought that he was being too well looked after, went to the Pope and forced him to take back part of the endowments. Vignanesi, who with Guidotti managed Bellarmine's temporal affairs, was present at the interview and relates what happened :

> Every other Cardinal at his first audience [said the Pope] has asked me for something ; you only ask to give away what you already possess. Holy Father [answered Blessed Robert], I was born a poor gentleman, I have been brought up and have lived as a poor religious, and now I am quite content to spend and end my days as a poor Cardinal. I have quite as much as I want, nor shall I ever trouble your Holiness by asking for anything for myself.[2]

His revenues came to him, or rather were supposed to come, from several unexpected quarters. By an arrangement of Clement VIII, the Bishops of Strongoli and Gubbio were each to pay him two hundred and the Bishop of Pienza five hundred scudi a year. As the former Prelates were poor men like himself, he refused ever to touch a penny of their money. With his Lordship of Pienza it was different. That good gentleman, whose name was Dragomanni, complained loudly that he should have to pay five hundred scudi out of his scanty means, but, all the while, he was rigidly exacting two hundred scudi from the very poor Bishop of Montepeloso, a See which

[1] The brief is printed in the *Summarium additionale*, pp. 100–102.
[2] Vignanesi's evidence, *Summarium*, n. 7. p. 7.

he had previously governed. Bellarmine knew this, and told him that he would have pleasure in remitting the five hundred when he learned that he, in his turn, had cancelled his claim to the two hundred. The pleasure was his very soon ![1]

Among the many people in Capua who were sorely troubled at the prospect of losing their Archbishop were the nuns of San Giovanni, for they had loved him dearly, lectures and all. To these ladies he wrote an affectionate farewell on August 30 :

Dear Reverend Mother and Sisters,

You ought not to grieve at my resignation, because your new Bishop is so holy that he will be able to make up for my shortcomings, and also because, in place of one father, you will now have two who will compete with one another in doing you any service that lies in their power. I, for my part, offer you my help whenever you need it, for, though I left Capua at the Pope's command to be at his service and disposal at all hours, I have not lost my affection for the people of Capua nor my interest in them. You, in particular, are dear to me, and you will find that this is so whenever you need my assistance. Remember to pray for me, and also for your new pastor that the Lord may give him grace faithfully to serve His divine Majesty and the souls in his keeping. If you stand in need of anything in which I can help, I offer myself to all of you and to each individually. With this I send you a thousand blessings, begging for you from God all grace and happiness.

Your father and brother, Cardinal Bellarmine.[2]

One hope expressed in this warm-hearted letter was not destined to be fulfilled. Archbishop Gaetano scarcely ever resided in his diocese, his whole time being occupied in nunciatures at the different Catholic Courts. This was a life-long sorrow to Bellarmine, and years after, on 10 April 1618, he wrote expressing it to the absentee, who was then at Madrid :

Forgive me if I make known to you the grief I feel at seeing a Church so dear to me separated for so many years from its Pastor. Never seeing him, it is unable to follow his lead, never hearing him, it cannot obey his voice, though Our Lord says of the good shepherd, *ante eas vadit et oves eum sequuntur et audiunt vocem ejus*. When you were in Bohemia as Nuncio to the Emperor, I often begged the Pope to recall you and to restore you to your Spouse, and I used to remind him that a husband when separated from his

[1] Bartoli, quoting the Roman process, *Vita*, p. 389.
[2] *Summarium additionale*, p. 68.

wife can neither have any more children nor bring up properly those God has already given him.[1]

To Blessed Robert it was compensation for many sorrows that so good a Pope as Paul V had the Church's destinies in his hands. We know the high standards of probity and prudence which he demanded in one to whom that tremendous commission might fittingly be entrusted. Yet, even judged by these, he was able to apply to the new Pope the words of the *Iste Confessor*, in the version then current:

> Qui pius, prudens, humilis, pudicus,
> Sobrius, castus fuit, et quietus.[2]

One significant explanation of his enthusiasm about Paul is provided in the opening lines of a letter from Cardinal du Perron to Monsieur de Villeroy, the French Secretary of State, dated 17 May 1606:

> Monsieur,
>
> During the past few days the Pope has made his will known that all cardinals who are in possession of bishoprics must either reside in their dioceses or provide coadjutors, failing which they are called upon to resign. As all show themselves disposed to obey the Holy Father's wishes, I thought that this was a suitable occasion to beg you to obtain permission for me from the King to resign or exchange my Bishopric of Evreux. . . .[3]

6. Not all the acts of Pope Paul, however, were as pleasing to Bellarmine and as thoroughly in accord with the words of the *Iste Confessor*, as the one detailed in the letter of du Perron. Canon law had always been the new Pope's favourite study, and lawyer-like he was inclined to insist somewhat rigidly on the observance of all that was to be found in the code. The question of ecclesiastical immunities, and particularly of the *privilegium fori* by which clerics, even in civil or criminal cases, were exempted from the jurisdiction of the secular courts, was a dangerous one to air in that age of transition, when the secular state, Catholic to the core though it might be, was beginning to feel its power and to be impatient of all outside interference.

Pope Paul brought this thorny question to the front without the slightest misgiving, before he had been a year on the throne.

[1] Letter published in Bartoli's *Vita*, p. 481.

[2] This was in a letter of 8 September 1605 to Father Haller, Rector of the Jesuit College at Constance. *Epistolae familiares*, p. 96.

[3] *Les Ambassades*, etc., p. 885.

His predecessor, Clement, who was more of a statesman, had again and again turned a blind eye on the uncanonical behaviour of civil rulers. During his reign, the president of the Council at Naples had condemned an ecclesiastical notary to the galleys for refusing information about a certain marriage affair. That was a flagrant contravention of a cleric's recognized right to be judged 'by his own order', but though Clement addressed a strong remonstrance to the high-handed official, and even threatened him with excommunication if before a specified date the wrong done had not been righted, du Perron informs us that when the time expired, 'le Pape . . . comme il alloit fort retenu en toutes choses, laissoit couler les affaires en longueur pour voir ce que le temps apporteroit.' [1]

Still more judicious and patient had been his dealings with the haughty Republic of Venice. As the Papal fief of Ferrara abutted on the territory of the Republic, there were continual disputes about boundaries and other matters. The Venetian senators had decided, as a measure of national defence, to deflect the course of the river Po by means of a great canal, and had entered into an agreement with the Ferrarese authorities, whose interests were closely involved. In 1602, they violated the terms that had been accepted, and naturally received a remonstrance from the Papal Nuncio. Their answer to it was to send troops and galleys up the river, whereupon the Cardinal of St. Clement strongly advised the Pope to mobilize his own forces and teach the provocative signors that they could not defy him with impunity. The reply given to the Cardinal is recorded by Canaye, the French ambassador in Venice: 'Il luy a esté respondu, que sa Saincteté ayant jusqu'icy esté autheur de paix à la Chrestienté, il ne veut pas marquer la fin de son Pontificat d'un commencement de trouble, et que son intention est, que le tout s'accomode doucement.' [2]

At this time, too, the Venetian Senate passed a law forbidding any subjects of the State to give more than a thousand ducats to the convents in which their daughters might become nuns. Pope Clement replied by forbidding all the orders for women on Venetian territory to receive novices until the law was revoked, but at the same time he bade his Nuncio inform the government that, if they would leave the matter in his hands, he would issue instructions of exactly the same import as their law. Considering that Venice had been the very first

[1] *Ambassades*, p. 684.
[2] *Lettres et Ambassades de Messire Philippe Canaye*, t. 1, p. 442.

State to accept the decrees of the Council of Trent, in which the Pope's jurisdiction over all matters affecting clergy and religious was so strongly and clearly affirmed, the conduct of Clement VIII must surely be reckoned moderate and forbearing in a very remarkable degree. The French ambassador, whose feelings towards the Republic were altogether friendly, even felt that the senators were trading on the good-will of the Pope. Writing to M. de Bethune, 12 October 1602, he says :

' Monsieur, Je voy par la vostre du 5 Octobre que vous connoissez fort bien l'humeur Venitienne, qui est de cacher leurs affaires le plus qu'ils peuvent ; mais quelque semblant que fasse l'Ambassadeur de ne sçavior rien des hargnes dont je vous ay escrit, si vous puis-je-asseurer qu'elles sont grandes, et telles que sous un Pape plus brusque, elles pourroient produire d'estranges effects ; mais l'intention de sa Saincteté estant de nourrir la paix entre les Chrestiens, ces Seigneurs icy sçauront prudemment ménager sa bonté à leur commodité.' [1]

7. The ' Pape plus brusque ' of this prophetic letter was on the throne in 1605, in the person of Paul V. One of the first of his public acts was to excommunicate the recalcitrant minister at Naples, a move, du Perron informs us with much satisfaction, that made the Spaniards ' extrémement irritez et estonnez'. Spain put in its place, the Pope turned his attention to Venice. Things there had been going steadily from bad to worse. One after another, the traditional privileges and exemptions of the clergy had been violated or entirely abolished. Indeed, anti-clericalism had become a fixed habit of the proud aristocracy of wealth who ruled the State, for in their campaign against the immunities which their forefathers had accepted and embodied in the law, they showed not the slightest disposition to meet the ecclesiastical authorities half-way. The decrees of Trent were regarded as mere ' scraps of paper ', and clergy and church property were treated as it suited the State to treat them, without any respect being paid to rights that were, at least, deeply rooted in history.

For the better part of a year, Pope Paul contented himself with remonstrances and paternal admonitions. Several avenues to peace or compromise were explored, but the Republic, confident of its strength, refused to make a single concession. During all this time, the man who nerved the Senate to resist and defy the demands and threats of Rome was Paolo Sarpi, the clever, scheming, enigmatic Servite

[1] *Lettres et Ambassades*, t. I, p. 449.

friar, celebrated in England for his ' History of the Council of Trent '. He had been the procurator of his Order in Rome while Bellarmine was delivering his controversial lectures there. The two men had often met, and the Jesuit appears to have been attracted by the brilliantly gifted Servant of Mary.[1] At the time, nothing indicated that they would one day be brought face to face in a duel that should have all Europe as onlookers. Sarpi longed to be made a bishop, but he was too erratic mentally and too much of a *vagabundus* as a religious, to please the ecclesiastical authorities. His repeated failures to obtain the coveted mitre, notwithstanding the warm testimonials of his country's government, rankled and bred in his none too humble heart a bitter antipathy to the Holy See. The troubles of 1605 and 1606 gave him his opportunity for revenge.

On January 14 of the latter year, Fra Paolo presented a long memorial to the Venetian senators, detailing a host of canonical and theological reasons why resistance was not only lawful but a duty. This document was read aloud in the Senate amidst great applause, one matter among others in it that drew a cheer from the grave and reverend signors being the following bit of imaginative history :

> Cardinal Bellarmine says that the question is still undecided whether the Pope is superior to a General Council or a General Council is superior to the Pope. As to the Bull of Leo X [asserting the former of these propositions], he says that the Council in which it was published is not held to have been a general one. And he concludes that, according to those competent to decide the question, the Pope is not superior to a General Council.[2]

The quarrel between Venice and the Pope is only a chapter in the long, troubled history of the relations between Church

[1] Bellarmine's friendly feeling towards Sarpi was alleged as an argument against his beatification, in 1713. The *Promotor Fidei* who used it was no less a person than Prosper Lambertini, later the great Pope Benedict XIV. The answer of the Cardinal's defenders was to remind the court of St. Augustine's kindly dealings with Pelagius, and of the friendly visits of St. Francis de Sales to Theodore Beza.

[2] Copied and translated from the original in the Venetian State archives, by Miss A. G. Campbell : *Life of Fra Paolo Sarpi*, London, 1869, p. 103. Miss Campbell's book is valuable only for the few fresh documents it brought to light. Otherwise it is a ridiculous, clumsily-written piece of ultra-Protestant propaganda. Sarpi called public attention to his great respect and reverence for Bellarmine in his *Apologia per l'opposizioni fatte dall' Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Signor Cardinale Bellarmino*, ecc. Cf. *Opere del P.M.F. Sarpi, Teologo Consultore della Serenissima Republica di Venezia* (in Helmstat, presso a Jacobo Mulleri), t. I, p. 158.

and State. Men being made as they are, churchmen and statesmen alike, conflicts between the two powers were well-nigh inevitable. In the particular case before us, it might be said with some justice that there were faults or errors of judgment on both sides. The Venetian Senate was undoubtedly a haughty,[1] worldly-wise, money-loving oligarchy, adept at giving fair names to nasty realities and knowing well how to play the bully under the mask of injured innocence. Whatever justification they may have been able to plead for their anti-clerical policy, their methods of carrying it out were extremely provocative. The Pope, on the other hand, seems to have been wanting in the diplomatic caution and shrewdness of his predecessor, Clement VIII. The world had moved on since the time of Innocent III, and measures salutary and effective when the Holy Roman Empire was a reality would hardly prove opportune in the secularist atmosphere of Post-Reformation Europe.

Yet it was to such measures that Paul proceeded. In a consistory held during the middle of April 1606, he informed the cardinals that it was his intention to issue a Bull of excommunication against the Doge and Senate of Venice, and to lay the whole country under an interdict if, after due time for consideration, the government refused to abrogate its obnoxious laws and to hand over to the ecclesiastical courts two priests who had been thrown into the State prisons.[2] The day after the consistory, du Perron, who had diplomatically absented himself on the plea of illness, wrote to tell Henry IV that, with the exception of the two Venetian cardinals, the Sacred College had unanimously approved the Holy Father's design.[3]

[1] ' The Gentlemen of Venice arrogate to themselves a preheminence (*sic*) above all Gentlemen of Italy, with the singular title of *Clarissimi*.' Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*, Part III, p. 114.

[2] The crimes of those priests are described in nauseous detail by many writers, obviously with a view to showing the justice of the Venetian cause. Ranke (*History of the Popes*, VI, 13), and all the rest, however, simply borrow the story from Contarini or de Thou, the first a school-fellow and comrade of Fra Paolo, the second a Gallican and one of Fra Paolo's greatest admirers and friends. De Thou endeavours to create the impression that he is being scrupulously fair, but his account from beginning to end is little else than a cleverly disguised justification of the senatorial policy. *Jac. Augusti Thuani Historiarum sui temporis*, tomus sextus, lib. CXXXVII, pp. 382–409, Ed. London, 1733. De Thou gives no references. Pierre de l'Estoile, who, like de Thou, was alive at the time, and shared that historian's cold feelings towards the Holy See, speaks of the offences of the two priests as merely ' quelques crimes desquels le Senat de Venise prétendoit avoir la connoissance.' *Mémoires Journaux, Supplément*, déc. 1605.

[3] *Ambassades*, p. 864.

This does not seem to be quite accurate, for a year later, when peace had been restored, and the Venetian ambassador, Contarini, had been welcomed back to Rome with every mark of honour, he wrote informing his government that though the cardinals were still reluctant to admit that they might have been a little hasty or injudicious, there was one exception:

Bellarmine was the only one of the number who appeared anxious to apologize. He showed marvellous courtesy to me and said that he wished to confide two things to me for his own satisfaction. The first of these was that he understood it had been divulged that he had counselled the Pope to publish the Monitory against the Republic. This report, he said, was not true, for though the Pope is wont to consult him in cases of conscience or religion, he had never spoken to him on this subject, nor did he know anything thereof until his Holiness gave account of his resolve in the consistory. . . . Had the decision been communicated to him, his opinion would indubitably have differed from that which was adopted. . . .[1]

8. At the beginning of May 1606, just a day before the expiry of the three weeks and three days allowed by the Pope in his Bull, the streets and public buildings of Venice were placarded with the following notice:

Leonardo Donato, by the grace of God Doge of Venice, to the most Reverend Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops of our Seigniory of Venice, and to all Vicars, Priors, Rectors, parochial Ministers, and other ecclesiastical Persons, greeting.

It having come to our knowledge that by order of the most Holy Father, Pope Paul V, a certain Brief was published and posted in Rome, on April 17 last, fulminated against us, our Senate, and Seigniory, and addressed to you in formal terms; . . . and seeing that the said Brief has been published against all reason, and in opposition to the teaching of Scripture and the holy Fathers; that it prejudices the liberty of our Senate and the sovereign authority given to it by God; that it troubles the peaceable dominion which God has given us over the property, the honour, and the lives of our subjects; and that it causes great scandal to the whole world;

We do not hesitate to declare that the said Brief is not only unjust and unfair, but that it is null and void and of no effect whatever; that it is entirely without grounds in law; and that it has been fulminated in defiance of all right and of the common legal formalities. . . .

Such, we are certain, it will be considered by you, by our other

[1] Rome, 9 June 1607. From the original in the Rawdon Brown Collection, Venice. Campbell, *Life of Fra Paolo Sarpi*, pp. 136–137.

subjects, and by the whole world. Accordingly, we feel assured that you will go on as heretofore with your pastoral duties, and with the divine services, which, by our care and diligence, flourish in this our Seigniory as nowhere else in the world.

It is our firm resolution always to live, like our predecessors from the foundation of this City, in the holy and apostolic Catholic Faith, under the guidance of the Holy Roman See, . . . which we pray God our Lord to inspire with knowledge of the nullity of the Brief, of all its other acts against us, and of the justice of our cause. . . . Given at our Ducal Palace, 6 May 1606.[1]

The studied moderation and pious tone of this interesting document were intended to catch the sympathy of the watching world. The Doge and Senators knew very well that France would not move against them, for Venice had been the first Catholic State in Europe to acknowledge the rights of Henry of Navarre, who was then on the French throne. England was only too anxious to help them and Spain did not feel too enthusiastic about the new Pope. Consequently, they were in a very strong position and proceeded to take full advantage of it. All priests and religious who, in accordance with the terms of the interdict, refused to say Mass or administer the Sacraments, were invited to take the road to exile. Only the Jesuits, Capuchins, and Theatines were brave enough to stand up to the omnipotent Council of Ten. Galileo, the astronomer, was in Venice at the time, probably on a visit to his friend Fra Paolo. On 11 May 1606, that is the very day the interdict came into force, he wrote as follows to his brother Michael-angelo :

At two o'clock last night, the Jesuit Fathers were placed on board two ships to be transported beyond the confines of the State. They walked to the ships, each with a crucifix hanging round his neck, and a lighted candle in his hand. Yesterday, after dinner, they were locked up in their house, and two policemen were put on guard at the door to prevent anybody from entering or leaving the convent. I believe that they are also to be expelled from Padua and the rest of the Venetian dominions, to the great regret and sorrow of many women who are devoted to them.[2]

The ' molte donne loro devote ' of this letter has a touch of Sarpi's sarcasm in it. Fra Paolo hated the Jesuits as he hated nothing else in the world, but many indications justify

[1] De l'Estoile, *Régistres Journaux*, avril 1607, Collection Petitot, t. XLVIII, pp. 47–49.

[2] *Opere Galilei*, Albèri's ed., VI, p. 32.

us in believing that the aim of his work in life was something bigger than the destruction of their Society. In 1611, four years after the withdrawal of the interdict, he wrote that it was essential to ruin the Jesuits, for to ruin them was to ruin Rome, and, Rome destroyed, *religion in Venice would reform itself*.[1] During the interdict, he was in correspondence with several of the most influential heretics of the day. To Count du Plessis-Mornay he wrote: 'Our main object is to prevent the Republic from yielding a tittle of its rights, and to win greater liberty for it. We urge the reading of the Bible, we commend the merits of Christ, we make a laughing-stock of the Pope.'[2] When the Calvinist scholar, Isaac Casaubon, had read a bundle of tracts from the Servite's pen, he wrote to congratulate him, and prophesied gleefully that Venice would soon be another Geneva.[3]

Taking all Fra Paolo's public and private utterances into account, it must be admitted that Bossuet had some reason for describing him as a Calvinist in the garb of a friar. The most that charity could do for his reputation as a religious would be to allow the estimate of his admirer, Le Courayer, to pass: 'Il était Catholique en gros, et quelque fois Protestant en détail.'[4] In other words, he was a hypocrite and dis-

[1] Letter of 5 July 1611, in Fontanini's *Storia Arcana di F. Paolo.*

[2] *Papam in risu ponimus*, Fontanini, *l.c.*, p. 117. More than once in his letters he described the Pope, Luther-like, as 'the harlot'.

[3] *Epistolae*, epp. 477, 480, 484.

[4] *Histoire du Concile de Trente, écrite en Italien par Fra Paolo Sarpi, et traduite en Français, avec des notes critiques*, par P–F. Le Courayer, Docteur en Théologie de l'Université d'Oxford, et Chanoine Régulier de l'Abbaye de Ste. Geneviève, Paris. Amsterdam, 1736, p. lxiv. Fra Paolo's 'History' first saw the light, not in Venice, but in London. His friend, the apostate ex-Jesuit, de Dominis, published it there, in 1619, concealing the author's identity under the anagram *Pietro Soave Polano*. Sarpi was greatly annoyed by the publication, for he had intended the book to appear as a Catholic history addressed to Catholics, and the bungling de Dominis had brought it out under a perfectly Protestant title and with a perfectly Protestant preface. The cat, as the saying is, was out of the bag. The non-Catholic Ranke concludes his long criticism of Fra Paolo's History as follows: 'A spirit of decided opposition pervades the whole work. It is disparaging, condemnatory, and hostile. He sets the first example of a history which accompanies the whole progress of its subject with increasing censure . . .' (*Hist. of the Popes*, Appendix, sect. ii.). Cesare Cantu described it as 'a parody, not a history, of the most celebrated assembly that has ever been' (*Gli Eretici d'Italia*, vol. III, p. 189). On 11 August 1677, Blessed Oliver Plunkett, Archbishop of Armagh, wrote from Dublin to Cardinal Cybo: 'You cannot imagine what injury has been done by that pest of a writer, Soave; all the nobility, gentry, merchants, etc., read his history, and it is the more detrimental as it pretends to be written by a religious of our communion . . .' (Moran's *Memoirs of Archbishop Plunkett*, p. 16).

sembler, one whom the pagan hero in Homer would have hated 'like the gates of hell'. This was the man who was appointed officially in 1606 as theologian and canonist to the Most Serene Republic. He was given rooms at the Doge's palace, and a liberal salary. Each morning, he went to work from the Servite convent in company with his trusty colleague, Fra Fulgenzio, a man whom the Protestant physician Asselineau judged, after hearing him preach, to be 'another Melanchthon or Luther'.[1] The two Servites proved themselves a model pair of civil servants, and gave the Republic excellent value for the ducats it showered upon them. In a short time, they enlisted the services of five other theologians, one being the vicar-general of Venice, and the rest religious of various orders. Then the famous seven, captained by Sarpi, began a great war of pamphlets and small treatises against the Pope and his interdict, the defence on the Catholic side being taken up, at Paul's express command, by Cardinal Bellarmine.

9. The first foe to draw a reply from the Cardinal appears to have been the Neapolitan Franciscan, Giovanni Marsilio, who had sold his services to the Venetian government. His tract was entitled, 'The Reply of a Doctor of Theology to a letter written to him by a reverend friend, concerning the Brief of his Holiness Pope Paul V, published against the Senators of Venice, wherein is shown the Nullity of the said Brief from the Scriptures, the holy Fathers, and other Catholic Doctors.' The first of the eight propositions in this work shows how closely theology and political theory were connected at the time. It runs thus:

> Secular princes, and the Pope himself in so far as he is a secular prince, derive their power, without any exception, immediately from God. It should be noted that dominion and subjection, the right of the ruler to command and the duty of the subject to obey, have been introduced by the *jus gentium* in four ways, namely by election, by heredity, by donation, and by conquest. All princes who either gained their power in the past or possess it at the present day, in any of these ways, are true and legitimate rulers, invested by God with authority to command, to make laws, to exact tribute, to judge and chastise their subjects, without any exception.

[1] Du Plessis-Mornay, *Mémoires*, t. x, p. 292. Fra Fulgenzio was a kind of Boswell to Sarpi, and his life of his hero is the source of most of the laudatory stuff with which we are regaled in anti-Catholic books and articles.

Here we have a theory of the Divine Right of Republics, which Bellarmine criticized in the following careful words:

This first proposition contains two obvious errors, one apparent in the word *immediatamente*, and the other in the phrase, *senza eccezione*. To speak of the latter first, if the words 'without exception' refer to the subjects, the statement is false because secular princes have no power over clerics. In the opinion of all Catholic writers, clerics are exempted, at least *de jure humano*, and we shall show later that they are also exempted *de jure divino*. If the words are to be understood, not of the subjects, but of the power of the prince, then the proposition is heretical because the power of no Christian prince is entirely independent of the power of the Pope. The Pope is the Vicar of Christ, and the universal Pastor and head of all Christians, whether they be princes or private persons. Finally, if the words are meant to apply to affairs and business in general, the proposition is likewise heretical, for spiritual affairs, according to the teaching of all doctors, canonists, and theologians, appertain to the ecclesiastical authorities and in no way come within the jurisdiction of laymen.

Turning now to the other word, 'immediately', we observe that it may be understood in two different ways. First, it may mean that princes, in so far as they are superiors, have immediate authority from God to command their subjects, that is, the duty of obedience is imposed by God immediately. Understood in this way, the proposition is perfectly true and no Catholic ever denied it. . . .

Secondly, the word may mean that secular princes have immediately from God this or that people as their subjects, the Most Christian King, for instance, having the French, His Catholic Majesty having the Spaniards, and the Republic of Venice having the Venetians. . . . This proposition is patently false, and the author himself is obliged to confess as much in his book, for he says that the power of princes may be acquired in any of four ways, by election, heredity, donation, or conquest in a just war, all of which titles are certainly not divine but human. Consequently, if by one of them a man obtains possession of power over this or that people, such power does not come immediately from God. . . . Should someone ask the Most Christian King by what right he holds the throne of France, he would not answer that it was by divine right,[1] but through hereditary succession, and if a similar question were put to the Doge of Venice, he would not reply that his seigniory had come to him straight from God, but rather through the election of the people.

Herein lies the great difference between the ecclesiastical power

[1] Henry IV might not have answered so himself, but plenty of his subjects, both Catholic and Protestant, would at this time have been ready and eager to do it for him. *Vide infra*, p. 240.

of the Pope and the political power of secular princes. The Pope's right to command all Christians is not based only on the general ordinance of God, in virtue of which obedience is due to every legitimate superior, but also on the fact that God has given him immediately all Christians as his subjects; for though the Pope is elected by the cardinals, it is not the cardinals but God who gives him his power. . . . One evident proof of this is that he cannot remove from his jurisdiction any province or city or single person. He cannot be a true Pope without being at the same time the superior of all Christians, and this because the title by which he holds his power is divine.

Kings and secular princes, on the other hand, may lose their subjects entirely or in part. They can even themselves alienate one of their cities or provinces, and place it under the control of another prince in such a way that they shall no longer have any authority over it, this being possible because the title by which they hold their power is human and not divine.

Similarly, no one can diminish or take away from the power of the Supreme Pontiff, not the college of cardinals, nor a General Council, nor the Pope himself, because Papal authority comes immediately from God, and is not subject to the control of any created will. It is the contrary that we see in the case of secular princes, for their power often suffers curtailment, either at the hands of their subjects or at those of greater princes. Sometimes, too, monarchical states transform themselves into free republics, and free republics into monarchical states, all of which is possible only because the power in these cases is not immediately from God but from man. . . .[1]

Marsilio's next argument is based on the Pauline text, *Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit: non est enim potestas nisi a Deo.* Bellarmine, in answer, points out, as he had already done in the *Controversies*, that the Apostle is here speaking of power in general, and not teaching that secular princes are given their particular subjects immediately by God. Clerics are not given to any prince as subjects, but that does not mean that they may ignore the laws of their country.

It is true [the Cardinal continues] that ecclesiastics are obliged to observe all civil laws that are not contrary to the laws of the Church, and that are necessary in their dealings with lay people. . . . For example, if the government fixes the price of corn, clerics are

[1] *Risposta del Cardinale Bellarmino ad una lettera senza nome di autore, sopra il breve di censure dalla Santita Paolo Quinto publicate contro i Signori Veneziani.* This tract is in Fèvre's edition of Bellarmine's works, Paris, 1873, vol. VIII, pp. 33–57.

obliged to buy and sell it at that price. However, should one of them happen to break such a law, he may not be called to account nor punished by a lay judge, for as he is not the subject of the judge, it does not appertain to him but to the man's ecclesiastical superior to cite and sentence him. . . .

It would take too long to follow the controversy in detail. Marsilio was not an opponent to be despised, for he knew his authorities well and made skilful use of them, even quoting Bellarmine himself to help out his case. All the big questions that the Cardinal had already dealt with in his treatise on the Pope are here once again to the fore. The pages bristle with texts from the Scriptures, canon law, and the theologians and jurists of the past. Nor are arguments from history and reason wanting. Thus in one place the Cardinal says :

Ecclesiastical immunities are of divine right, because such is the teaching and prescription of natural reason. Everyone naturally considers that persons and things consecrated to God are under God's immediate control, and that therefore it would not be according to right reason if secular princes were to have complete power over them. In all religions of the past, true as well as false, this law of immunities was respected. In the books of Exodus and Numbers we read that, among the Jews, the priestly class was exempt, and the book of Genesis tells us that in Egypt the same rule prevailed. Aristotle in his treatise on Economics says that the priesthood in ancient Greece enjoyed many immunities, while Caesar in his *de Bello Gallico*, and Plutarch in his life of Camillus, affirm that the other pagan peoples followed the same custom of allowing the sacerdotal caste numerous privileges of exemption. . . .

The historical instances adduced by Blessed Robert in support of his contentions may not always be above criticism, but neither, assuredly, are those of his adversaries, and he undoubtedly had on his side what they had not, namely the logic of a long tradition which, whatever its historical genesis, was the plain doctrine of the Tridentine decrees that had been accepted by the Venetian Senate. In an earlier chapter, it was pointed out that some modern writers had taken it upon themselves to describe Bellarmine as a mere opportunist in his political views. The controversy with Venice shows plainly that the opportunism was rather on the side of those who argued against the Pope. Venice was a Republic, and it was the boast of the citizens that their Doge was simply an elected official like the prime ministers of modern states. In

the struggle of 1606 Sarpi and his friends found that the constitutional limitations on the power of their ruler were a hindrance. The absolute claim of the Pope could be met effectively only by opposing to it a claim on the part of the Doge equally absolute, and this, in defiance of their country's history, the theologians proceeded to urge. Bellarmine's embarrassing answer was to mention the name of Marino Faliero, the celebrated Doge who had been decapitated by order of the Senate in 1355.

10. The second work that evoked a reply from the Cardinal during the same year, 1606, was a reissue of two small tracts on the question of excommunication that had been written by John Gerson, the famous Chancellor of the University of Paris, at the time of the Council of Constance. These reprints were furnished with a preface in which their teaching was turned to account against Pope Paul. The book bore no date nor name, and the author of the preface pretended that he was writing from Paris.

Bellarmine immediately unmasked the deception by announcing that the Roman authorities were aware that the preface, the printing, and everything else had been done in Venice, but, though he knew that the man responsible was Fra Paolo himself, he forbore to mention him by name. Gerson's two tracts had been chosen because of their author's reputation for learning and holiness, and because of his theory that a General Council is superior to the Pope. It was a clever ruse, but Blessed Robert pointed out that it was a most unfair use to make of a good man's name:

> No one can deny that John Gerson was a Doctor of much learning and piety, but the unhappy times in which he lived must be remembered, for it was the long duration of the Great Schism of the West that caused him, as well as some others of his age, to think poorly of the authority of the Apostolic See. Hoping that by means of a General Council the Great Schism might be brought to an end, he thought it would help if he were greatly to exalt the authority of councils and, on the other hand, greatly to depreciate the authority of the Pope. It was through his efforts in these directions that he fell into errors plainly against Holy Scripture and the common teaching of theologians who flourished both before and after his age. Consequently, his authority in questions touching the power of the Pope is of no account, and a host of safer writers might be cited, whose opinion on the matter of excommunications is different from his. Such were St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, St. Antoninus, and numberless others. . . .

Fra Paolo soon had ready an answer of 55,000 words to the criticism of his Gersonian enterprise. He was a clever debater, and one of his aims was to make Bellarmine appear self-contradictory. Blessed Robert replied without delay. 'Thanks be to God,' he said, 'that my works were printed in Venice,[1] for the Venetians can now see for themselves what I teach about clerical immunities.'[2] If there was one thing in the world of which Bellarmine could not fairly be accused, it was opportunism. The views on political authority, papal jurisdiction, and ecclesiastical immunities, expressed by him while the Venetian trouble was at its climax were identical in every respect with the views which he had taught daily to his students, thirty years earlier, within the peaceful precincts of the Roman College. He was not an 'occasionalist' in his theology and politics, whatever else he was. All his conclusions stood rooted in age-old traditions, and it is small blame to him that he should have stood up for them sturdily against the irreverent, cynical criticism of a priest and religious who had gone over to the camp of the enemy. Intensely as he disliked the Erastian, semi-sceptical spirit of Fra Paolo, he treated him with all courtesy in the argument and never once stooped to anything in the nature of personalities. Very astonishing, then, is it to find no less a person than our famous Dr. Johnson launching forth in the following style:

Both parties, having proceeded to extremities, employed their ablest writers to defend their measures: on the Pope's side, among others, Cardinal Bellarmine entered the lists, and with his confederate authors defended the Papal claims with great scurrility of expression, and very sophistical reasonings, which were confuted by the Venetian apologists in much more decent language, and with much greater solidity of argument.[3]

[1] The edition of 1599. *Vide supra*, vol. I, facing p. 193.

[2] *Risposta del Card. Bellarmino all' oppositioni di F. Paolo Servita*, Roma, 1606, p. 13.

[3] *The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, London, 1806, vol. XII, p. 6. The great Doctor's further remarks on the matter are delightful: 'The propositions maintained on the side of Rome were these: That the Pope is invested with all the authority of heaven and earth. That all princes are his vassals, and that he may annul their laws at pleasure. That kings may appeal to him, as he is temporal Monarch of the whole earth. . . . That he may depose kings without any fault committed by them, if the good of the Church requires it. . . . That the Pope is God upon earth . . . and that to call his power in question is to call in question the power of God: maxims equally shocking, weak, pernicious, and absurd; which did not require the abilities or learning of Father Paul to demonstrate their falsehood and destructive tendency.'

The conclusion of Blessed Robert's answer is a noble and eloquent appeal to the Venetians to renounce their false guides and return to their obedience :

It only remains for me now to turn to the Most Serene Republic and put before it a consideration which more than anything else in the world deserves to be taken into account. I do so with confidence because my heart tells me that I have ever been deeply concerned for the glory, exaltation, and true happiness of so ancient and noble a Republic.

What I would say, then, to its people is that, calling to mind the religion and piety of their ancestors, and how God requited them with prosperity on land and sea, and preserved their liberties for a longer time than those of any other Republic on earth, they should now use every means to preserve that same religion and not permit it to be stolen from them by men whose one object appears to be its ruin.

Think who those are who to-day give you counsel, and you will find that they are not the strictest religious, nor the best priests, nor the most famous theologians in the Church. Remember that it was men such as the men to whom I refer who turned Germany upside down. Study the signs, and you will see the end at which they aim. Fra Paolo speaks not once but twice, and in exaggerated terms, about abuses in the Church for the reform of which the world has long been waiting in vain. . . .

What does he mean by these words ? One thing I know and that is that the favourite catchwords of our modern heretics are the abuses of the Roman Church. Do we not hear them moan every day that they had hoped for reform from the Council of Trent, but that they were deceived ? If you inquire a little further, you will discover that the abuses in question are the Sacrifice of the Mass, the celibacy of the clergy, the vows of religious, the fast of Lent, the invocation of the saints, the veneration of images, and other such things, which they have abolished or desire to abolish.

Do not tell me that the theologians of Venice are not thinking of abuses such as these. Men do not set down all their thoughts in tracts. In England, there was at first no talk of these things. It is quite enough that your theologians should lament that while the present abuses in the Roman Church continue, men cannot save their souls, for such was exactly the lament of the heretics. When Fra Paolo tells you that the alleged abuses are a positive hindrance to your salvation, that they have endured for many centuries, and that there is still no sign of their disappearance, what do his words mean but that in the Roman Church as it is to-day it is impossible for a man to save his soul ? . . .

Further, is not the aim of Fra Paolo and the other theologians who write in Venice to reduce and confine the Church's activity to a

pure and simple ministry of teaching the word of God, and of administering the Sacraments? Fra Paolo says as much in express terms on page 56 of his Apologia. And what else but this was the aim of modern heretics? . . . Fra Paolo tells you that many provinces and kingdoms have separated from the Roman Church for no other reason but that the Popes had begun to meddle in their temporal concerns. The meaning of his words and the nature of the temporal concerns of which he speaks are nicely explained by the subsequent history of the provinces and kingdoms that separated from the Church, for the only liberty that was left to the clergy within their borders was freedom to preach sermons. The secular princes became the patrons of church livings and the final judges of all matters appertaining to religion, a state of affairs unheard of in past centuries.

It is to this state that Fra Paolo would like to reduce Venice. Perhaps it was his hope and dream about the matter that inspired him to have Our Lord engraved on his front page, pointing to the globe and saying, *Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo*. . . . True, His Kingdom is not of this world in the sense that He derives His authority from the world, or governs according to the rules of worldly prudence, but nevertheless, in the words of Holy Writ, *Data est ei omnis potestas in Coelo et in terra; est Princeps regum terrae, et Rex regum et Dominus dominantium.*

His Vicar on earth has no desire to meddle in the temporal affairs of seculars, and such meddling, to use Fra Paolo's expression, was not the real cause but a false pretext used by heretics to justify their secession from the Church of God. The Pope's only desire is to safeguard the power entrusted to him by God for the government of the Church and for the guidance of his sons, among whom are all Christian princes, to their Heavenly country. Should they, then, stray from the way of salvation by abusing their authority or endeavouring to usurp authority that does not belong to them, it is his right and his will, in virtue of his Apostolical office, to admonish them of their duty and to punish them if they do not obey. . . .

Finally, I would ask you to consider why it is that the theologians of Venice should have thought it well to omit the usual protestation of all Catholic writers since the Lutheran heresy, that they submit their works to the judgment and censure of the Holy Roman Church or the Supreme Pontiff. They say, indeed, that they submit their tracts to the decision of Holy Mother Church, which cannot err, but why do they so carefully omit the adjective Roman? This again is not a good sign, and I cannot desist from warning you to beware of the tactics of these new pilots of your Most Serene Republic, for should they succeed, which God forbid, in making shipwreck of its faith, it would not be very strange if they were also to destroy its temporal glory and prosperity, which are so closely connected with that faith.

I pray the Divine goodness with all the fervour of my heart that, by the intercession of the most Blessed Queen of Angels and the glorious Evangelist St. Mark, the power and craft of the devil may not prevail, and that a door may not be opened in your midst for the entrance of heresies that would bring about the ultimate ruin of your ancient and noble Republic.[1]

11. Fra Giovanni, the Franciscan, soon appeared in the lists again with a defence of the letter to 'un Reverendo suo Amico', which Bellarmine had criticized. Many friends counselled Blessed Robert to spare himself the trouble and indignity of engaging once more with a man who cared so little for the judgment of the Church as openly to defy the tribunal of the Inquisition. That Congregation had stigmatized his previous work as scandalous, temerarious, erroneous, and heretical, yet, confident in the protection of the secular arm, he had asked Christendom to think of him as another Prophet Micheas, bravely struggling with false prophets, of whom the chief was Bellarmine. The Cardinal did not mind, and for the sake of the truth answered patiently whatever new arguments the self-styled prophet was able to bring to light.

The next move in the battle was a massed attack by the seven theologians. They pooled their wits, and brought out a *Trattato dell' interdetto*, with the aim of showing that the bull of Pope Paul was null and void and might consequently be ignored by the clergy of Venice. Each man signed his name to this celebrated manifesto, and Bellarmine, alive to its importance, had his answer in the press within a week or two of its appearance. His *Risposta* is of extraordinary interest, but it is far too long for us to analyse in this place. Nineteen of the theologians' propositions are submitted to careful examination in the light of history, canon law, tradition, Scripture, and every-day experience. One statement in particular, to the effect that a Christian man ought not to obey any precept, even if a precept of the Pope, without first having examined whether the matter of the command were lawful and advantageous, was ruthlessly handled by Blessed Robert. 'Of all people in the world,' he began, 'religious men under vows were surely the last from whom we might have expected to hear such views.'

When the theologians piously urge the spiritual damage to

[1] *Risposta all' oppositioni di Fra Paolo*, pp. 62 sqq.

RISPOSTA DEL

CARD. BELLARMINO

AL TRATTATO

DE I SETTE THEOLOGI

DI VENETIA,

Sopra l'interdetto della Santità di Noſtro Signore Papa Paolo Quinto.

Et all' oppoſitioni di F. Paolo Seruita, contra la prima ſcrittura dell'iſteſſo Cardinale.

IN ROMA,

Appreſſo Guglielmo Facciotto. *M.D C.VI.*

CO N LICENZA DE I SVPERIORI.

CARDINAL BELLARMINE'S REPLY TO THE SEVEN THEOLOGIANS OF VENICE.

souls that would ensue if the interdict were observed, the Cardinal gets sarcastic: 'Devotion will grow cold, you tell us, if priests do not say Mass and administer the Sacraments, but I wonder what kind of devotion is fostered by Masses said in defiance of the Church's censures. . . . Who does not know that many people in Venice, who formerly went to Mass very rarely indeed, now go regularly every morning, and that many people who scarcely ever received Holy Communion before the interdict, are now to be seen at the altar rails very frequently? What other explanation of this sudden outburst of piety can be given except an impious eagerness to defy the Holy See?'[1]

The pamphlets and tracts noted in the foregoing sections were only a few out of a vast literature. Never was there such diligence on the part of Papal and Republican pens. At last, however, to the grievous disappointment of Fra Paolo and the English ambassador in Venice,[2] peace was restored between the Pope and the Senate through the good offices of Henry IV of France. The King employed Bellarmine's two friends, the Cardinals de Joyeuse and du Perron, to carry out the delicate negotiations, and their efforts were crowned, after many alarms, with complete and lasting success.[3]

That was in the early summer of 1607. On 5 December 1611 Blessed Robert was writing in the following friendly strain to the Doge:

Most Serene Prince,

I received the letters of your Highness with all reverence from the hands of that noble and most worthy Senator, Thomas Contarini, whom you have appointed as your ambassador in ordinary to our Holy Father, Pope Paul V. Signor Contarini made known to me the great good-will of your Highness in my regard, and I, in turn, made plain to him the eager desire I harbour to be of service to your Highness and your glorious Republic, should I ever be given the opportunity. Meanwhile, I pray God long to preserve your Highness, and to protect, strengthen, and extend the power of your Seigniory of Venice, for the glory of His holy name, and for the defence of the Catholic faith by land and sea. . . .[4]

[1] It is known that Fra Paolo practically never said Mass until the interdict came into force. Then, he never missed a morning.

[2] Sir Henry Wotton. Some details about this illustrious poet and diplomatist are given further on. See pp. 215–216, 237–238.

[3] Cf. *Les Ambassades et Negotiations du Cardinal du Perron*, pp. 1056 sqq., 1081, 1091–1092, etc.

[4] *Epistolae familiares*, pp. 201–202.

CHAPTER XXII

THE AFFAIRS OF ENGLAND

1. During the last decade of the sixteenth century, the question of questions debated ceaselessly in the Roman Curia and at the various European Embassies was who should succeed Queen Elizabeth on the throne of England. Father Persons was moving heaven and earth to secure the return of a Catholic sovereign, preferably a Spaniard. With his active connivance, the famous little book, *A Conference about the next Succession*, appeared in 1594, under the name R. Doleman, though Aquaviva, the General of the Jesuits, who was a man, in Cardinal d'Ossat's opinion, ' très sage et modéré,' had done his best to prevent the publication.[1] By the time his instructions had reached Persons, the *Conference* was already in hostile hands and proving of anything but service to the cause which that sincere and devoted champion of the Church had so much at heart.

The precise character of the negotiations that were set on foot at this time between Edinburgh and Rome is not easy to determine. Even Cardinal d'Ossat, who was on the scene, was unable to find out whether the envoy who appeared in 1596 was from King James or from his enemies.[2] It was very difficult for the Pope to know what to think about the Calvinist son of Mary Stuart, whose prospects of succeeding

[1] *Lettres du Cardinal d'Ossat*, Amsterdam, 1732, t. II, p. 494. Aquaviva's letters to Persons are given in the *Month*, May 1903, pp. 524–525. Persons does not seem to have been the sole author of the book, the immediate aim of which is to prove that the people have a right to alter the line of succession for just causes, especially for the sake of religion. The second part of it is a genealogical argument in favour of the claim of the Spanish King's daughter, she being a direct descendant of John of Gaunt. Parliament made it high treason for any one to possess a copy of the work. It had a tremendous effect on the political thought of the seventeenth century, not always by any means the effect Father Persons would have desired. Thus in 1681 it was reprinted by the Whig party in furtherance of the exclusion from the throne of the Catholic Duke of York.

[2] *Lettres*, t. II, pp. 51–57.

to the English crown appeared to grow brighter every day. On the one hand, the Spanish ministers and cardinals, together with Father Persons and his party, were never tired of urging on his Holiness that if James became King of England the consequences for Catholicism would be disastrous, while, on the other hand, there were many omens that seemed to point to the possibility of his Majesty's conversion. He was the son of a staunchly Catholic mother, he had been baptized a Catholic himself, his wife was a Catholic or at least very much inclined to Catholicism, his ambassador at the French Court was the Catholic Archbishop of Glasgow, many of his most influential favourites were Catholics, and he had often shown in unmistakable fashion that he hated the bitterly anti-Roman Kirk with all his heart. Certainly, for anyone who was not intimately acquainted with the unstable, temporizing character of James, it was not unreasonable to conclude that the Church might find in him another Henry of Navarre.

Such a hope would naturally have received fresh confirmation from any tendency on the Monarch's part to negotiate directly with the Holy See or representative cardinals. That was what seemed to have happened in the year 1600. A Scottish gentleman named Edward Drummond came to Rome that year, ostensibly to gain the Jubilee, but bringing with him letters, signed by the King, to Pope Clement himself, to Bellarmine, and to one or two other members of the Sacred College. The Pope, who was addressed as 'Beatissime Pater', was thanked for his refusal to sanction the designs of James's enemies, and that he might have near him a trustworthy representative of the King, was begged to raise the Scottish Bishop of Vaison to the cardinalate. The letter concluded: *Beatitudinis vestrae obsequentissimus filius, J.R.*, and Drummond, according to the story, was instructed to represent orally that, though his master remained true to the religion in which he had been brought up, he greatly respected Catholicism and its ministers and had never persecuted anyone for the profession of the Catholic faith.[1]

Pope Clement was not yet entirely satisfied, and tried, shortly after the receipt of the King's letter, to obtain some further information about his Majesty's dispositions. However, Sir James Lindsay, the Scottish Catholic who was entrusted with the negotiations, did not return to Rome, so

[1] The letter and instructions are given in Tierney's edition of Dodd's *Church History of England*, vol. IV, appendix, n. LX, pp. ccxc–ccxci.

Clement had to make the best of the conflicting evidence before him.[1] Bellarmine, on the other hand, seems to have conceived lofty hopes, and in the zeal of his heart addressed the following typical letter to James:

MOST SERENE KING,

I have received your courteous and kind letter from the hands of Doctor Drummond, who has come to Rome for the Jubilee. The Doctor has told me with what remarkable genius, mature judgment, and distinguished and right royal benignity and clemency God has endowed your Majesty. It is with the greatest pleasure I hear that even those who are the children of the Holy Roman Catholic Church have a share of that clemency. All this makes me hope that, one day, your Majesty may easily turn your mind to what is above all things necessary—the knowledge of the true Church. For out of the Church there can be no salvation, and your Majesty knows from the Gospel that it will avail a man nothing if he gains the whole world and suffers the loss of his own soul. Sceptre and crown, purple and gold, are all but perishable things, which we did not bring with us into this world when we were born, and which nobody can retain when he dies. The true faith that works by charity makes us sharers in eternal life and happiness that has no end.

Your Majesty's parents were Catholics, and most devoted to the Roman Church, but those who brought you up were its bitter foes. Whether the Church of your parents or that of your masters be the true one, it will not be difficult to discover if you will consider with some diligence those signs of the true Church which St. Augustine describes in his book against the Letter of Manichaeus. 'There are many things,' he says, 'which most justly keep me in the bosom of the Church; the agreement of peoples and nations keeps me; the authority established by miracles, fostered by hope, increased by charity, and confirmed by antiquity, keeps me; the succession of priests from the very See of the Apostle Peter, unto whom Our Lord after His Resurrection committed His sheep to be fed, down to the Episcopate of to-day, keeps me; in fine, the very name of Catholic keeps me, which, not without cause, has in the midst of so many heresies clung to this Church alone in such a way that though all heretics want to be called Catholics, still when a stranger asks to be directed to the Catholic Church no man of them dares to point out his own basilica or house.'

Certainly, all these matters, which St. Augustine enumerated, square so exactly with the Roman Church that they cannot by any

[1] In a communication to his ambassador, Sir Thomas Parry, November 1603, James freely acknowledged that he was under a debt to Pope Clement for the friendly attitude he had taken up with regard to his succession Tierney-Dodd, vol. IV, app., n. VII, pp. lxvi sqq.

means be applied to the sects separated from her. An agreement of peoples and nations does not exist in the Calvinist sect, to speak of it alone for the present, for it has no branches in Asia, in Africa, nor in the greater part of Europe. What authority established by miracles can this sect show, in which miracles were never seen? As to antiquity, I need say nothing, since Calvinism arose within living memory. No Church can even pretend to an uninterrupted succession of priests from the very See of Peter to the present Episcopate, except the Roman Church, and, finally, the name Catholic itself is so evident and has always been so evident in the Roman Church that no sect has ever dared to usurp it for its own.

I know that ministers tell or rather invent a number of utterly false things about Catholic teaching, and this is the chief reason why many people cannot see the light of truth. But your Majesty has been endowed, by God's grace, with such judgment and genius that if you will you can easily discover these deceits. And without going further afield, I have been informed by trustworthy persons that the Calvinist ministers in your Majesty's realm have often said publicly in their sermons that I had retracted all that I had written in my controversial works against the Lutherans and Calvinists; moreover, that I had actually become a Calvinist, and better still as a marvel, that I had been arrested at Rome by the Pope on that account, had been judged, condemned, and suffered miserably the extreme penalty of the law. Now if ministers have the impudence to invent lies such as these, which can be confuted by many thousands of witnesses, to what lengths will they not proceed when obscure matters of the past are in question? In truth, by God's grace, I have never retracted a syllable of what I have written against the Lutherans and Calvinists, and, with the help of God, not only will I never retract, but to my last breath I will cling in my heart to my belief in the Catholic, Roman Church, and preach it with my lips and my pen. As to my being alive, not merely am I so but I am living in the eyes of all Rome, having been raised to a dignity far above that which I desired. For I had chosen to be lowly in the house of my God. It has pleased him, however, whom it is my duty to obey, to say to me who neither wanted nor sought for anything of the kind but who, on the contrary, fled from it and refused it, 'Go up higher.'

I do not wish any further to trespass on your Majesty's kindness. My letter has run on longer than I had intended, but this was caused by the true and ardent desire of my heart that a King of such promise, of such an excellent understanding and such remarkable qualities, and one too born of Catholic parents, may not be found outside the bosom of the Catholic Church, that is, outside the company of the saints, in the day of the Lord. As to the affair of the Bishop of Vaison, nothing can be done at present, for good reasons. But if your Majesty should draw nearer to the Catholic

faith, there will be nothing however difficult which you may not promise yourself from the Sovereign Pontiff and from me. May all prosperity attend your Majesty.

ROME, 1 *June* 1600.[1]

2. For a few months after King James's accession in March 1603, it seemed as if happy times had come for the Catholic Church in England. On April 16, Father Garnet wrote to Father Persons in the following hopeful strain :

MY VERY LOVING SIR,

Since my last to you of the sixteenth of March, there hath happened a great alteration, by the death of the Queen. Great fears were : but all are turned into greatest security ; and a golden time we have of unexpected freedom abroad. . . . The King's coming is uncertain. Yesternight came letters from him ; but were not opened until this day. Great hope is of toleration ; and so general a consent of Catholics in his proclaiming, as it seemeth God will work much. . . .[2]

Three months later, immediately after his arrival in London, the King himself assured the French ambassador that, though he had been brought up a Protestant, ' he was no Puritan and would always allow the Pope first place among bishops.' [3] Moreover, it was well known that he had made definite promises of toleration to several persons, and had answered very graciously a united supplication in which many representative Catholics had begged him, their ' most puissant prince and orient monarch ', to allow that they might ' securely profess that Catholic religion which all your happy predecessors professed, from Donaldus, the first converted, unto your Majesty's peerless mother, last martyred.' [4]

Unfortunately the bright expectations of the Catholics were based upon nothing securer than the mere words and transient moods of the King. Constancy was not the chief of his virtues, nor had he in a marked degree the sense of honour that makes it impossible to break a promise. He told the French ambassador that he would always allow the Pope first place among bishops, but the same man related two months earlier that he also ' maintained openly at table that the Pope

[1] *Epistolae familiares*, pp. 1–7.

[2] Stonyhurst archives, *Anglia*, A. vol. III, p. 32.

[3] De Beaumont to Henry IV, 23 July 1603. In the *Dépêches de Mons. de Beaumont*, King's Library, British Museum.

[4] Printed in Tierney-Dodd, vol. IV, app., n. VIII, pp. lxxii sqq. Cf. also Tierney's long note to p. 36, and Jardine's *Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot*, pp. 14–20.

was the true antichrist, with other similar blasphemies worthy of his doctrine.'[1] After the secular priest Watson had visited him in July 1603, he turned to a nobleman and said in his broad Scots, referring to the Protestant support that he had received: 'Na, na, gud fayth, wee's not neede the papists now.'[2]

A few days after his arrival in London, the King had given secret orders that the 'abominable system',[3] under which the Catholics had so long laboured, was to be continued. On 22 February 1604 a proclamation was issued in which James, after protesting that he 'had never intended, nor given any man cause to expect that he would make any innovation in matters of religion', proceeded as follows:

> We do hereby will and command all manner of Jesuits, Seminaries, and other priests whatsoever, having ordination from any authority by the laws of this realm prohibited, to take notice, that our pleasure is, that they do, before the nineteenth day of March next ensuing the date hereof, depart forth out of our realm and dominions; . . . admonishing and assuring all such Jesuits, Seminaries, and priests, of what sort soever, that, if any of them shall be, after the said nineteenth day, taken within this realm, or any our Dominions, or, departing now, upon this our pleasure signified, shall hereafter return into this realm or any our Dominions again, that they shall be left to the penalty of the laws, here being in force concerning them, without hope of any favour or remission from us.[4]

One of the first acts to be entered in the Statute book under the name of Mary Stuart's son declared that all the laws of Elizabeth against Jesuit and other priests were again to be rigorously enforced. Two-thirds of the estates of recusants and all their movable goods were to be seized in satisfaction of the fine of £20 a month imposed under Queen Elizabeth, and commissions were to be appointed immediately for the valuation of such lands and goods. In addition, as if to show that the leniency of the past was intended only to increase the severity of the present, the recusancy fines, neglected or remitted for several preceding years, were suddenly demanded, with the result that many families of large property were at

[1] *Dépêches*, 24 May 1603.
[2] Copley's Declaration, in Tierney-Dodd, vol. IV, app., n. I, p. i. Cf. Bishop Goodman's remarks, *The Court of King James I*, Brewer's ed., vol. I, p. 87.
[3] The words are Dr. S. R. Gardiner's. *History of England*, vol. I, p. 97.
[4] Rymer's *Foedera*, vol. XVI, p. 572.

once reduced to beggary by being called upon for tremendous arrears.[1]

But the worst and meanest trick of all the abominable proceedings was the device by which James proceeded to gratify the rapacity of his followers. These kilted toadies grew extravagant in the London air, and to escape their importunities the King ' bestowed ' wealthy Catholic families upon them, making over whatever claims the crown possessed for the fines of recusancy. The merciless exactions of these adventurers drove many of their victims to despair, it being, as Father Gerard, the famous missionary, wrote, ' both grievous and odious, that true and free-born subjects should be given, as it were, in prey to others.' [2]

These, however, were only the beginnings of trouble. As the dreary months of that black year 1604 dragged on, new and ever more atrocious cruelties were devised and perpetrated. Catholics were listed with forgers and perjurers, and the education of their children in the faith, at home or abroad, became a crime punishable by loss of goods and imprisonment. When Viscount Montague rose in the House of Lords to protest against such blatant tyranny, he was committed to the Fleet for his ' scandalous and offensive speech '. The unfortunate people were subjected to petty persecutions of every kind. They had no rights, no privacy, no redress, and they could not even call their souls their own. ' The rich were impoverished, the poor were imprisoned, the middle classes saw their goods sold, their leases seized, their cattle driven away ; while the clergy and those who ventured to relieve them, again abandoned to the mercy of the pursuivants, were again doomed to witness the revival of all the sanguinary horrors of the preceding reign.' [3] Before the autumn of 1604 had closed, three men, one a priest, were done to death with the customary savage ritual for the mere practice of their religion.

It was during the spring of this same tragic year that Robert Catesby, a Catholic gentleman and scion of an old English family, conceived the desperate design of avenging the sufferings of his co-religionists by blowing their persecutors to pieces with gunpowder. The events of the new year (1605)

[1] Cf. Jardine, *Narrative*, p. 23.

[2] Tierney-Dodd, vol. IV, p. 38, note, and app., n. IXa, pp, lxxv–lxxix. Cf. Osborne's *Memoirs of the Reign of King James*, ch. X., and John Gerard's *Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot* (ed. Morris, 1871), pp. 308–310.

[3] Cf. Goodman, *The Court of King James I*, vol. I, pp. 100–101.

afforded fresh stimulus to his resentment. Bancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, outlined, in March, a more ingenious plan than had yet been tried for breaking down the resistance of lay recusants. Catholics, merely because they were Catholics, were to be excommunicated, and as the excommunication operated like a sentence of outlawry, it subjected the sufferers to forfeiture and imprisonment, placed them out of the King's protection, and rendered them incapable of recovering debts or rents, of suing for damages, of effecting sales or purchases, or of conveying their property either by will or otherwise.[1]

Meantime, the fines for recusancy continued to be levied with increasing rigour, and once again as in the worst days of Queen Elizabeth, the scaffolds began to flow with the blood of victims whose only crime was fidelity to conscience.

> The courses taken are more severe than in Bess's time [wrote Garnet to Persons in October 1605]. Every six weeks is a general court; juries appointed to endict, present, find the goods of catholics, prize them, yea, in many places, to drive away whatsoever they find. . . . The commissioners in all counties are the most earnest and base puritans, whom otherwise the King discountenanceth. The prisoners at Wisbeach are almost famished. . . .[2]

'Is it surprising,' asks Tierney, 'that such sufferings should have goaded men to desperation? or that, deceived, oppressed, and proscribed in their own land, some reckless enthusiasts should have been found to join in any scheme, however wicked, that promised to work vengeance and relief together?'

With the Gunpowder Plot, these fortunate chapters are not directly concerned. All that need be done is to recall to the reader's mind the statement of a famous Anglican Bishop who was alive at the time, and by no means an enemy of King James. The official story of the Plot, the story still accepted by nearly every one in England, is that up to the last minute the Government was in complete ignorance of its danger and owed its salvation simply and solely to the providential delivery of the anonymous letter to Lord Monteagle. The King himself complacently suggested in Parliament that he must have been directly inspired by the Holy Ghost to interpret the words of the letter 'contrary to the ordinary grammar con-

[1] Tierney-Dodd, vol. IV, p. 41, and app., n. XV, pp. xcvii–c; Winwood, *Memorials of Affairs of State*, vol. II, pp. 77, 95.

[2] Printed in Tierney-Dodd, vol. IV, p. ciii.

struction of them, and in another sort than any divine or lawyer in any university would have taken them.'

Very different is Bishop Goodman's hint, though he was a strong supporter of James. After giving some details of the persecution that had led up to the conspiracy, he continues, speaking of the conspiracy itself: 'The great statesman [Sir Robert Cecil] had intelligence of all this; and because he would show his service to the state, he would first contrive and then discover a treason; and the more odious and hateful the treason were, his service would be the greater and more acceptable.' [1] Goodman was not the only one who suspected Cecil of having skilfully manipulated the Plot and the plotters for his own purposes.[2] Certainly there is nothing antecedently improbable in the suggestion, as the fostering of conspiracies had been brought to the perfection of a fine art by the governments of Elizabeth and James. It was by such means that Walsingham had contrived the death of Mary Stuart and, later on, Essex and the unfortunate priest Watson had been tricked to their doom by the same diabolical expedient. Both Cecil and his master, the King, were on the look out for some justification of their persecuting policy, and possibly for some excuse for further harsh measures. Catesby and his fanatical confederates may very well have given them their chance. Remembering the perfection of the English spy-system, it is a strain on one's credulity to be asked to believe that the first minister of the Crown—known affectionately to James as his 'Little Beagle' so good was he at smelling-out traitors—remained blissfully ignorant of the monstrous design up to the end, especially as Catesby himself had been a suspect for years before the accession of the King.[3]

3. Before proceeding further, it is necessary to say something about the political theories according to which James strove, sincerely enough, to direct his policy. He had become a King when he was only one year and one month old. John

[1] *The Court of King James I*, vol. I, p. 102. Bishop Goodman's hint that Cecil had engineered or at least fostered the plot was taken up and investigated very ably by the late Father John Gerard, S.J. His book, *What was Gunpowder Plot?* was answered by Dr. S. R. Gardiner in *What Gunpowder Plot was*. Gardiner admitted (p. 4) that Father Gerard had given him many 'hard nuts' to crack. Whether he cracked them all successfully is a point that might be argued.

[2] This appears to have been a widely-spread Catholic belief at the time. Cf. Record Office, London. Bliss's *Roman Transcripts*, 18 Dec. 1605.

[3] Cf. Winwood, *Memorials*, II, p. 170; Lodge, *Illustrations*, III, p. 301; Hallam, *History*, I, p. 438; Lingard, *History of England*, VI, p. 51.

Knox had preached his coronation sermon, and the shadow of John Knox had lain over his most impressionable years. As a child, he was body and soul under the power of the triumphant Kirk. The Kirk was entirely democratic in constitution, and claimed for itself the most complete freedom from state control. Catholic canon law had no immunities to match the privileges demanded by the Presbyterian elders, and no Catholic treatise on the power of the Pope had ever claimed that he could order monarchs about to the extent that the Presbytery affected to be able to order them. Very soon there was born in the soul of the young Scottish King a deadly hatred of the Kirk, and that was the first step in the evolution of his political views.

The second step was also one of reaction. By the irony of fate, James, who was to become famous in history as the very personification of the theory known as the Divine Right of Kings, had for tutor during the fifteen years of his boyhood the foremost champion of radical democracy that the sixteenth century produced. This was George Buchanan, who dedicated his historic treatise, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, to his royal pupil, and therein taught him that monarchs reign by the will and for the good of the people, that it is the people who make the law for the monarch to administer and himself obey, that if he breaks the contract with his people, contained in his coronation oath, they have the right to depose him and even to put him to death. Such theories were little in accord with the 'pragmatical self-conceit' which, according to Professor Hume Brown, was the foundation of King James's character. He began to hate Buchanan as much as he hated the Kirk, and Buchanan, in return for the compliment, described him as 'a true bird of the bloody nest to which he belonged.'

When the boy was twelve years old he came under another influence, this time of a positive kind, that helped materially to shape the prejudices that were steadily forming in his mind. Kirk and tutor had sickened him of talk about the rights of subjects. What he wanted to hear was something about the rights of kings, and that evangel was brought to him from the French Court in 1579, by his cousin, the Catholic Seigneur d'Aubigny. Three years earlier, Jean Bodin, a man of uncertain religious belief, had published his enormous, bewilderingly-confused, epoch-making *Six Livres de la République*, in which, with arguments almost the same as those used by

Bellarmine within a few months of the appearance of the book, it was proved that monarchy was the best form of government, and also by arguments almost identical with those which Bellarmine strove earnestly to refute, that the power of the monarch is absolute, in no way derived from the people, and entirely independent of their control. That book went straight into King James's library, was diligently studied by him, and exercised a profound influence on his thought.

Bodin and other continental advocates of absolutism had put down the power and claim of the Pope as the chief objection to be dealt with in their argument. For King James, the enemy was at first the Kirk. His theory of Divine Right was not, in origin, anti-Papal, but anti-Kirk and anti-Buchanan, and it was only the exigencies of controversy at a later time that gave it its thoroughly Protestant savour. After Father Persons had published the *Conference on the Next Succession* in 1594, James incorporated the hereditary principle, so brilliantly criticized in that book, into his theory. In virtue of their legitimate succession to their thrones, kings were by God's express and immediate ordinance the sovereign rulers of the particular peoples living in their territories. It was not merely that monarchical power in general was divinely ordained, but that James Stuart was monarch of the particular country called Scotland by right divine, and did every man, woman, and child from John o' Groats to the Tweed yearn for a Republic, they would be yearning for something as much forbidden as the apple coveted by Eve.[1] From this it followed that kings were accountable to God alone, that all law and constitutional forms were mere concessions of their wills, and that the whole duty of a Christian man was active obedience in the case of every lawful command, and patient endurance of whatever penalties the prince might choose to inflict for refusal to obey commands that were plainly opposed to the law of God.[2]

[1] In the volume of lectures edited by Professor Hearnshaw quoted above (vol. 1, p. 216), there is an excellent short account of King James's political philosophy, by Miss H. M. Chew.

[2] Cf. J. N. Figgis, *The Divine Right of Kings*, 2nd ed., 1914, pp. 5–6. In this very interesting essay Dr. Figgis points out, quite rightly, that the theory he is investigating is absurd only when judged by comparison with modern political ideas. Such a test is unfair. Wrong though it was, the theory was not simply foolish. Taken in conjunction with its historical background, it was a coherent and logical attempt to secure the completest freedom of action for the secular ruler as against the rival claim to interference of Pope or Presbytery. If monarchs and their supporters considered that the indirect power of the Pope was a menace to their security,

4. King James gave publicity to his views for the first time in a manual of instructions which he wrote, prior to 1598, for the guidance of his eldest son Henry. The work bore the Greek title *Basilikon Doron*, meaning 'Royal Gift', and was intended for private circulation only. As so often happens with books intended for private circulation, it soon became known to the general public and created such a stir by its high-and-mighty style and its strong language about the Kirk that its author was left no alternative but to publish it, fortified with a justificatory introduction. This was done in Edinburgh, in 1599, the same year in which appeared his Majesty's *Trew Law of Free Monarchies*. English and French editions appeared in London and Paris shortly afterwards. In 1604 a Latin version was brought out in London under the title: *Jacobi primi Angliae, Scotiae, Franciae, et Hiberniae, Fidei Defensoris. . . . ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ, sive regia institutio ad Henricum principem, primogenitum filium suum et haeredem proximum.* The Papal Nuncio at Paris secured a copy at once, and sent it to Rome on 8 March 1604.[1] Bellarmine was then at Capua and thither the book was in due course transmitted, as the Archbishop's friends at Court were aware of the interest that he took in everything concerning his Majesty of England.

Great was Blessed Robert's curiosity to know how James's attitude to the Church was shaping. On opening the treatise he learned that it was divided into three parts, Prince Henry being thus admonished: 'The first [part] teacheth you your dueties towards God as a Christian; the next your duetie in your office as a King; and the third informeth you how to behave yourself in indifferent things, which of themselves are neither right nor wrong, but according as they are rightly or wrongly used.'[2] Bellarmine must have thought that a very innocent and admirable programme, but as he read on, he discovered, to his great disappointment, that an undercurrent of veiled hostility to the Catholic Church flowed through the whole treatise.

it was natural for them to put forward some such counter-balancing theory as that of the Divine Right of Kings. Whether they were justified in thinking that there was danger from the Pope is another matter, for it is not at all clear that the alleged danger was not a mere dialectical fiction, introduced in order to sweeten the autocratic pill for popular consumption.

[1] A. O. Meyer, *Clemens VIII und Jacob I von England*, (1904), p. 24.

[2] We use the English version of 1603, reprinted in Professor McIlwain's *Political Works of James I*, pp. 3–52.

However, he was still an optimist with regard to King James. The conversion of Henry of Navarre had made such a profound impression on him that he could not help dreaming of a similarly glorious turn of events in England, especially as he believed that the King's mother had died a true martyr for the faith. Thus brooding over the book, he decided at last to address a friendly remonstrance to its author, an *Hieratikon Doron* or 'Priestly Gift' in exchange for the 'Royal Gift' of his Majesty. Three copies of the work are in existence, one in the Barberini Library, Rome, another in the Trivulzio Library, Milan, and a third in the archives of the Society of Jesus. The Barberini-Trivulzio copies are identical, and contain a reference, near the end, to the Gunpowder Plot. That means that they must have been written or revised after Bellarmine's return to Rome from Capua. In the third copy this reference is lacking, but the preface mentions a detail not in the others, namely the Treaty of London concluded between England and Spain, 19 August 1604. It is probable, then, that this draft was made while its writer was at Capua. For reasons to which allusion will be made later, the work was never printed until Père Le Bachelet included it in his *Auctarium*, in 1913.[1]

The Cardinal's preface is in the following very courteous vein:

Not long since, Most serene King, you deigned to send me a letter full of kindness, and shortly after your accession to the throne of England you concluded a treaty with the Catholic and most powerful King Philip. These two events kindled in my heart a vehement desire to send you some gift befitting a priest, in token of my gratitude and in testimony of my congratulation. And lo, while I was thinking within myself what form my gift should take, the book fell into my hands which you had written for the instruction of your eldest son and heir. My reading of it convinced me that what I had formerly heard about your erudition, wisdom, and eloquence, was in every detail most true. Indeed, Sir, you stand in the eyes of your people, not less eminent for great gifts of mind than for the majesty of your throne. Nor have you need of any Xenophon to instruct your son with his pen, for you have had the skill to write an educational treatise, all the better in proportion as you have learned the art of governing not only from the precepts of philosophers but from practical experience as well.

[1] The full title of the work is: 'IEPATIKÒN ΔΩΡΟΝ, *sive modesta et fidelis Admonitio Roberti Bellarmini, S.R.E. Cardinalis, Ad Jacobum Magnae Britaniae Serenissimum ac Potentissimum Regem. Auctarium Bellarminianum*, pp. 209–256.

Nevertheless in a work so excellent, certain blemishes are to be found in many places, which if removed, I think no better book could possibly be desired for the complete instruction of a prince. Though these spots and blemishes in the book may be noted and disapproved by all men, you will not easily find, especially in your own kingdom, one daring enough to be your faithful friend and to admonish you with courteous candour about these matters. For truth begets dislike, and Kings who live surrounded by the flatterers who swarm at every court will scarcely ever find a single soul willing to speak the truth, were it only in a whisper. . . . But you who meditate assiduously on the words of Holy Writ cannot be unaware that, 'Better are the wounds of a friend than the deceitful kisses of an enemy.' . . . In this confidence then, and trusting to your Majesty's kindness and patience, I shall venture with your good leave to examine your book a little. . . . God grant that what is here written in all sincerity by one who though an Archbishop and Cardinal is still but a subject, may be taken in good part, and as a genuinely priestly offering, by a glorious and most prudent King.[1]

That the sympathetic, respectful tone of the preface was not meant as a prelude to one of the usual courtly exercises, was soon indicated. In the very first chapter James is taken to task for his use of the title 'Defender of the Faith', to which he had about as much right as to the title 'King of France' that preceded it on the cover of *Basilikon Doron*.

Nobody is ignorant [writes the Cardinal] that this title was given by Pope Leo X to Henry VIII, King of England, in recompense for that monarch's book on the Seven Sacraments against Luther and the other innovators of the age. Consequently, if it be asked what the word 'Faith' in the title signifies, there is plainly no other answer to be given but that it signifies the faith held by him who gave the title, professed by him who received it, and defended in the book on account of which it was bestowed. How then can we style a man defender of the faith which the Roman Pontiff teaches, when that same man holds the Roman Pontiff to be Antichrist? How can we call him a defender of the faith which Henry VIII professed at the time when he considered it his glory to be a son of the Roman Church, seeing that he repudiates that Church? And is he to be called a defender of the faith, as set forth in the apology for the seven sacraments of the Church, who believes, with the heretics, that there are but two sacraments and no more? Then again, the man who dignified the King of England with that most honourable title was either the Vicar of Christ, as we Catholics believe, or Antichrist, as you Protestants and the

[1] *Auctarium Bellarminianum*, pp. 209–210.

Calvinists say. Now if he be the Vicar of Christ, why does not the defender of Christ's faith hear, acknowledge, and venerate him? If, on the other hand, he be Antichrist, why does a Christian Prince glory in a title coming from such a source? Why, in a word, does he carry about the mark of the Beast?

After placing the King in this none too comfortable dilemma, Bellarmine proceeds to point the moral of Mary Stuart's tragic story. 'My son,' wrote James, little dreaming of logical Cardinals, 'my son, I strictly charge thee that thou listen not to any evil against thy parents or royal ancestors and that thou suffer not others to speak evil of them.'

Excellent advice [says the censor], but whether you yourself have observed it, I beg you now to consider. You cannot deny that your parents and all your ancestors were what you call Papists. Certainly your most excellent mother clung with all her soul to the ancient faith of her family, and showed singular reverence and obedience to the Supreme Pontiff, in whom she recognized unfalteringly the Vicar of Christ. She attended the holy Sacrifice of the Mass frequently and devoutly; she believed that the Body and Blood of Christ were on the Altar, not figuratively but truly and really, under the appearances of bread and wine, and most religiously bowed down in adoration; she kept the prescribed fast and feast days of the Roman Church, and made light of none of its regulations; she prayed regularly to the saints reigning with Christ in Heaven, and she piously venerated their relics and images.

But you, Sir, in this book, indeed in all the three books which you have written, even in the preface itself, and what is still more surprising, in your daily speech, I am informed, do very frequently turn to scorn, misrepresent, and execrate the Papists, and show your hatred for their manner of life, their faith, their deeds, their prayers, rites, discipline, and precepts. Now as often as you do this, are you not equivalently speaking evil of your father, mother, and all your ancestors? And do you not see that in inveighing against the errors of Papistry, you are branding your own flesh and blood with the mark of falsehood? Moreover, since what you say about the honour due to parents is to be applied also to other Kings and Princes, as you yourself teach in this book, I beg to point out, Sir, that when you take the Papists to task, you are at the same time criticizing the Roman Cæsar, the Most Christian King, the Catholic King, the King of Poland, the Archdukes of Austria, many Princes of Germany and France, and all the Italian Princes, these men being, without exception, what you call Papists. I appeal to your discretion, then, and ask you to consider seriously whether it be right that you, who have laid such severe injunctions on your son not to listen to nor tolerate anything to the detriment of his rela-

tives' reputation, should yet teach him by your example to heap insult, not only upon the heads of his own royal kinsfolk, but upon practically all Christian Princes.

Bellarmine's third chapter bears a title to rouse expectations : *De Elizabetha Regina Angliae*. James, with his tongue in his cheek it would seem, had lauded her Majesty of England to the skies, which was good policy seeing that he hoped soon to sit in her place.[1]

Very many people are astounded [comments his critic] that a learned King like you could say such grand things about a woman who treated your mother so badly, and whose reputation, both within and without her dominions, was so questionable. First as to her origin, it is well known that she was the offspring of incest and adultery, and that her mother, Anne Boleyn, was publicly beheaded at her husband's command for fresh and horrible sexual sins. You speak of her wonderful prudence, so I shall tell you plainly in what it consisted. The first ornament of a woman is her chastity, and in this respect Elizabeth appears to have been as prudent as could be, for she refused to be tied to one man in marriage, in order that she might be free to have a good time with many men in spinsterhood. Indeed Our Lord might very aptly have addressed her as He once addressed the woman of Samaria : ' Thou hast said well, I have no husband, for thou hast had five husbands, and he whom thou now hast is not thy husband.' However, though her Majesty's life was not chaste, it was cautious, and she gave the other ladies of her Kingdom the good example of playing the lovers' game in secret and not kissing her darlings in the middle of London's streets.

[1] The Marquis de Rosny, afterwards Duke de Sully, came to England on a diplomatic mission in June 1603. By the direction of his master, Henry IV, all his suite were dressed in mourning out of respect for Queen Elizabeth, recently deceased. However, just before embarking at Calais the Marquis received an urgent letter from a high official imploring him ' au nom de Dieu ' to get his nobles into more joyous colours before they sailed, because their black coats would be considered ' comme une espèce d'affront ' in a court where few people ' dared so much as mention the late Queen's name, her memory and all her famous achievements having been consigned with her to the grave.' Reporting his conversation with James, at table, the Marquis tells Henry IV : ' Après les discours communs, il se mit a parler de la feue reine d'Angleterre, avec un peu de mespris, et faire grand cas de la dexterité dont il usoit pour la manier . . . tellement que ce n'estoit pas de cette heure qu'il gouvernoit l'Angleterre, mais plusieurs années avant la mort de la feue Reine, dont la mémoire ne luy est point trop agréable.' *Mémoires des Sages et Royales Oeconomies d'Estat de Henry le Grand*, par le Duc de Sully. M. Petitot's *Collection* (Paris 1820), t. IV, pp. 338–339, 381. Sully tells some other good stories about his mission. He sailed in an English vessel but with an escort of French frigates, and he had some difficulty in preventing a set sea-battle between the two admirals before he got to Dover. Pp. 296–297.

She showed her great prudence, too, by skilfully fostering wars and seditions in her neighbours' kingdoms, that she might enjoy peace in her own, . . . and yet further evidence of the same virtue was provided by her treatment of your Majesty's mother. Under the pretence of friendship and kinship, she invited her into her Kingdom, and having lured her there, treated her not as a relative, a friend, a Queen, but as a common prisoner of war. Then, after a long captivity, she had her put to death with abominable cruelty. Even if your royal mother had invaded and devastated Elizabeth's dominions, would not her birth, her blood, her dignity, and her sex have given her a claim, at least to life, at the hands of her captor? The Emperor Aurelian not only spared the life of Zenobia who had wrought such havoc in his eastern Empire, but willed her, because she was a woman and a Queen, to pass her days in honour and comfort at Rome. Not so Elizabeth, to whom your mother had done no evil. So wanting was she in common humanity, that far from helping Mary and restoring her to her throne, she would not even permit the poor refugee to go to her relatives in France, nor to return to Scotland, nor to live in peace in England, nor, in fact, to live in the world at all.

I can give you, too, if you like, a fourth example of her Majesty's great prudence, which was the way she succeeded in keeping all counsellors and advisers at arm's length, so that she might freely follow her fancies in everything. She proclaimed herself to be the head of the English Church, the first 'Sacerdos magna' or rather 'Pontifex maxima' since the world began, although not only divine and human law but even grammar itself protested. . . . And yet this is the woman whose like, according to you, the world has not seen since the time of the Emperor Augustus! . . . However, Sir, not a few people suspect that you, who have studied much history and philosophy, cannot seriously have meant what you said about Elizabeth. Your exaltation of her, they think, was intended to please and flatter the natives of England, especially the Protestants.[1]

This is criticism without gloves on, and it might even be said that some of its hits are not according to the rules. The brutalities of Tyburn were before Blessed Robert's mind when he wrote it, and surely the thought of the young men whom he had taught and loved, and whom Elizabeth had caused to be hanged and hacked to pieces, was some justification for his angry comment on her character.[2]

5. In justice to King James, it should be remembered that Bellarmine is professedly dealing only with the blemishes,

[1] *Auctarium*, pp. 212–213.

[2] The passages about the Queen's love affairs and assumption of spiritual powers were omitted in Bellarmine's final revision of his manuscript.

the 'naevi et maculae', of his book. The Cardinal began by saying that, were these removed, 'in tam praeclaro opere . . . nihil omnino ad absolutam Regis institutionem desiderari posse videretur.' Having bestowed that superlative praise, which was by no means entirely undeserved, for the book is full of excellent advice, the censor confined himself to his set task of pointing out the blemishes. Some things that might be qualified as blemishes must have amused but did not directly concern him, as for instance the monarch's rather childish tirades against 'braine-sicke and headie preachers', and 'all rough and violent exercises, as the footeball; meeter for laming than making able the users thereof.' [1]

It is the passing, and often merely parenthetical, flings at Catholic doctrine that bring Blessed Robert's pen into action. Thus when James says to his son: 'a veniall sinne (as the Papists call it) in another, is a great crime unto you,' the Cardinal takes the contemptuous brackets and turns them inside out in a few paragraphs that could hardly be bettered as a defence of the Catholic distinction between mortal and venial sins. Then the King's rather lofty sentiments on private judgment are subjected to some searching criticism, and he is told that should he care to see further arguments on the subject, he will find plenty in a new book by 'a Dublin man called Christopher a Sacrobosco', a surname that on the face of it does not look particularly Hibernian.[2]

Next follow several long and lively chapters on divers disconnected themes such as grace, the Bible, sudden death, superstition, the Church, the invocation of saints, marriage, prophecy, fast and feast days, religious vows, and the Mass. Bellarmine's sovereign facility in quoting Scripture and ecclesiastical writings is strikingly shown all the way through. In the course of six columns, no less than thirty passages from the Fathers find their place in the argument, and they are fitted in as skilfully and neatly as if they were native to the text.

It would be a great mistake, however, to think that the 'Priestly Gift' was nothing but solid theology. No other book from its author's pen has quite the same lively, pointed, humorous character as this. One very attractive feature of it lies in the appeals which he so constantly makes to the heart of his royal

[1] McIlwain, *Political Works of James I*, p. 48.
[2] This was Father Christopher Holywood, S.J., a personal friend of the Cardinal.

addressee. Being himself a man of singular piety, in the original sense of that word, and one who loved and revered his mother's memory very dearly, he evidently thought that the heart of the King must be similarly soft and sound, and so drew Mary of Scotland into his arguments almost as often as St. Paul or St. Augustine.[1] When James airily dismisses a big point of controversy in the following fashion: 'As to the Apocryphe bookes, I omit them because I am no Papist, as I said before; and indeed some of them are no wayes like the dytement of the Spirit of God,'[2] the Cardinal does not delay long over Fathers and Councils in his answer, but hurries away to Scotland:

In the name of Christ, the King of kings, I beg you, Sir, to remember that when you openly deny yourself to be a Papist, you are denying the religion of all the Scottish Kings who reigned before you. For this is the excellent glory of your Scotland, that from Donald the first of its Kings, who received his consecration from Pope St. Victor, the Martyr, about the year 200 A.D., eighty Kings have reigned in unbroken succession up to the time of your mother, and not one of them all ever gave up the Faith. You, Sir, are the first and only one to deny that you are a Papist, that is, a Catholic and son of the Holy See, though this you did, not of your own will, but because you were deprived of a pious mother's care, and brought up badly by heretics. How would it be if the great and good Donald himself were to question you and say: 'My child, what possessed you to despise the religion of your many royal ancestors, and to embrace the novelties of some fellow called Knox, one truly most noxious both to you and your Kingdom?'[3] And if not Donald alone, but all those Kings, and with them your grandfather James V and his daughter Mary, your mother, should surround you and demand a reason for your change of religion (which will certainly

[1] It is very doubtful whether Bellarmine's kindly supposition was correct. When Lord Hamilton, at the entreaty of Courcelles, the French Ambassador, spoke to the King in October 1586 about his mother's danger, 'The King's answere was that the Queene his Mother, might well drink the ale and beere which her selfe had brewed.' A few months later Alexander Steuart assured Elizabeth that 'were she (Mary) even deade, yf the King at first shewed him selfe not contented therewith they might easily satisfy him in sending him dogs and deer'. On being informed of this, 'The King was in marvilose collore and swore and protested before God that yf Steuard came he would hange him before he putt off his bootes.' Steuart did come and not only got his boots off without being hanged but continued to enjoy as much favour as before. See M'Crie's *Life of Andrew Melville*, vol. I, pp. 284–286, 461–462, where all the references are given.

[2] McIlwain, *Political Works of James I*, p. 14.

[3] The pun looks better in Latin: *Nescio cujus Knoxii, vere tibi et toti regno tuo, maxime noxii . . .*

happen to you on the day of Judgment), what answer, I ask, would you be able to give them ? [1]

Throughout the book, the King's best strokes constantly receive some shrewd or witty return, in the style, not so much of theology, as of good journalism. Thus when James warns his son against pride, ambition, and avarice by pointing out that it was through these vices that 'the Roman Church in our midst and elsewhere was not only shaken but utterly ruined,' Bellarmine answers : 'Even granted that England has utterly abandoned the Roman Church, what then ? That, Sir, may not be the ruin of the Roman Church, but the ruin of England. Still there is something in what you say about pride, ambition, and avarice having brought Catholicism to grief in your midst—the pride, ambition, and avarice of your predecessor, King Henry VIII.'

While making that good retort, the Cardinal was not in the least trying to pretend that every child of the Catholic Church was an embryo saint. 'Alas,' he continues, 'the Roman Church has no lack of ambitious and avaricious men, ay, and of proud men and men who are in love with the pomp of the world. . . . We do not boast that the Church, now a pilgrim in the world, is that glorious Church described by the Apostle as *sine macula et sine ruga*. We say that it is a threshing-ground on which the good grain lies mixed with chaff and straw, or a net containing both bad and good fishes.' [2]

In the *Basilikon Doron*, King James had also warned his son against the dangers of dandyism, telling him that long locks and finger-nails were evidence of a vain and light disposition.[3] Here again, he managed to get in a rather incon-

[1] *Auctarium Bellarminianum*, p. 219. [2] *Auctarium*, p. 229.

[3] He was certainly not a dandy himself, if Sir Antony Weldon, who knew him, is to be trusted. 'He was of middle stature, more corpulent through his clothes than in his body, yet fat enough ; his clothes ever being made large and easy the doublets quilted for stiletto proof ; his breeches in plaits and full stuffed ; he was naturally of a timorous disposition, which was the reason of his quilted doublets ; his eyes large, ever rolling after any stranger came in his presence ; insomuch as many for shame have left the room, as being out of countenance ; his beard was very thin ; his tongue too large for his mouth, and made him drink very uncomely, as if eating his drink, which came out into the cup of each side of his mouth ; his skin was as soft as taffeta sarsenet ; which felt so because he never washed his hands, only rubbed his fingers' ends slightly with the wet end of a napkin ; his legs were very weak ; his walk ever circular.' *The Court and Character of King James*, Written and Taken by Sir A. W. being an Eye and Eare Witnesse. London, 1650, pp. 177–179. Sir William Saunderson, who angrily answered Weldon, did not contest the accuracy of this description.

sequent dig at the Papists, which Bellarmine answered as follows :

It is very wonderful, Sir, how prone you are to show disapproval of anything that does not please the heretics, and that, too, on the mere ghost of an excuse. You frown on men who wear their hair and nails long, and then immediately add, ' there is no folly greater than to bind oneself by the vows of religion in these matters pertaining to food and clothing,' as if people were given to making their coats and their meals out of hair and nails, and as if any Catholic thought of binding himself by vow to let his locks grow down his back and his nails sprout unpruned.[1]

The twenty-second chapter of the book, ' On Games of Chance,' is one of the most interesting, and one which Bellarmine must surely have written with a mischievous twinkle in his eyes :

Your Majesty discourses on dice and card-playing with moderation, but nevertheless, you seem to show yourself in some measure a patron of such games. Now since there are many other ways in which noblemen, and especially great Kings, can find recreation for their minds, and since, as a rule, the common people are more inclined to copy the vices than the virtues of their princes, I thought I should be acting the part of an honest man if I were to expound briefly, at the end of my book, what wise writers and law-makers have said about games of this description.

Then, having quoted the Apostolic Canons, a council, the Roman law, the Emperor Justinian, St. Cyprian, and St. Ambrose, he continues :

Now listen to the prince of philosophers, Aristotle, who considered robbers to be more respectable than gamesters ; for, says he, though both sorts are despicable, and in quest of mean gains, yet the robbers spoil strangers only, while the gamesters spoil their dearest friends. . . . And indeed, Sir, what could be more shabby or dishonourable than to derive an income from a mere lazy game, without any labour or industry ? . . . Besides, games were meant either for the exercise of the body or the refreshment of the mind. Now card-playing for money makes the body heavy and dull with constant sitting down, and fills the mind with worry, fear, anger, and envy ; wherefore it is not so much a game as the vain pretence of a game.

Games, moreover, were invented to provide, as it were, a seasoning for serious activities, and seasonings are things to be taken in small quantities. But once the craze for card-playing gets hold of

[1] *Auctarium Bellarminianum*, p. 242.

a man, it will eat up all his time, and not only prevent other occupations, but cause the most serious injuries as well. Such gaming is everywhere wont to be the source of enmities, quarrels, blasphemies, thefts, robberies, the ruin of families, and innumerable other evils of the same kind. Consequently, it would have been better and more becoming the dignity of a king to censure such games unreservedly than to sanction them with even the least shadow of royal patronage.[1]

If the Cardinal wrote these sentences more or less at random, the following contemporary story, told in a letter by an Englishman named Lewknor, would seem to show that he had made a singularly lucky hit:

I cannot omit an especial act of the king's patience. He being at cards this Christmas, and the game Lodam, and he playing ten shillings a set, the king lost three sets; which moved him so much, that, rising from his seat, and sitting down in his chair, he blaspheming said, 'Am I not as good a King as King David? as holy a King as King David? as just a King as King David? and why should I, then, be crossed?' The palsgrave being present, and seeing the King in such a rage, asked the Duke of Lennox what the King said; and when the Duke had told him, he said, 'Surely the King is a very good King, but I do not remember that ever I read that King David did swear so much for the loss of so little money.'[2]

6. Prince Henry was urged by his father, in the *Basilikon Doron*, to love God 'first for that He made you a man, and next for that He made you a little god to sit on His throne and rule over men.' Bellarmine read much more to the same effect, Henry being told that kings are not mere laymen as 'the Papists and Anabaptists vainly imagine.' Consequently, when the young Prince came to the throne he would be invested by God with spiritual power, and stand before the world as 'utriusque tabulae custos'. In that capacity it would be his business to keep bishops in their places, especially, as the Latin version used by Bellarmine put it, 'tumidos istos, insulos et insolentes Pontifices seu Papales Episcopos.'

Here was Divine Right naked and unashamed, and Bellarmine rose to its challenge with alacrity, giving back text for text and argument for argument. Once again, as in the Controversies, he insisted on the great distinction between the 'civitas terrena' and the 'civitas coelestis':

[1] *Auctarium Bellarminianum*, pp. 253–254.
[2] MS. in the Stonyhurst archives, *Anglia*, A, vol. III, p. 119.

Though now in Christian lands the *Respublica christiana* and the *Respublica politica* are united and, as it were, interfused, since the subjects of each are the same, yet are they properly and truly two kingdoms, distinct in origin, aims, laws, external forms, and magistracy. The Christian Republic was instituted by Christ; its purpose is the attainment of eternal life; its laws are God-given; its magistrates are bishops and the Pope; and the rites by which it is bound together are the seven Sacraments. The civil State, on the other hand, took its origin from human agreement; its purpose is temporal peace; its laws are the creation of human reason, and vary according to circumstances; its rites and ceremonies are the result of custom, or of the ruler's will; and that ruler is the King. . . .

The Christian Republic or the Church has no need of kings in order to exist, for there was a time when it existed without them, nor has the civil State need of bishops to enable it to endure, for even now there are states in which no bishops are to be found. Since, then, this great distinction divides the two Republics, your Majesty's prudence will tell you that, in Christian kingdoms, the civil ruler has authority over his subjects in their civil capacity, but not in their capacity as *cives sanctorum et domestici Dei*; while, on the other hand, the ecclesiastical rulers have authority over the same men in their character as Christians, but not in their character as citizens.

If, then, the civil magistrate, even though he be a king, has no authority over laymen as far as religion is concerned, much less has he any right to control bishops in their official capacity, seeing that he himself, as a Christian, is subject to their authority. You have heard St. Ambrose declare that a Christian emperor is *in* the Church and not *over* it, and you have read the words addressed to a prince by St. Gregory Nazianzen: *Lex Christi te meo tribunali subjecit; imperamus etiam et nos, addo etiam imperio sublimiori.* Listen now to St. John Chrysostom subjecting an emperor, in matters of religion, to the authority, not of a bishop, but of a mere deacon. The deacon is addressed in the following words: *Si dux quispiam, si consul, si is qui diademate ornatur, indigne adeat, cohibe et coerce; majorem tu illo habes potestatem.*[1]

These are only a few disconnected passages from Bellarmine's argument. To appreciate the full force of it, it needs to be studied as a whole, but even the little we have given may serve to show that his opposition to the Divine Right of Kings had arisen out of something more respectable than the exigencies of immediate controversy.

[1] *Auctarium*, p. 235. Among the many authorities that Blessed Robert quotes in dealing with this subject is William of Newbury's *History of England.*

It is time now to bring our account of the 'Priestly Gift' to an end, conscious though we are of having done it but scant justice. Towards the close, the Cardinal once again exhorts the King most earnestly to come back to the Catholic fold, Mary Stuart having as usual a front place in the supplication. Then, as if doubtful whether his efforts were worth while, he continues:

If these reasons of mine do not move your Majesty to acknowledge the Catholic Church and embrace the faith of your mother and all your ancestors, may they at least obtain a little peace for those of your subjects who profess that faith. Grant this much to the honour of your parents and the memory of your forefathers that their religion may not be entirely driven out of their Kingdom, now that you are its King. Do not consent, Sir, that the golden opinion which all men had of your clemency and kindness when you were King of Scotland alone, should now in some men's opinion be deservedly eclipsed, nor that you who were held for the meekest of Kings, should now, where Catholics are concerned, be esteemed the most unkind. This I say, having read not without a keen sense of sorrow, the laws and decrees against Catholics, passed by you in your recent parliaments. I have seen, too, some of those venerable priests whom your laws have driven into exile, and the sight has created such a general feeling of horror that scarcely any one can persuade himself that you are responsible—you, the most humane and learned of Kings and the son of a Catholic father and mother.

Nevertheless, we do you justice, and are not ignorant that these measures proceed rather from the evil counsels of your advisers than from your own head and heart. Of a surety, it will in no way profit your reputation, your honour, your personal safety, nor the peace and tranquillity of your kingdom, that so many thousands of Catholics who welcomed you so gladly as their King, and hoped so much from the goodness of your heart, should now be subjected to persecution for that Catholic faith which flourished so many centuries in your native island. We heard not long since, and, as was natural, with the greatest sorrow and indignation, of the dreadful danger in which your Majesty's life had been placed through the conspiracy of some of your subjects. While rejoicing that, by the Providence of God, you were spared, we would advise your Majesty in all sincerity that there is no safer nor easier protection against such perils than the love and good-will of your people.[1]

Whether the bright and noble little masterpiece of which these words are the conclusion ever reached the man for whom

[1] *Auctarium Bellarminianum*, pp. 255–256.

it was intended, is not known. Owing to the increasing severity of the persecution in England, it was probably held in reserve for more propitious times and eventually forgotten. In the next chapter we shall see the Cardinal, no longer peaceably exhorting, but in deadly combat with the King.

CHAPTER XXIII

CARDINAL VERSUS KING

1. Four days after the fatal Fifth of November 1605, King James made a speech to his Parliament which has won him considerable applause from historians. Instead of denouncing the Catholic community, we are reminded, the King on that occasion exonerated it as a whole from all blame for the Powder Plot. It is true that he did, but there was one big flaw in his generosity which is not so often emphasized, for he acquitted the Catholics only that he might the more unreservedly belabour Catholicism. His words were as follows :

> Although it cannot be denied that it was the blind superstition of their errors in religion, that led them to this desperate device, yet doth it not follow that all professing that Romish religion were guilty of the same ; for as it is true that no other Sect of heretics, not excepting turk, jew, nor pagan, no, not even those of Calicut who adore the devil, did ever maintain, by the grounds of their religion, that it was lawful, or rather meritorious, as the *Romish Catholics* call it, to murther princes or people for quarrel of religion . . . yet it is true, on the other side, that many honest men, blinded, peradventure, with some opinions of popery, . . . do either not know, or at least not believe, all the true grounds of popery, which is indeed the 'mystery of iniquity' . . . [Such] may yet remain good and faithful subjects . . . [but] none of those that truly know and believe the whole grounds and school-conclusions of their doctrine, can ever prove either good christians, or faithful subjects.[1]

The drift of these rather clumsy sentences is only too plain, and Parliament soon added an unmistakable commentary. From January to May 1606, both Houses devoted themselves zealously to the revision and enlargement of the penal code. The Lords' Bill which resulted from these activities was entitled ' An Act to prevent and avoid dangers which may grow

[1] *The Works of the Most High and Mighty Prince James*, etc., Montagu's ed., 1616, p. 503.

by Popish Recusants', and made the following among other provisions :

1°. Such person as shall first discover to any justice of the peace any recusant or other person, which shall entertain or relieve any jesuit, seminary or popish priest, or shall discover any mass to have been said, and the persons that were present at such mass, and the priest that said the same, within three days next after the offence committed, and that, by reason of such discovery, any of the said offenders be taken and convicted, then the person that made such shall have the third part of the forfeiture of all such sums of money, goods, chattels and debts, which shall be forfeited by such offence.

2°. All popish recusants which have not repaired to some usual church or chapel and there heard divine service, but have forborne the same by the space of three months last past, shall within three months next after the end of this session of parliament depart from the City of London and ten miles compass of the same, upon pain that every person offending herein shall forfeit to our sovereign lord, the King's majesty, his heirs and successors, the sum of one hundred pounds ; the one moiety whereof shall be to the King's majesty, and the other moiety to him or them that will sue for the same by action.

3°. No recusant shall at any time after the end of this session of Parliament practise the common law of this realm as a counsellor, clerk, attorney, or solicitor, nor shall practise the civil law as advocate or proctor, nor practise physic, nor use or exercise the trade or art of apothecary, nor shall be judge, minister, clerk or steward, of or in any court, or other minister or officer in any court, nor shall bear any office or charge as captain, lieutenant, corporal, serjeant or other office in camp, troop, band, or company of soldiers ; nor bear any charge of or in any ship, castle, or fortress of the King's majesty but be utterly disabled for the same. And every person offending shall also forfeit, for every such offence, one hundred pounds, the one moiety whereof shall be to the King's majesty and the other to him that will sue for the same by action of debt, bill, plaint or information.

4°. Every popish recusant, which shall hereafter have any child born, shall, within one month next after the birth thereof, cause the same child to be baptized by a lawful minister in the open church of the same parish where the child shall be born, upon pain that the father of such child, if he be living by the space of one month next after the birth of such child, or, if he be dead within the said month, then the mother of such child, shall for every such offence forfeit one hundred pounds of lawful money of England ; one third part whereof to be to the King's majesty, one third part to the informer and the other third part to the poor of the said parish.

5°. No person shall bring from beyond the seas, nor shall print, sell, or buy any popish primers, lady's psalters, manuals, rosaries, popish catechisms, missals, breviaries and lives of the saints, printed or written in any language whatsoever, upon pain of forfeiture of forty shillings for every such book, one third part thereof to be to him that will sue for the same. And it shall be lawful for any two justices of peace within the limits of their jurisdiction or authority, and to all mayors, bailiffs and chief officers of cities, to search the houses and lodgings of every popish recusant or of every person whose wife is or shall be a popish recusant for popish books and relics of popery.[1]

It would be wearisome to continue this savage catalogue, which the tolerant son of Mary Stuart did not so much as lift a little finger to mitigate. Indeed, before ever there was a gunpowder plot, James had directly encouraged the persecuting zeal of his ministers and bishops, for Bancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, says so explicitly when referring in one of his pastoral letters of 1604 to a recent speech of the King to the Privy Council:

His most excellent majesty hath with the admiration of all that heard him most fully, rarely, and resolutely declared himself touching such courses as he wisheth should be held with popish recusants, being most desirous to rid his Kingdom of these pestiferous adversaries, to which purpose he hath dealt very thoroughly and privily both with the lords of his right honourable privy council, and with his judges; expecting likewise that we who are bishops should not be negligent in discharging of our duties, for the furthering and effecting of so royal and so religious a designment.[2]

In what the Journals of the House of Commons call the King's 'Meditation' on the articles described above, James is reported to have divided papists into 'Three sorts—1°. Papists old, rooted and rotten—small hope to reclaim them—rather superstitious than seditious—left to the old laws. 2°. Novelists, apostates, the greatest danger—most malignant—to be sifted by oaths both before and after. 3°. The youth, the future tense of the papists—take care of marriages and christenings—nip them in the bud—the beginning of procreation the action'.[3] Fortified by such royal encouragement,

[1] Stat. 3 Jac. I, c. 5.

[2] *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England*, Oxford, 1839, vol. II, pp. 77–78.

[3] *Commons Journals*, vol. I, p. 265. Quoted in Tierney-Dodd, vol. IV, p. 69.

the noble Lords proceeded to ordain that the Catholic wife even of a Protestant husband, if convicted of neglecting to receive the sacrament in the parish church for the year immediately preceding her husband's death, should forfeit two-thirds of her dowry and jointure, and be incapable of establishing her claim to any portion of her husband's goods ; that husbands and wives not married in a Protestant church and by a Protestant minister should each be deprived of all interest in the lands or property of the other ; that all children sent beyond the seas for education or other purposes without the King's permission should 'take no benefit by any gift, conveyance, descent or otherwise of any lands, tenements, hereditaments, leases, goods, or chattels' ; that those who sent them should forfeit a hundred pounds ; and that the property should go to the next Protestant heir, if the children on reaching the age of eighteen refused to take 'the Oath mentioned in an act of Parliament made this present session, entitled *An Act for the better discovery and repressing of Popish Recusants*.'[1]

The Act referred to here emanated from the House of Commons, and filled in whatever was wanting to the cruelty of the other by such neat declarations as that 'every person and persons, which, after one month after the end of this present session of parliament, shall willingly maintaine, retaine, relieve, keepe, or harbour, in his or their house, any servant, sojourner, or estranger who shall not repaire to some church or chapel to hear divine service, but shall forbear the same by the space of one month together, shall forfeit ten pounds for every month that he, she, or they, shall so relieve, maintaine, retaine, keep, and harbour, any such servant, sojourner, or

[1] *A Collection of Sundry Statutes*, by F. Pulton, Esq., London, 1640. Sub. Stat. 3 Jac. I, c. 5, pp. 1308–1314. The most unpleasant clauses in these old black-letter pages are those which regularly assign a third or a half of the fines mulcted of the Catholics 'to such as shall sue for the same, by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, in any the King's Majesty's courts of record, wherein no essoin, protection, or wager of law shall be admitted or allowed'. In other words, Catholics were delivered over without redress to the mercies of all the impecunious Judases in their neighbourhood. With this before us, it is almost amusing to read the efforts made by some learned Protestant apologists to show that King and Government did not really mean to be intolerant, and that the bark of their penal bills was much worse than their bite. See, for example, R. G. Usher's *Reconstruction of the English Church* (London, 1910), vol. II, pp. 111–112, and compare his empty conjectures with the hard, brutal facts as recorded by Father John Gerard, who witnessed them, *A Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot* (Ed. Morris, 1871), pp. 31–40, 307–331.

estranger.' [1] But the most famous provision of the Commons' Bill was a new oath 'for the better trial how his Majesty's subjects stand affected in point of their loyalty and due obedience'. As this oath involved Cardinal Bellarmine in the greatest controversy of his life, it is necessary to have its complete text before us:

I, A.B., do truly and sincerely acknowledge, professe, testifie and declare in my conscience before God and the world, That our Soveraigne Lord King JAMES is lawfull and rightfull King of this Realme, and of all other his Majesties Dominions and Countries; and that the Pope neither of himselfe, nor by any authority of the Church or See of Rome, or by any other meanes with any other, hath any power or authority to depose the King, or to dispose any of his Majesties Kingdomes or Dominions, or to authorize any forraine Prince to invade or annoy him, or his Countries, or to discharge any of his subjects of their allegiance and obedience to his Majesty, or to give licence or leave to any of them to beare armes, raise tumult or to offer any violence or hurt to his Majesties Royall Person, State, or Government, or to any of his Majesties subjects, within his Majesties Dominions.

Also I do sweare from my heart, that notwithstanding any declaration or sentence of Excommunication, or deprivation made or granted, or to bee made or granted by the Pope or his successors, or by any authority derived, or pretended to bee derived from him or his See, against the said King, his heires and successors, or any absolution of the said subjects from their obedience: I will beare faith and true allegiance to his Majesty, his heires and successors, and him and them will defend to the uttermost of my power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever which shal be made against his or their persons, their Crowne and dignity, by reason or colour of any such sentence or declaration, or otherwise, and will do my best endevour to disclose and make knowne unto his Majesty, his heires and successors, all Treasons and traiterous conspiracies, which I shall know or heare of to be against him or any of them.

[1] Pulton, *A Collection of Sundry Statutes*, p. 1306. Referring to this statute, La Boderie, the French ambassador, wrote: 'Ce qui les presse davantage, c'est la peine imposée de deux cens livres pour chaque serviteur Catholique, qui se trouvera en une maison; car il y en a une infinité, mêmement chez les protestans, desquels il leur fâche extrêmement de se defaire, pour reconnoitre plus de fidélité en eux, qu'en ceux de leur religion même. Et d'autre part, c'est une extrême compassion de voir tant de pauvres gens, qui par ce moyen, seront contraints de mourir de faim. Il y eut l'autre jour un seul seigneur, qui donna congé à soixante. J'en sçais d'autres de très bonne qualité qui sont resolus de souffrir tout, plutôt que de congédier les leurs. C'est une dangereuse arme que la désespoir, en mains de personnes qui n'ont rien à perdre.' *Ambassades*, t.. I, pp. 231–232.

And I do further sweare, That I do from my heart abhorre, detest, and abjure, as impious and hereticall, this damnable doctrine and position, That Princes which bee excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, may be deposed or murthered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever.

And I do beleeve, and in conscience am resolved, that neither the Pope, nor any person whatsoever, hath power to absolve me of this oath, or any part thereof, which I acknowledge by good and full authority to bee lawfully ministred unto mee, and do renounce all Pardons and Dispensations to the contrary, And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and sweare, according to these expresse words by me spoken and according to the plaine and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any Equivocation, or mentall evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And I do make this recognition and acknowledgement heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian. So help me God.[1]

Any married woman, eighteen years old and not of the nobility, who refused to take this oath was to be committed 'to the common gaol, there to remain without bail or mainprise' until she changed her mind. Other persons, eighteen years old and not of the nobility, were to be committed to the common gaol for the first refusal, and for the second to incur the penalty of praemunire, which included the deprivation of all civil rights, loss of all property, and perpetual imprisonment.

This oath, in the opinion of McIlwain, was 'England's answer to the Jesuit challenge contained in Bellarmine's theory of the Pope's indirect power. . . . It marks a turning point in the history of modern politics and its effects were felt at once in every corner of the western intellectual world.'[2] Such being the case, it is important to know something about the sources from which the oath was derived. For some years previous to its drafting, the English secular priests and the Jesuits had been at loggerheads on questions of general Catholic policy. Many of the Seculars were undoubtedly influenced by what afterwards came to be known as Gallican views on the power of the Pope, while the Jesuits, on the other hand, stood up, rightly or wrongly, for the traditional prerogatives of the Holy See. There was, of course, a good deal more than mere theology at the bottom of the unfortunate disputes, and neither side could contend that they were acting all the

[1] Pulton, *A Collection of Sundry Statutes*, pp. 1303–1304.
[2] *The Political Works of James I.* Introduction, pp. xlix and lvi.

time in the best interests of the cause which they both had at heart.

The astute ecclesiastical diplomatist, Richard Bancroft, then Bishop of London, was not slow to take advantage of this split in the Catholic ranks. Seeing clearly enough that Catholicism in England though 'doomed to death, was fated not to die', he determined at least to paralyse and confine its activities as much as possible. The Jesuits he conceived to be the main difficulty, and, in order to ruin their influence with the lay Catholics, he strove by every means in his power to increase the credit of the Seculars. The Seculars, of course, had to pay for this uncovenanted patronage, and part of the payment was to consist in subscription to certain oaths of allegiance which Bancroft had drawn up. In 1605, before the discovery of the Powder Plot, the wily Bishop had drafted a particularly ingenious formula, and this, with a few unimportant additions, was the Oath prescribed by the Parliament of 1606.

The whole story of the negotiations between Bancroft and the Seculars is told by Professor Usher in a chapter headed significantly 'Fostering Catholic Disunion',[1] and he says, later on in his book, that 'there can be little doubt that the final form of the Oath of Allegiance was prepared by Bancroft after consultation with the Secular leaders, that they accepted it themselves, and gave assurances of the readiness of Catholics in general to take it, before the oath was ever adopted by Parliament.'[2] In his anxiety to make the Catholics entirely responsible for their own undoing, the learned Professor will not admit that Bancroft may have had other advisers whose motives were more questionable than those of the Secular priests. He rules out Christopher Perkins for the rather amusing reason that he 'was not one of the secular leaders'. Sir Christopher Perkins certainly was not! He was a renegade Jesuit, who after apostatizing from the Church had gone to London, and there, says Goodman, 'found a very active bishop, Bishop Bancroft, with whom he did much converse; and Bishop Bancroft did make use of him, both for his discovery beyond seas, and likewise upon other occasions. . . . It is thought that he had a hand in the oath of allegiance.'[3]

[1] *Reconstruction of the English Church*, vol. I, ch. viii.

[2] *L.c.*, vol. II, p. 109.

[3] *The Court of King James the First*, vol. I, pp. 331–333. Professor Usher did not consider it necessary to go farther than Taunton's *Jesuits in England* for his information, and as Taunton gave no authority for his statement that Perkins had a hand in the oath, Perkins was summarily

Bancroft's device was a variation of the old theme, *divide et impera*, and it met with extraordinary success. The oath was a clever blend of perfectly legitimate declarations with highly controversial ones. All Catholics were quite at liberty to recognize in James their 'lawfull and rightfull King'; moreover they were bound by their faith to 'abhorre, detest, and abjure as impious and hereticall, this damnable doctrine and position that Princes which bee excommunicated or deprived by the Pope may be *murthered* by their subjects or any other whatsoever'; and they certainly had a duty in conscience 'to disclose and make knowne unto his Majesty all treasons and traiterous conspiracies against him'. But on the other hand, how could any Catholic of those days 'truly and sincerely acknowledge, professe, testifie and declare that the Pope, neither of himself nor by any authority of the Church and See of Rome, or by any other meanes, hath any power or authority to depose the King'? And still less, how could any Catholic 'abhorre, detest, and abjure as impious and *hereticall*, this damnable doctrine and position that Princes which bee excommunicated or deprived by the Pope may be *deposed* by their subjects or any other whatsoever'?

All the Popes of medieval times had been allowed by the common consent of Christendom a certain authority over monarchs, which included, in special circumstances, the right of deposing them. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the vast majority of Catholic theologians admitted the existence of these rights, though they carried on vigorous disputes among themselves as to their origin, their nature, their limits, and the advisability of exercising them. Even the small Gallican school did not put forward its own contrary views as anything more than probable. Consequently the Catholics of England were being forced to affirm on oath that for three whole centuries the Papacy had been usurping rights which in no way belonged to it, and to condemn as heretical and impious a theory which had behind it all the weight and learning of the Church's greatest theologians. It is beside the point to say that the theologians were wrong in forgetting that the medieval theocracy had passed away never to return. They may have been, but what really matters is that they taught what they did teach. To condemn such teaching as impious and here-

dismissed. Cf. *Reconstruction of the English Church*, vol. II, p. 109, note. Lingard says that Archbishop *Abbot* and Perkins drew up the oath! *History of England*, vol. VII, p. 91.

tical might, in the circumstances, be considered as tantamount to condemning the whole doctrinal and disciplinary basis of Catholicism.[1]

2. We have dwelt thus long on the Oath and its antecedents, because without some understanding of the issues at stake the great subsequent controversy, of which Bellarmine was the leader, might appear a mere futile war of words. The first intimation of the trouble brewing for the Catholics of England was conveyed to the Cardinal by a memorial of Father Persons, dated 18 May 1606, which begged him to use his influence with the Pope to get the 'Gallican' views of the Appellant Priests condemned, as the proposed measure of Parliament was to be based on them.[2] When the measure became law, nine days after the dispatch of the memorial, the English Catholics at once divided into two parties, one advocating the lawfulness of the oath, and the other warmly denouncing it. At first the Archpriest, George Blackwell, sided whole-heartedly with the opposition, but shortly afterwards he changed round completely, and became the leader of the party which considered that the oath might legitimately be taken. He was a hot-headed 'customer',[3] and it was only with difficulty that he was dissuaded from issuing instructions to that effect to the Catholic body until he had met and discussed the whole question with the leaders of the English clergy.[4]

In June 1606 Father Preston, the superior of the Benedic-

[1] Even Bossuet, Gallican though he was or had to be, characterized the term 'heretical' employed in the Oath as 'excessive and dangerous' (*Defensio Declarationis*), and Ranke, who was as little fond of justifying Popes as anybody, considered that by the Oath of Allegiance 'the supremacy of the King would be practically acknowledged and the connection of the English Catholics with the Papacy dissolved' (*History of England*, vol. I, p. 416). Besides all this, the Oath ought to be studied in its context by those who wish to decide impartially whether King and Commons were animated with a mere reasonable desire to secure civil fidelity in their subjects. It may look innocent enough when taken by itself, but wedged in among the other statutes which it was designed to supplement and strengthen, it assumes a totally different aspect.

[2] The Memorial, copied from the draft in the Stonyhurst archives, is reproduced in Tierney-Dodd, vol. IV, p. cxxxv. As usual when Father Persons comes into the story, Dr. Tierney indulges in taunts and insinuations (cf. vol. IV, p. 70. Tierney's note). Father Persons may not have been very charitable in urging his charges against the Appellants, but he certainly did not invent them. See Usher, *Reconstruction of the English Church*, vol. I, ch. viii.

[3] This was the *nom de guerre* used to conceal Blackwell's identity. Cf. Tierney-Dodd, vol. IV, app., n. XXIV, p. cxl.

[4] 'He gave as his excuse the danger in which he stood . . . and he would not listen to anything against this new opinion of his.' Letter of Father Mush, one of Blackwell's assistants, given in Tierney-Dodd, vol.. IV, p. cxxxvi.

tines, and Father Holtby, the superior of the Jesuits, took part in a conference with the Archpriest and his three assistants, Bishop, Mush, and Broughton. Holtby, Preston, and Mush voted against the doctrines of the oath, while Blackwell, Bishop, and Broughton defended them. Owing to this deadlock the meeting broke up abruptly, but not before it had been decided to appeal to the judgment of the Pope. Paul V, or Signore Paul, as Father Holtby styles him, was not a man who would be likely to need much persuasion from Jesuits or anybody else in order to turn him against the new instrument of Protestant tyranny.[1] In deference to the advice of Henry IV, however, he withheld his hand for a time, and even dispatched an envoy to King James, to solicit his intervention on behalf of the unoffending Catholics. But the mission was a complete failure,[2] and consequently on 22 September 1606 Paul signed a Brief, pronouncing the oath to be unlawful as ' containing many things contrary to faith and salvation '.

Father Holtby, the Jesuit superior, seems to have been the first to obtain an authentic copy of the Brief.[3] He placed it in Blackwell's hands without delay, but the Archpriest obstinately refused to publish it, saying that he had no desire to put his neck into a noose.[4] His prudence availed him nothing, for James soon procured a copy of the Pope's letter and showed his resentment by ordering an immediate and thorough search for the unfortunate head of the Church in England. He was captured at Clerkenwell, 24 June 1607, and taken, with all his correspondence, to Lambeth Palace, there to undergo a rigorous examination at the hands of Bancroft and his assistant bishops.[5] Bancroft, to use plain language, was a perfect brute in his dealings with this poor, infirm, old priest. He was forced by dint of badgering and browbeating, first of all to renew his approbation of the oath, then to take it himself, and finally to write a letter to the English clergy engaging them to follow his example and to urge their flocks to do the same. Bancroft had this letter printed and distributed throughout the country, to the consternation of thousands of tender consciences. In

[1] Tierney has a cock and bull story that it was the English Jesuits of Flanders who prevailed upon him to take action (Tierney-Dodd, IV, p. 74). Paul V himself denied this flatly in his second brief, reproduced below.

[2] La Boderie, *Ambassades*, t. I, pp. 284, 300, 327.

[3] More, *Historia Missionis Anglicanae S.J.*, p. 345.

[4] *In Blackwellum Quaestio*, London, Norton, 1609, p. 8. This distorted account of Blackwell's trial was written by Bancroft.

[5] La Boderie, *Ambassades*, t. II, pp. 29, 313.

A LARGE EXAMINATION TAKEN

at *Lambeth*, according to his Maieſties direction, point by point, *of M. George Blakwell, made Archpriest of England, by Pope Clement 8.*

Vpon occaſion of a certaine anſwere of his, without the priuitie of the State, to a *Letter lately ſent vnto him from Cardinall* Bellarmine, *blaming him for taking the oath of Allegeance.*

Together with the Cardinals Letter, and M. *Blakwels* ſaid anſwere vnto it.

Alſo M. *Blakwels* Letter to the Romiſh Catholickes in England, aſwell Eccleſiaſticall, as Lay.

¶ Imprinted at London by *Robert Barker*, Printer to the Kings moſt Excellent Maieſtie.

1607.

spite of their superior's defection, the majority of the priests, both secular and regular, remained staunch in their loyalty to Rome, but the small party which favoured the oath made such a deal of clamour that some further pronouncement of the Holy See soon became necessary. Accordingly a second Brief was prepared and signed in August 1607 :

To Our Beloved Sonnes the English Catholikes, Paulus, P.P. V^tus^. Beloved Sonnes, Salutation and Apostolicall benediction.

It is reported unto us that there are found certaine amongst you, who when as we have sufficiently declared by our Letters, dated the last yeere on the tenth of the Calends of October in the forme of a Breve, that yee cannot with safe Conscience take the Oath, which was then required of you ; and when as wee have further straitly commanded you, that by no meanes ye should take it : yet there are some, I say, among you, which dare now affirme, that such letters concerning the forbidding of the Oath, were not written of our owne accord, or of our own proper will, but rather for the respect and at the instigation of other men. And for that cause, the same men do goe about to perswade you that our commands in the said letters are not to be regarded.

Surely this newes did trouble us ; and that so much the more, because having had experience of your obedience (most dearely beloved Sonnes), who to the end ye might obey this holy See, have godlily and valiantly contemned your riches, wealth, honour, libertie, yea and life itselfe ; we should never have suspected that the trueth of our Apostolike letters could once be called into question among you, that by this pretence yee might exempt yourselves from our commandements. But we doe herein perceive the subtiltie and craft of the enemie of man's salvation ; and wee doe attribute this your backwardnesse rather to him, than to your owne will.

And for this cause, wee have thought good to write the second time unto you, and to signifie unto you againe, That our Apostolike letters, dated the last yeere on the tenth of the Calends of October, concerning the prohibition of the Oath, were written, not onely upon our proper motion, and of our certaine knowledge, but also after long and weightie deliberation used concerning all those things which are conteined in them ; and for that cause ye are bound to observe them, rejecting all interpretation perswading to the contrary. And this is our meere, pure, and perfect will, being alwaies carefull of your salvation and alwayes minding those things which are most profitable unto you.

And we doe pray without ceasing that He that hath appointed our lowlinesse to the keeping of the flocke of Christ would enlighten our thoughts and our counsels ; whom we doe also continually

desire that He would increase in you (our beloved Sons) faith, constancie, and mutuall charitie and peace one to another. All whom we doe most lovingly blesse with all charitable affection.

Dated at Rome at Saint Markes, under the Signet of the Fisherman, the tenth of the calends of September 1607, the third yeere of our Popedome.[1]

3. In the above interesting and very explicit letter Pope Paul charitably refrained from alluding to Blackwell's fall, but nevertheless, he considered that some personal admonition was called for, and thinking that it would be more acceptable if it came from a friend, he appears to have directed Bellarmine to write to the Archpriest. At all events Bellarmine did write, and his letter, now to be reproduced as first translated, had momentous consequences for the Catholic community in England.

'To the Very Reverend Mr. George Blackwell, Arch-priest of the English: Robert Bellarmine, Cardinall of the holy Church of Rome, greeting.

'Reverend Sir, and Brother in Christ, It is almost fortie yeeres since we did see one the other: But yet I have never been unmindfull of our ancient acquaintance, neither have I ceased, seeing I could do you no other good, to commend you, labouring most painefully in the Lord's vineyard, in my prayers to God: and I doubt not but that I have lived all this while in your memorie, and have had some place in your prayers at the Lord's Altar. So therefore even unto this time we have abidden, as S. John speaketh, in the mutuall love one of the other, not in worde or letter, but in deede and trueth.

'But a late message which was brought unto us within a few dayes, of your bonds and imprisonment, hath inforced me to breake off this silence; which message, although it seemed heavie in regard of the losse of your pastorall function which you have exercised in that Church, yet withall it seemed joyous, because you drew neere unto the glory of Martyrdome, then the which thing there is no gift of God more happy; that you, who have fed your Flocke so many yeeres with the word and doctrine, should now feede it more gloriously by the example of your patience. But another heavy tidings did not a little disquiet and almost take away this joy, [a tidings] which im-

[1] This translation, given with all its curious fluctuations of spelling, was possibly made by King Jaines himself. It is very accurate, and may be seen in the King's *Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance*, London, 1608, pp. 31–33, a book to which frequent reference will be made in the course of the following pages. The Latin text is in Tierney-Dodd, vol. IV, app., n. XXVIII, p. cxlvi.

mediately followed of the adversaries assault, and peradventure of the slip and fall of your Constancie in refusing an unlawfull Oath.

'Neither truly (most deare brother) could that oath therefore be lawfull because it was offered in sort tempered and modified: for you know that those kind of modifications are nothing else but sleights and subtilties of Satan that the Catholique faith touching the Primacie of the See Apostolike might either secretly or openly bee shot at, for the which faith so many worthy Martyrs, even in that very England itselfe, have resisted unto blood. For most certaine it is that in whatsoever words the Oath is conceived by the adversaries of the faith in that Kingdome, it tends to this end that the Authoritie of the head of the Church in England may bee transferred from the successour of St. Peter to the Successour of King Henry the eight. For that which is pretended of the danger of the Kings life if the supreme Bishop should have the same power in England which he hath in all other Christian Kingdomes: it is altogether idle, as all that have any understanding may easily perceive. For it was never heard of from the Churches infancie untill this present day, that ever any Pope did command that any Prince, though an Heretike, though an Ethnike, though a Persecuter, should be murdered, or did approve of the fact when it was done by any other. And why, I pray you, doth onely the King of England feare that which none of all the other Princes in Christendome either doeth feare, or ever did feare?

'But, as I said, these vaine pretexts are but the Trappes and Stratagemes of Satan: of which kinde, I could produce not a few out of ancient Stories, if I went about to write a booke and not an Epistle. One onely for example sake I will call to your memory. S. Gregorie Nazianzene, in his first Oration against Julian the Emperour, reporteth that hee, the more easily to beguile the simple Christians, did insert the Images of the false gods into the pictures of the Emperour, which the Romanes did use to bow downe unto with a civill kind of reverence, so that no man could doe reverence to the Emperour's picture but withall he must adore the Images of the false gods. Whereupon it came to passe that many were deceived: and if there were any that found out the Emperours craft, and refused to worship his picture, those were most grievously punished as men that had contemned the Emperour in his Image. Some such like thing, me thinkes, I see in the

Oath that is offered to you, which is so craftily composed that no man can detest Treason against the King, and make profession of his Civil subjection, but he must be constrained perfidiously to denie the Primacy of the Apostolicke See. But the servants of Christ, and especially the chiefe Priests of the Lord, ought to be so farre from taking an unlawfull Oath, where they may indamage their Faith, that they ought to beware that they give not the least suspicion of dissimulation that they have taken it. Which thing that worthy Eleazar did most notably performe, who would neither eate Swines flesh, nor so much as faine to have eaten it, although he saw the great torments that did hang over his head, lest, as himselfe speaketh in the second booke of the Maccabees, many young men might be brought through that simulation, to prevaricate with the Law. . . .

'Now I suppose that there want not amongst you who say that they are but Subtilties of Opinions that are conteined in the Oath that is offered to the Catholicks, and that you are not to strive against the Kings authoritie for such a little matter. But there are not wanting also amongst you holy men, like unto Basill the Great, which will openly avow that the very least syllable of God's Divine Trueth is not to bee corrupted, though many Torments were to be endured and death itselfe set before you. Amongst whom it is meet that you should be one, or rather the Standard-bearer and Generall to the rest. And whatsoever hath bene the cause that your Constancie hath quailed, whether it be the suddenness of your apprehension, or the bitternesse of your persecution, or the imbecillitie [1] of your old age: yet we trust in the goodnesse of God, and in your owne long continued virtue, that it will come to passe that as you seeme in some part to have imitated the fall of Peter and Marcellinus, so you shall happily imitate their valour in recovering your strength and maintaining the trueth. For if you will diligently weigh the whole matter with your selfe, truely you shall see it is no small matter that is called in question by this Oath, but one of the principall heads of our faith and foundations of Catholicke Religion. . . . Neither can you be ignorant that those most holy and learned men, John, Bishop of Rochester, and Thomas More, within our memorie for this one most weightie head of doctrine led the way to Martyrdome to many others, to the exceeding glory of the English Nation. . . .

[1] In modern English, 'weakness.'

'And if peradventure your fall have proceeded not upon want of consideration but through humane infirmitie, and for feare of punishment, and imprisonment; yet do not preferre a temporall libertie before the libertie of the glory of the Sonnes of God. . . . You have fought a good fight a long time, you have wel-neere finished your course. So many yeeres you have kept the faith: doe not therefore loose the reward of such labours: do not deprive yourselfe of that crowne of righteousnesse which so long agone is prepared for you. Doe not make the faces of so many your both brethren and children ashamed. Upon you at this time are fixed the eyes of all the Church: yea also, you are made a spectacle to the world, to Angels, to men: Doe not so carie your selfe in this your last Act that you leave nothing but laments to your friends, and joy to your enemies, but rather the contrarie: which we assuredly hope, and for which wee continually powre forth prayers to God. Display gloriously the banner of Faith, and make to rejoyce the Church which you have made heavie. So shall you not onely merit pardon at God's hands, but a Crowne. Farewell, quit you like a man, and let your heart be strengthened. From Rome, the 28 day of September 1607.

'Your very Reverend Masterships brother and servant in Christ, Robert Cardinall Bellarmine.' [1]

Poor Blackwell's answer to this plain-spoken but genuinely kind letter affords sad evidence of the trouble in his soul. He alleges in his justification Bellarmine's own distinction between the direct and indirect power of the Pope, and tries to show that the Oath is not concerned with the indirect power at all. In a sense he was right, and in a sense Bellarmine's contention that the Primacy of the Holy See was involved was wrong. But the real issue for Catholic consciences was plain and straightforward enough. The power of the Pope to depose princes when the good of souls required it was certainly the common theological opinion of the time, and however unpractical it may have been, to reject it on oath as heretical and

[1] Translation by one of King James's bishops, probably Lancelot Andrewes. Published, together with the Latin text, by order of the King, in *A Large Examination Taken at Lambeth according to his Majesties direction of M. George Blackwell upon Occasion of a certaine Answere of his, without the Privitie of the State, to a Letter lately sent unto him from Cardinal Bellarmine.* Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most excellent Majestie. 1607. The original Latin letter, captured by King James, is in the Record Office, London. The handwriting is not Bellarmine's but that of some very neat Roman scribe.

impious, in spite of the Holy Father's express prohibition, was in a very true sense to surrender the flag to the enemy. Furthermore, if Catholics were going to let a Protestant layman decide what belonged to their faith and what did not, they might just as well have admitted his supreme spiritual jurisdiction and have done with it.

Blackwell must have felt, indeed, that his theological pleas were but a poor sort of defence, for he soon turned abruptly to argue with the heart of his monitor :

> If your Amplitudes most mild disposition could but in the least part conceive the ruines of Catholic families which the refusall of this oath would bring upon us ; assuredly you would not dissent from us, who by most wofull examples doe finde that from thence were like to proceede, not onely the losse and hazard of soules, but the lamentable extirpation of the whole Catholicke State amongst us.

In this passage, touching though it be, it is good to know that he totally misjudged the character of his countrymen. Instead of being daunted by the atrocious laws which were framed for their undoing, hundreds were roused to unwonted fervour for the faith. The makers of the Oath forgot that British stubbornness could easily turn into religious heroism. As Gardiner puts it :

> Men who would have been satisfied to allow the deposing power to be buried in the folios of theologians, and who would never have thought of allowing it to have any practical influence upon their actions, were put upon their mettle as soon as they were required to renounce a theory which they had been taught from their childhood.[1]

That acute observer, the French Ambassador, La Boderie, informed his master, Henry IV, immediately after the proclamation of the oath, that ' the poor Catholics were still incredibly numerous, and resolved for the greater part, in a way almost past belief, to suffer everything rather than give up their religion.'

> Many Catholics [he says in another place] are making ready to go into exile, and among them some so old that I think they are seeking foreign shores, merely to find there a peaceful grave. Nevertheless it is an admirable thing to see the large numbers who are in no wise frightened by all the penalties. I could not have believed that so much fervour and zeal were still to be found in our religion. . . . So far are these Catholics from losing heart under the persecution that they seem to derive new

[1] *History of England*, vol. I, p. 292.

strength and courage from it, and instead of Catholics who were known to be such, renouncing their faith, others who were not known, declare themselves openly every day.[1]

Blackwell's temporizing is a sad blot on this proud page of Catholic history, and it was of little service to him as a protection against his persecutors. Though he confided his answer to Bellarmine to a trusty messenger, it was intercepted by the London police and returned to Bancroft. Then the examinations began all over again, and there is no better commentary on the real intentions of King James and his Parliament than the 170 pages in which the minutes of them are enshrined. Bancroft and his assistants, the Bishops of London and Chichester, took the Archpriest severely to task for admitting even the indirect power of the Pope. Whereupon the old man wept and said :

That it was no little griefe unto him to be apprehended and cast into prison ; that thereupon he hoped his former troubles and oppositions against him would have ceased ; that notwithstanding, as matters are prosecuted, and his proceedings interpreted, hee receiveth nothing but discomfort from each side : that his friends [Bancroft and company !] might have been content to have expounded his oath in the best part, and the rather because they perceived hee found thereby that he had given some reasonable contentment to the State, for the ease of his imprisonment (being an old man, and troubled with many bodily infirmities), and for the avoyding of some further extremities ; that Cardinal Bellarmine might well have forborne his Letter unto him, as also his sharpe censures of him . . . ; that the said Cardinall might easily have foreseene that albeit there had beene no copies of his Letter taken before it came to him, this Examinate, yet that such a vigilant eye is had over him in prison, as that it is almost impossible for him to have kept it undiscovered, especially there being such bruites of it cast abroad ; . . . that, as he greatly suspecteth, the Cardinal's said letter was cunningly opened before it came to his, the Examinate's hands ; . . . which doth greatly perplexe him, and what may be the issue of it he knoweth not, but feareth the worst at al hands ; that notwithstanding, come what shall come, his hopes being past (which were never great), his libertie restrained (never to be recovered), the grave expecting him (which he most desireth), no joyes, nor comforts but in his blessed Saviour, he is resolved with patience to expect and undergoe it. . . .[2]

These were brave words, but alas, the tired and tormented

[1] *Ambassades*, t. I, pp. 121, 161–162, 177–178.
[2] *A Large Examination*, etc., pp. 15–17.

captive who uttered them had not reckoned with the arts of his Grace of Canterbury. By the meanest bullying, Blackwell was at last compelled to surrender unconditionally and swear that he repudiated the power of the Pope over princes in every form, even when there was question of a purely spiritual end such as the necessities of the Church or the propagation of Christianity. Nor was that all, for his persecutors refused to leave him alone until he had written a long letter, in the same sense, to the Catholics of England, a letter that was almost entirely occupied with the refutation of Cardinal Bellarmine.[1]

4. The Cardinal's interference had greatly annoyed King James, and his anger was further inflamed by the splendid resistance the Catholics were making, as well as by the news that Pope Paul had deposed the Archpriest for accepting the Oath. His Majesty's opinion of his own powers as scholar, poet, and theologian was only a little less high than the golden one he had of his gifts as a governor. Buchanan, the tutor of his youth, had constantly dinned into his ear 'that a King ought to be the most learned clerk in his dominion', and James had hung the maxim up in his heart. Like his future Chancellor, he took all knowledge for his province and pursued it with the same eagerness as he did the deer in his parks. Even at meal times he did not relax. 'Methought his hunting humour was not off while the learned stood about him at his board', says an old writer. 'He was ever in chase after some disputable doubt, which he would wind and turn about with the most stabbing objections that ever I heard.'[2]

Such a man could hardly be expected to keep quiet when there was controversy in the air, and though his ministers anxiously tried to dissuade him, he seems soon to have set his heart upon breaking a lance with the foremost champion of the Papacy. On 14 February 1608 Robert Barker, 'Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majestie', issued a small volume, quaintly entitled *Triplici Nodo Triplex Cuneus*, a conceit, which, so far as it is translatable at all, means 'A Threefold Wedge for a Threefold Knot.' The sub-title explained that the threefold knot consisted of the 'Two Breves of Pope Paulus Quintus, and the late Letter of Cardinall Bellarmine to G. Blackwell,

[1] *A Large Examination*, etc., pp. 146–170. This letter is addressed 'From the Clincke, January 20, 1608.' Blackwell died, still a prisoner, 25 January 1612.

[2] Hacket's *Life of Archbishop Williams*, part II, p. 38.

the Arch-priest.' No author's name was given, but the royal arms engraved on the back of the title-page, and the general style of the book, were a sufficient indication of its distinguished parentage. All doubt on this point was set at rest a few days after publication, when it became known that each of the foreign ambassadors in London had been presented with copies for transmission to their respective sovereigns. 'The King assured me,' wrote La Boderie, the representative of Henry IV, 'that his book did not deal with questions of faith at all and that there was nothing in it contrary to what the Gallican Church has always held. His conversation was almost entirely on this subject, and he plainly believed that he had given Cardinal Bellarmine a good dressing.' [1]

The book, styled in full 'Triplici Nodo Triplex Cuneus or an Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance', first paints King James as the pattern of a loving, and most tolerant monarch. Then the two Briefs of Pope Paul are reproduced, and 'the wordes of his thunder' subjected to vigorous, highly disrespectful criticism. But the author wastes no time over this part of his task, and is in evident haste to be on the track of more exciting game. When only a third of the book is finished, he dismisses the Pope and introduces Bellarmine in the following fashion :

It is not sufficient to ratifie the last yeeres Brieve by a new one come forth this yeere : but (that not onely every yeere, but every moneth may produce a new monster) the great and famous Writer of the Controversies, the late un-Jesuited Cardinall Bellarmine, must adde his talent to this good worke, by blowing the bellowes of sedition and sharpening the spur to rebellion, by sending such a Letter of his to the Arch-priest here, as it is a wonder how passion and an ambitious desire of maintaining that Monarchie should charme the wits of so famously learned a man. . . . . And now that I am to enter into the fielde against him by refuting his Letter, I must first use this protestation ; That no desire of vaine glory by matching with so learned a man, maketh mee to undertake this taske ; but onely the care and conscience I have, that such smooth Circes charmes and guilded pilles, as full of exterior eloquence as of inward untrueths, may not have that publique passage through the world without an answere.

The royal apologist's first criticism of Bellarmine's letter is to tell its author very plainly that he did not know what he was talking about :

[1] '. . . qu'il avait donné les étrivières au Cardinal Bellarmin.' La Boderie to Puisieux, 27 February 1608. *Ambassades*, t. III, p. 123.

I must here desire the world to wonder with me at the committing of so grosse an errour by so learned a man as that hee should have pained himselfe to have set downe so elaborate a letter, for the refutation of a quite mistaken question. For it appeareth that our English Fugitives, of whose inward societie with him hee so greatly vaunteth, have so fast hammered in his head the Oath of Supremacie, which hath ever bene so great a scarre unto them, as he thinking by his letter to have refuted the last Oath, hath in place thereof onely payd the Oath of Supremacie, which was most in his head. . . . For as the Oath of Supremacie was devised for putting a difference betweene Papists and them of our Profession: so was the Oath, which he would seeme to impugne, ordained for making a difference between the civilly obedient Papists and the perverse disciples of the Powder-Treason.

This last point is the burden of all the King's arguments. The oaths of supremacy and allegiance were as different as chalk from cheese and Bellarmine had mixed them up. The Queen's oath did indeed deny the Pope any spiritual jurisdiction over her subjects, but the King's oath left that question out altogether, and demanded, with the backing of Scripture and Councils, that purely civil obedience which every King has an incontestable right to demand.

In all this letter of his [continues his Majesty, after an imposing array of quotations] never one word is used to proove that by any part of this Oath the primacie of S. Peter is any way medled with, except Master Bellarmine, his bare alledging. . . . Neither is there any mention at all made therein of the Hierarchie of the Church, or S. Peters succession, of the Sea Apostolike, or any such matter: but that the Author of our letter doeth bravely make mention of S. Peters succession, bringing it in comparison with the succession of Henry the eight. Of which unapt and unmannerly similitude, I wonder hee should not be much ashamed.

The King was not content to argue the matter out on its merits, but indulged in personalities that hardly became his blameless pen:

As concerning the sweete memory hee [Bellarmine] hath of his old acquaintance with the Arch-priest; it may indeed be pleasing for him to recount, but sure I am, his acquaintance with him and the rest of his societie, our Fugitives (whereof he also vanteth himselfe in his preface to the Reader in his booke of Controversies) hath prooved sowre to us and our State. For some of such Priests and Jesuits as were the greatest Traitours and fomentors

of the greatest conspiracies against the late Queene,[1] gave up Father Robert Bellarmine for one of their greatest authorities and oracles. And therefore I doe not envie the great honour he can win by his vaunt of his inward familiaritie with another Princes traitours and fugitives ; whom unto if hee teach no better manners than hitherto he hath done, I think his fellowship are little beholding unto him. And for desiring him to remember him in his prayers at the altar of the Lord : if the Arch-priest's prayers proove no more profitable to his soule then Bellarmine's counsell is like to prove profitable, both to the soule and body of Blackwell (if he would follow it), the author of this letter might very well be without his prayers.

To show that the Cardinal is not to be trusted, the King cites no fewer than twenty-one alleged contradictory passages in the *Controversies* remarking that ' whenever hee is pressed with a weighty objection, he never careth, nor remembreth how his solution and answere may make him gainsay his owne doctrine in some other places, so it serve him for a shift to put off the present storme withall.' His Majesty was well known to be very timorous by nature, but with the usual sensitiveness of humanity, he considered the slightest suggestion that he was not as brave as a lion to be a very gross affront. Consequently Bellarmine's sarcasm, ' alledging a Panicke terrour ' upon him of a dagger directed from Rome, made him exceedingly wroth.

As to ' the Pope's allowing of killing of Kings', he says :

I know not with what face he can set so stout a deniall upon it against his owne knowledge ; . . . let us turne our eyes upon our owne time, and therein remember what a Panegyrike oration was made by the Pope, in praise and approbation of the Frier that murthered King Henry the third of France. . . . How neere it scaped that the said Frier was not canonized for that glorious acte, is better knowen to Bellarmine and his followers, than to us here. . . . What difference there is, betweene the killing or allowing the slaughter of Kings and the stirring up and approbation of practises to kil them, I remit to Bellarmine's owne judgement. . . . And howsoever the Pope wil seeme to cleare himselfe of any allowance of the Powder-treason ; yet can it not be denied that his principall ministers here, and his chief *Mancipia* the Jesuites, were the plaine practisers thereof ; for which the principall of them hath died confessing it, and others have fled the countrey for the crime ; yea, some of them gone into Italy : yet neither these nor Baldwine in the Low-countreys were ever called to account for it by the

[1] In the margin : ' Campion and Hart. See the Conferences in the Tower.' As Campion was martyred in 1581, this is very doubtful.

Pope: much lesse punished for medling in so scandalous and enormous businesse. And now what needes so great wonder and exclamation, that 'onely the King of England feareth'?

To show how brave his Majesty was and how little he suffered from 'Panicke terrour', in spite of the good reasons for it, the author of the Apology demands to know whether the King of England had 'ever importuned the Pope with any request for his securitie, or troubled other Christian Princes, his friends and allies, to intreat for him at the Pope's hand, or begged from them any aide or assistance for his farther securitie?'

No [he continues]. All this wondered at feare of his stretcheth no further then wisely to make distinction betweene the sheepe and goates in his owne pasture. For since what ever the Pope's part hath bin in the Powder-treason; yet certaine it is that all these caitife monsters did to their death maintaine that onely zeal of Religion mooved them to that horrible attempt. . . . Had we not, then, and our Parliament great reason, by this oath to set a marke of distinction betweene good subjects, and bad? . . . Nay, could there be a more gracious part in a King towards subjects of a contrary religion, then by making them to take this oath to publish their honest fidelitie in temporall things to their Soveraigne, and thereby to wipe off that imputation and great slander which was layd upon the whole professors of that religion by the furious enterprise of these Powder-men?

His Majesty's wrath against Cardinal Bellarmine is understandable enough in the light of his convictions on the prerogatives of monarchy. 'The State of Monarchy is the supremest thing upon earth,' he once informed his dutiful Parliament, 'for Kings are not onely Gods Lieutenants upon earth and sit upon Gods throne, but even by God Himself they are called Gods . . . for that they exercise a manner of resemblance of Divine Power upon earth. . . . As to dispute what God may doe is blasphemie, so is it sedition in subjects to dispute what a King may do in the height of his power.'[1] Again, in the *Trew Law of Free Monarchies* he says that though the King should not take his subjects' lives 'without a cleare law, yet the same lawes whereby he taketh them are made by himselfe or his predecessors, and so the power flowes alwaies from him selfe.' The King himself 'is above the law as both the author and the giver of strength thereto' and he is in no

[1] *The Political Works of James I* (Ed. McIlwain), p. 307.

Triplici nodo, triplex cuneus.

OR
AN APOLOGIE
FOR THE OATH

of Allegiance,

Againſt the two Breues *of Pope*

PAVLVS QVINTVS, and the late Letter of Cardinal BELLARMINE to G. BLACKVVEL the Arch-prieſt.

Tunc omnes populi clamauerunt & dixerunt, Magna eſt Veritas, & prævalet. ESDR. 3.

¶ *Authoritate Regiâ.*

¶ Imprinted at London by *Robert Barker*, Printer to the Kings moſt Excellent Maieſtie.

ANNO 1607.

way bound to obey it ' but of his goodwill and for good exampel-giving to his subjects.' [1]

With habits of thought such as these guiding his pen, it is no wonder that James, at the close of his Apology, should have professed himself horrified by ' the base and unreverend speeches ' about kings with which, he says, ' Bellarmine's former great Volumes and late Bookes against Venice are filled.' The sum and substance of his belief is conveyed in these last words : ' Christ is no more contrary to Belial, light to darknesse, and heaven to hell, than Bellarmine's estimation of Kings is to God's '.

Despite its unmannerly language and less than regal insinuations, the Apology was genuinely learned, and would not have been a discredit to the best scholar on the Anglican bench of bishops. The Old and New Testaments were used with skill, and the arguments employed by court theologians ever since the great struggles between the Papacy and the Empire were again urged forcibly. The writings of the Fathers of the Church, the documents of the Councils, the edicts of kings and emperors, all have their place in the argument. James had not wasted his time when young, and had the scholarly Buchanan been alive to read his book, he would doubtless have been torn between two conflicting emotions, one of delight that his pupil had indeed given evidence of being among the most learned clerks in his dominions, and one of disgust that his learning should have taken such an autocratic turn.

5. As soon as the Apology was brought to the notice of the Pope, he and his advisers began to consider whether in view of its wide diffusion and skilful presentation of the anti-papal case an answer should not be provided. The King of France, fearing with good reason that were the feelings of his English Majesty ruffled his Catholic subjects would be made to pay, urged strongly through his ambassador in Rome that silence would be the best and safest course.[2] The Pope, however, came to a different conclusion, and directed Bellarmine to reply. As King James had chosen to remain anonymous the Cardinal felt entitled to do likewise, and accordingly borrowed the name of his almoner, Matteo Torti, a circumstance that was to prove a godsend to facetious Anglican bishops later

[1] *Political Works*, p. 63.

[2] Villeroy to La Boderie, 30 September 1608. La Boderie, *Ambassades*, t. III, p. 467.

on, because Torti means tortured or twisted. His answer was published at Cologne between March and September 1608, entitled as follows: *Responsio Matthaei Torti Presbyteri et Theologi Papiensis, ad Librum inscriptum, Triplici Nodo Triplex Cuneus.*

The only way to do full justice to this little book would be to reproduce it entire, a course that is out of the question since it runs to 156 pages. Its publication marked a turning point in the struggle against royal autocracy throughout Europe, for it acted like magic, either as a stimulant or irritant, on the spirits of ' monarchomachs ' and ' regalists.' Bellarmine's principal aim is to show that the Oath of Allegiance is not the innocent document King James would have the world believe it to be. The King had loudly protested that he had chosen ' this so calme and clement a course ' with the Catholics ' onely to bee secured of their civill obedience.' That was the plea all through his book. The Oath had nothing to do with religion, and by what right, then, had the Pope interfered ? The first part of Bellarmine's answer was as follows :

Facile probabimus in hoc juramento non agi de sola civili obedientia, sed agi de Fide Catholica. . . . Primum, ex edicto regio in quo hujus juramenti formula continetur atque praescribitur ; nam titulus edicti hic est : *Ad detegendos et reprimendos Papistas.* Cur non dicitur, ad detegendos et reprimendos rebelles ? nisi quia finis cujus gratia excogitatum est juramentum, non est detectio negantium civilem obedientiam, quod rebellibus convenit, sed detectio negantium primatum spiritualem regis, et confitentium primatum spiritualem Summi Pontificis, quod Catholicorum, quos vos Papistas appellatis, proprium esse dignoscitur.

It would be difficult to imagine a more damaging retort to the King's pretensions than the quiet logic of this passage. Bellarmine had spent many a diligent, weary hour puzzling out the meaning of obscure phrases and sentences in old documents, so he knew better than most people the importance of contexts. In disputes about a writer's meaning in any particular passage, it is the context that must decide. The context of the Oath of Allegiance was the brutal legislation of which a summary was given above, and Bellarmine in his answer wants to know why, if the Oath be as neutral religiously as its champion asserted, it is part and parcel of ' An Act for the discovering and repressing of Popish Recusants.' [1]

[1] The Cardinal was practically the only writer to dwell on this capital point in connection with the Oath. Charles Butler, for instance, considered that ' nothing could be wiser or more humane than the motives of

Having examined the context, the Cardinal proceeds to scrutinize the formula itself which Catholics were obliged to recite. He places it beside the Oath of Supremacy, and makes out a good case for considering the one to be merely the other in a clever disguise. The aim of both, in the last resort, was to secure for the civil ruler a perfectly free hand in all his dealings with his subjects. James did not say so in as many words, but his denial of the Pope's right to interfere under any circumstances was little less than an assertion of his own supreme spiritual jurisdiction over his Catholic as well as his Protestant subjects. That was Bellarmine's point and there is no denying that it was a good point.

As for his strenuous defence of the deposing power, which followed next in his answer to the King, it is necessary to say only this. The challenge had come from James. It was not Pope Paul nor the Cardinal who had first brought the matter to the front. If the King knew anything of Papal diplomacy, he must have been perfectly well aware that he stood in no danger of deposition at the hands of the Pope. The time for such action, as far, at least, as the sovereigns of non-Catholic countries were concerned, was long past, and James must have known that it was past. Yet he had deliberately made denial of the deposing power a condition of citizenship. It was absolutely unnecessary for him to have done so. As Bellarmine pointed out, there were many other and far surer tests of civil allegiance, the ascertainment of which the King proclaimed to be his one and only aim. Unless he wished to imply that the Holy See was in some way responsible for the Gunpowder Plot, there was no reason whatever for dragging the Pope into his Oath. It was a deliberately provocative move, and Bellarmine would not have been Bellarmine had he failed to accept the challenge. Indeed, his acceptance did him honour, for it was yet another proof of his candour and consistency. The deposing power seemed to him to be a necessary consequence of the indirect temporal jurisdiction of the Holy See, and he was not to be shamed nor frightened into silence about it by the clamour of men whose one purpose was to render helpless the only authority that stood in the way of the absolutism at which they aimed.

James in framing the Oath' (*Historical Memoirs*, 1819, vol. I, p. 304). Had Butler and other English Catholics of Gallican sympathies thought less of the framing of the Oath and more of the atrocious statutes that formed its frame, they might not have been so indulgent to the motives of King James.

Against the King, he quoted the old scholastic maxim, *bonum ex integra causa, malum ex quocumque defectu*. A thing can be called good absolutely only if every part of it is good, but it may be called bad if marred by a single defect. ' Wherefore that the Oath should be forbidden,' he continued, ' it is not necessary for each and every part of it to be erroneous. If only one clause be false or fallacious, it is enough. On the other hand, before it could conscientiously be taken, it would have to be entirely free from offence, and found just and legitimate from the first word to the last.' Now there were at least two words in the Oath which were neither just nor inoffensive, namely the adjectives ' impious and heretical ' as applied to the doctrine of the deposing power. A Catholic who swore to them, Bellarmine pointed out, was equivalently swearing to his belief that a whole succession of great Popes, saints, and theologians, had been heretics. In the circumstances, this was very good dialectic, and so too was the Cardinal's further observation that to let the Protestant King of England decide what did or did not belong to the Catholic faith was not far removed from open acknowledgment of his spiritual supremacy.

We need not follow him in his criticism of James's adventures among the Fathers and Councils. There Bellarmine was on his native heath, and he had not much difficulty in showing that the King, for all his parade of texts, was only an amateurish theologian. It is in the sections of the book dealing directly with England that his logic cuts most keenly. James had shown himself very aggrieved that the Pope and the Cardinal had expressed doubts about his tolerant intentions in their letters. After offering a little grudging incense at the shrine of the ' late Queene of famous memorie who never punished any Papist for religion ', the King had turned to the more congenial task of praising his own régime, and this is what he said about it :

> Whatsoever was the [Queen's] just and merciful government over the Papists in her time, the King's Government over them since hath so far exceeded hers, in mercy and clemency, as not only the Papists themselves grew to that height of pride in confidence of his mildnesse, as they did assuredly promise themselves equalitie with other of his subjects in all things ; but even a number of the best and faithfullest of his said subjects were cast in great feare and amazement of his course and proceedings.

The proceedings are then described one by one, the last being in the King's words, the 'gracious proclamation whereby all priests that were at liberty and not taken, might go out of the country by such a day.' However, this was only a selection out of many golden deeds and the modest monarch concludes: 'Time and paper will faile me to make enumeration of all the benefits and favours bestowed in generall and particular upon Papists: in recounting whereof, every scrape of my pen would serve but for a blot of the Pope's ingratitude and injustice in meting (the King) with so hard a measure for the same.'

To this rather disingenuous remonstrance the Cardinal's answer was a neat and exact summary, under fourteen heads, of the penal legislation of the year 1606. Having set this out, he continues:

Here, then, we behold that incredible clemency of the King towards Catholics, the memory of which causes him to denounce the ingratitude of the Pope for having written that he was afflicted by the news of what the Catholics had to endure for the sake of their faith. . . . If civil obedience was all that his Majesty desired to secure, why does he still keep the Archpriest, and others who have taken his Oath, in the prisons of London? . . .

As for the gracious proclamation whereby all priests who were not actually in chains might go out of the country by such a day, what astonishing kindness it was to allow men to go into exile whom his Majesty could not catch, try he never so long and hard! And if exile seems a mercy to the writer of this Apology, one may wonder what sweet names he has for the rack and rope.

If the author urges that the penal measures were an immediate and necessary result of the Gunpowder Plot, I may remind him that before ever there was a plot, and in the very first year of the King's reign, his first Parliament confirmed and considerably augmented the persecution laws of Queen Elizabeth. Nor can it be said that it was the sentence of excommunication launched by Pope Pius V against the Queen that had angered her into issuing such edicts, for in the first year of her reign also, that is, nine years before Pius V became Pope, a second refusal to take the oath of ecclesiastical supremacy excogitated by her father, Henry VIII, was made punishable by death. . . . From the way the author of this Apology talks, he would seem to be under the delusion that we had never read a word about English affairs.[1]

[1] Bellarmine's great authorities for Elizabethan times were Dr. Nicholas Sanders' two books, *De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiae* (Louvain, 1571), and *De Origine ac Progressu Schismatis Anglicani* (Cologne, 1585). As he refers more than once to the English edition of the *Triplici Nodo Triplex Cuneus*, it is not unlikely that he knew enough of the language to be able to read fairly easy English books in the original.

The Cardinal does not hesitate to stigmatize as lies what he believes to be lies, but in other respects his style is as courteous as usual. He was given much provocation, for the King had waxed scornful about Blessed Thomas More's ' very fleshly cause of martyrdom ', and Blessed John Fisher's ' dayly ambitious expectation of the Cardinal's hat '. Father Garnet was set down as a ringleader among the ' caitife monsters ' who had plotted to blow his Majesty back to Scotland, and as for Pope Paul V, ' if the Devil had studied a thousand yeeres,' he could not have worked more mischief than his Holiness. Bellarmine made no effort to match these sallies, and again and again we find his paragraphs opening with some such phrase as, *omissis conviciis quae ad rem non pertinent*—passing over the abuse as it has nothing to do with the argument. He kept to his facts, and though his calm handling of them is not so entertaining, it is a good deal more persuasive than the prancing periods of the King.

One fact which he adduced, however, made the watching world merry, though he certainly did not intend that it should bring the King into derision. The discussion at the moment turned on the two Briefs which Clement VIII had addressed to the English Catholics in the first year of the new century. James argued with heat that those Briefs were meant expressly to exclude his chances of succeeding Elizabeth. Bellarmine answered that they were not :

> On the contrary, they were drafted rather in favour of the King of Scotland, because they consisted of an exhortation to the Catholics to promote, as far as in them lay, the succession of an upright and orthodox monarch, and the envoys of that King had given good reasons for believing that their master was such a one, and not at all averse from embracing the Catholic Faith. This hope received a striking confirmation when the King himself addressed extremely kind letters to the Pope, and to Cardinals Aldobrandini and Bellarmine, in which he begged, among other things, that some Scotsman might be raised to the purple, to act as his representative at the Court of Rome.

These few innocent-looking words were a terrible riposte to James's lofty professions of indifference to Roman opinion, and very soon his Puritan enemies would be shouting them from one end of England to the other. The Presbyterian Minister, Mr. James Melvill, who was much in favour with the King though they differed so profoundly in their views on church government, recorded in his Diary, September

1608, that Bellarmine's book as a whole ' did trouble the King at the heart ', and that the reference to his Majesty's letters to Rome ' not only gallit the King but movit much the Counsell and haill estaite '.[1]

6. Vigorous steps were immediately taken at the English Court to repair the damage done by the Cardinal's criticism. Further sale of the King's Apology was strictly prohibited and orders were issued to buy back as many as possible of the copies that had gone into circulation. Four court Bishops, of whom the ' devout Andrewes ' was one, then set to work to revise the text, while James himself renounced the world, the flesh, and the devil, that he might devote all his energies to the composition of a magnificent preface for a new edition. During that winter of 1608 Whitehall had its name justified by heavy snows, but the King, with the Cardinal on his brain, continued to ' see red ' all the time. On December 3, Sir Thomas Lake wrote ' to the right honourable, my singular good lord, the Earle of Salisbury ', telling him that ' this business [of the book] doth so occupie [the King's] mind, as he taketh but little recreation here : these two last dayes he hath done nothing but write of his own hand from morning till night and so attentively to it as he hath not afforded me tyme to present those warrants I received last from your Lordship.' [2] Bellarmine was interfering with the government of England !

Bishop Andrewes, who was given the hard task of suggesting ideas and corrections to the King, found ' that he had Penelope's web to weave, for what he finished at night his Majesty undid in the morning.' When at last the work came from the press, more alterations were seen to be necessary, and poor Robert Barker, the printer, was committed to prison for having allowed some copies to get into circulation before this operation was completed. Even the staid Lingard can hardly suppress his amusement at the story :

> The King was now fairly launched on the sea of controversy where he believed himself to be an equal match for any opponent. It was not long before he received answers to the ' Apologie ' from Persons and Bellarmine. Vanity urged him to refute their arguments, resentment to chastise their presumption. His theological coadjutors were again summoned to his closet ; his former work

[1] *The Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melvill.* Edited by R. Pitcairn, Edinburgh, 1842, p. 767.

[2] Record Office, London, *State Papers Domestic*, vol. xxxviii, p. 421.

was revised, and to it was prefixed an address, called a praemonition to all Christian princes. He made, however, but little progress; every particular question gave birth to endless debates; and what with objections, and improvements, and diversity of opinions, it was found that at the end of several weeks the work was scarcely more advanced than it had been at the commencement. The Kings of France and Denmark exhorted him to desist from a contest unworthy of a crowned head. To the former James replied in terms of respect; but the latter he admonished to consider his own age, and to blush at his folly in offering advice to a Prince so much older and wiser than himself. The Queen having tried her influence in vain, turned her anger against the Earl of Salisbury, whom she suspected of encouraging her husband in this pursuit that he might govern the kingdom at his pleasure.[1] But though the mountain had been long in labour, though the public had been kept for months in breathless suspense, when the hour of parturition arrived it was unexpectedly deemed prudent to suppress the birth. A new light had burst on the mind of James: he ordered all the printed copies to be called in, and the work to be again revised and corrected; and after many new alterations, gave it at last to the world in a less voluminous and less offensive form.[2]

By the 6th of February 1609 the definitive version was in the printer's hands, but James would not budge from London until he had seen it through the press. The woods of Windsor in their spring-time glory called to him in vain, and even the plague which came with sudden violence to the city did not frighten him away, for perfect self-love had cast out fear. The cock-fighting and 'the admirable pastime, lately taken up, of hunting or daring of dotterells and other of that nature', to which he had recently been devoting most of his time, were given up altogether.[3] His unfortunate courtiers swore under their breath and consigned all theologians indiscriminately to the devil, but not till the month of May, when Barker issued the first copies of the hated book, did they get their release.[4]

[1] La Boderie, however, was of a different opinion: 'La présomption seule qu'il a de sçavoir plus en théologie que tous les docteurs du monde, en est l'unique cause.' *Ambassades*, t. IV, p. 319.

[2] Lingard, *History*, vol. VII, pp. 96–97. Less voluminous indeed, but hardly less offensive, if we may judge by the résumé of the first draft which was made by some interested spectator of the battle during December 1608. Record Office, London, *State Papers Domestic*, vol. XXXVIII.

[3] The people of London were very indignant about these unkingly sports and threatened that if James did not abandon them they would poison his dogs and other game companions. Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. I, p. 217; La Boderie, *Ambassades*, t. I, pp. 56, 310.

[4] Record Office, London. *Roman Transcripts*, *Borghese*. Ubaldini to Cardinal Borghese, 14 May 1609.

The title of the new edition ran thus : ' An Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance : First set foorth without a name : and now acknowledged by the Author, the Right High and Mightie Prince, James, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland ; Defender of the Faith, etc. : Together with a Premonition of his Majesties, to all most Mightie Monarches, Kings, Free Princes and States of Christendome.'

Under the royal arms on the back of the title-page, the following notice was printed, dated 8 April 1609 :

Whereas the rashnesse of the Printer and error of the Examiner hath made a number of his Majesties Bookes to be put forth and sold, being still full of the Copiers faults, and before his Majestie had fully revised and compared the Copie with the Originall : These are to forewarne all Readers that they shall no way trust to any Copie but such as hath this present admonition imprinted, and that they hold all other imprinted Copies in English to be erroneous, and surreptitiously sold by the under Officers in the Printing House. . . . And therefore that they are all to be held as utterly disclaimed by his Majestie.' [1]

The preamble to the address which follows is in the King's most lordly vein :

To the most Sacred and Invincible Prince Rodolphe the II by God's Clemencie Elect Emperour of the Romanes and to all other Right High and Mightie Kings and Right Excellent free Princes and States of Christendome : Our loving Brethren, Cosins, Allies, Confederates and Friends : James, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britaine, etc., Professor, Maintainer and Defender of the True, Christian, Catholique and Apostolique Faith . . . wisheth everlasting felicitie in Christ our Saviour.

To you, I say, as of right belongeth, doe I consecrate and direct this warning of mine, or rather Preamble to my reprinted Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance. For the cause is generall and concerneth the Authoritie and privilidge of Kings in generall and all supereminent Temporall powers. . . . If those of the baser sort of people be so curious and zealous for the preservation of their common privlidiges and liberties, as if the meanest amongst them be touched in any such point, they thinke it concerneth them all : Then what should we doe in such a case, whom God hath placed in the highest thrones upon earth, made his Lieutenants and *Vice-*

[1] When King James was a child and committed faults, it is reported that his punishment was always vicarious, and fell upon an unfortunate ' whipping-boy ' who was maintained at Court for the purpose. Afterwards, as a man, he appears to have kept up the convenient custom, and to have made scapegoats, such as his printer Robert Barker, shoulder the odium or ridicule of his blunders.

gerents, and even seated us upon his owne Throne to execute his Judgements? . . . Awake then while it is time, and suffer not, by your longer sleepe, the strings of your Authoritie to be cut *in singulis*, and one by one, to your generall ruine, which by your united forces would rather make a strong rope for the enemie to hang himselfe in, with Achitophel, then that he should ever be able to breake it.

Next, the King explains why he first issued his book anonymously:

I thought it fit, for two respects, that this my Apologie should first visit the world without having my name written in the forehead thereof. First because of the matter, and next of the persons that I medled with. The matter, it being a Treatise containing reasons and discourses in Divinity for the Defence of the Oath of Allegiance, and refutation of the condemners thereof; I thought it not comely for one of my place to put my name to bookes concerning scholastick Disputations; whose calling is to set forth Decrees in the Imperative moode: for I thinke myself as good a man as the Pope, by his reverence, for whom these my Answerers make the like excuse. . . .

My next reason was the respect of the persons with whom I medled: Wherein, although I shortly answered the Pope's Breves; yet the point I most laboured being the refutation of Bellarmine's Letter, I was never the man, I confesse, that could thinke a Cardinall a meete match for a King: especially having many hundreth [*sic*] thousands of my subjects of as good birth as he. As for his Church dignitie, his Cardinalship I meane, I know not how to ranke or value it, either by the warrant of God his word, or by the ordinance of Emperours or Kings; it being indeed onely a new Papall erection tolerated by the sleeping connivance of our Predecessors.[1] . . . Notwithstanding of this my forbearing to put my name unto it . . . these answerers have neither spared my Person directly in naming me, nor indirectly by railing upon the Authour of the Booke, [so] it is now high time for me no longer to conceale nor disavow my selfe, as if I were ashamed of my owne deed.

After this, there follows an elaborate apology for the penal laws enacted in consequence of 'the never ynough wondered

[1] Father Persons wrote an English answer to the Apology at the same time as Bellarmine, and this fact caused the King to throw in a few hot words about 'the English Paragraphist or rather perverse pamphleter Parsons, since all his description must runne upon a P.' The title of Person's work was: *Judgment of a Catholic Englishman, living in banishment for his religion, concerning a late book set forth and intitled Triplici Nodo, Triplex Cuneus*. Even Charles Butler is compelled to describe it as an 'elaborate, elegant and eloquent composition . . . containing a noble assertion of the right to liberty of conscience.' *Historical Memoirs*, vol. I, p. 325.

at and abhorred Powder-Treason ' which gives his Majesty a chance to trounce ' the gentle hearted Jesuite Parsons ' as well as, ' holy Garnet himselfe and Ouldcorne [who were] justly executed upon their owne plaine confession of their guilt.' James was evidently worried by Bellarmine's succinct enumeration of the statutes against Catholics which formed the damning context of his Oath.

If this Treason [he urged], clad with these circumstances, did not minister a just occasion to that Parliament-house, whom they thought to have destroyed, couragiously and zealously at the next sitting down, to use all meanes of triall whether any more of that minde were yet left in the country, I leave it to you to judge whom God hath appointed his highest Depute-Judges upon earth : And amongst other things for this purpose, this Oath of Allegiance, so unjustly impugned, was then devised and enacted. And in case any sharper Lawes were then made against the Papists that were not obedient to the former Lawes of the Country ; if yee will consider the time, place, and persons, it will bee thought no wonder, seeing that occasion did so justly exasperate them to make severer lawes than otherwise they would have done. The time, I say, being the very next sitting downe of the Parliament, after the discovery of that abominable Treason : the place being the same, where they should all have been blowen up, and so bringing it freshly to their memorie againe : the persons being those very Parliament men whom they thought to have destroyed. And yet so farre hath both my heart and government beene from any bitterness, as almost never one of those sharpe additions to the former Lawes have ever yet beene put in execution." [1]

The King next bids his august audience admire one example of his proper benevolence : ' The Lower house of Parliament, at the first framing of the Oath, made it to conteine that the Pope had no power to excommunicate me ; which I caused them to reform ; onely making it to conclude that no excommunication of the Popes can warrant my subjects to practise against my Person or State. . . . So careful was I that nothing should be contained in this Oath, except the profession of naturall Allegiance.' [2] Yet in spite of all this generous forbearance Rome was not content :

[1] Professor R. G. Usher cites these words of King James in proof that the harsh measures were put on the statute book as probably only ' a pious show of zeal ' ! *Reconstruction of the English Church*, vol. II, p. 111.

[2] James did not believe that any power on earth could excommunicate a King, as may be seen from the following anecdote preserved by Fuller : ' An extraordinary act in divinity was kept at Cambridge before King James, wherein Dr. John Davenant was answerer and Doctor Richardson,

The Oath bred such evill blood in the Pope's head and his cleargie as Breve after Breve commeth forth, *ut undam unda sequitur*, prohibiting all Catholiques from taking the same. . . . There commeth likewise a letter of Cardinall Bellarmines to the same purpose but discoursing more at length upon the said Oath. Whereupon, after I had entred in consideration of their unjust impugning that so just and lawfull an Oath; and fearing that by their untrue calumnies and Sophistrie the hearts of a number of the most simple and ignorant of my people should be misled, under that faire and deceitful cloake of conscience; I thought good to set foorth an Apologie for the said Oath. . . .

But the publishing of this Booke of mine hath brought such two Answerers or rather Railers upon me as all the world may wonder at. For my booke being first written in English and immediately thereafter being translated into Latine, it commeth home unto me now answered in both the Languages. And, I thinke, if it had been set foorth in all the tongues that were at the confusion of Babel, it would have beene returned answered in them all again. Thus may a man see how busie a Bishop the Devill is, and how hee omitteth no diligence for venting of his poysoned wares.

The King lost his temper completely at the thought of Father Persons: 'As for the English Answerer, my unnaturall and fugitive subject; I will neither defile my pen, nor your sacred eyes or eares with the describing of him, who ashames, nay, abhorres not to raile, nay, to rage and spew foorth blasphemies against the late Queene of famous memory. . . . Cursed be he that curseth the Anointed of God. . . . Without mought such dogs and swine be cast foorth, I say, out of the spirituall Jerusalem.' He is not so violent against Matteo Torti, but he very soon turns from him to deal with his master:

As for my Latine Answerer, I have nothing to say to his person; he is not my subject; he standeth or falleth unto his owne Lord: But sure I am, they two have casten lots upon my Booke, since they could not divide it: the one of them, my fugitive to rayle upon my late Predecessor (but a rope is the fittest answere for such an Historian); the other, a stranger, thinketh he may be boldest both to pay my person and my booke, as indeed he

amongst others, the opposer. The question was maintained in the negative, concerning the excommunicating of Kings. Dr. Richardson vigorously pressed the practice of St. Ambrose excommunicating the Emperor Theodosius, insomuch that the King in some passion returned, *Profecto fuit hoc ab Ambrosio insolentissime factum.* To whom Dr. Richardson rejoined, *Responsum vere regium et Alexandro dignum; hoc non est argumenta dissolvere, sed disecare.* And so sitting down, he desisted from any further dispute.' *Worthies of England*, p. 158.

doeth. . . . But first, who should be the true Authour of this booke, I can but guesse. He calleth himself Matthaeus Tortus, Cardinall Bellarmines Chaplain. A throwen [1] Evangelist indeed, full of throward Divinitie; an obscure Authour, utterly unknowen to me, being yet little knowen to the world for any other of his workes: and therefore must be a very desperate fellow in beginning his apprentisage, not only to refute, but to raile upon a King.

But who will consider the carriage of the whole booke, shall finde that he writeth with such authoritie or at the least *tam elato stylo*, so little sparing either Kings in generall or my person in particular . . . as it shall appeare that it is the Masters, and not the mans labour, . . . especially since the English Answerer doeth foure times promise that Bellarmine, or one of his appointment, shall sufficiently answere it. And now to come to his matter and manner of answere: Surely if there were no more but his unmannerly manner, it is enough to disgrace the whole matter thereof. For first, to shew his pride . . . he must equall the Cardinalls greatnesse with mine in everything. . . . And not onely in the Preface, but also through the whole Booke doeth he keepe this comparative greatnesse. He must be as short in his answere as I am in my booke, he must refute all that I have said against the Pope's second Breve, with equal brevitie and upon one page almost, as I have done mine: and because I have set downe the substance of the Oath in 14 Articles; in just as many Articles must he set downe that acte of Parliament of mine, wherein the Oath is contained: [2]

And yet, had he contented himselfe with his owne pride by the demonstration of his owne greatnesse, without further wronging of me, it had bene the more tolerable. But what cause gave I him to farce his whole booke with injuries, both against my Person and booke? For whereas in all my Apologie I have never given him a foule word and especially never gave him the Lye: he by the contrary giveth me nine times the Lye in expresse termes. . . . If this now be mannerly dealing with a King, I leave it to you to judge, who cannot but resent such indignities done to one of your quality. And as for the matter of his booke, it well fits indeed the manner thereof. . . . So doeth he, upon that ground of *Pasce oves meas*, give the Pope so ample a power over Kings, to throne or dethrone them at his pleasure as I doubt not but in your owne Honors ye will resent you of such indignities. . . . I am none of the Pope's flocke but yee are in the Pope's folde; and you, that great Pastour may leade as sheepe to the slaughter, when it shall please him. . . .

And because I have in my booke (by citing a place in his Controversies) discovered him to be a small friend to Kings, hee is

[1] Margin: 'Being a proper word to expresse the true meaning of Tortus.'
[2] James, in his excitement, seems to forget that his book was anonymous.

much commoved; . . . because, I say, citing this place of his in my booke, I tell with admiration that he freeth all Churchmen from any subjection to Kings, even those that are their borne-subjects, hee is angry with this phrase and sayth it is an addition for breeding envie unto him. . . . But whose hatred did he feare in this? Was it not yours? Who have interest, but Kings, in the withdrawing of due subjection from Kings? And when the greatest monarchs amongst you will remember that almost the third part of your subjects and of your Territories is Churchmen and Church-livings; I hope yee will then consider and weigh what a feather he puls out of your wings, when he denudeth you of so many subjects and their possessions, in the Popes favour: nay, what bryers and thornes are left within the heart of your Dominions, when so populous and potent a partie shall have their birth, education and livelyhood in your Countries and yet owne you no subjection, nor acknowledge you for their Soveraines?

After this somewhat uncouth effort to prejudice his royal readers against Bellarmine, James embarks on a long historical disquisition with the object of showing that far from temporal sovereigns acknowledging the Pope's jurisdiction over them in the past, it was they, rather, who 'created, controlled and deposed Popes'. This done, he goes on to prove that he is no apostate nor heretic, as the Cardinal had suggested, referring to the Catholic faith of his mother:

As for the Queene, my Mother of worthy memorie, although she continued in that religion wherein she was nourished, yet was she so farre from being superstitious or Jesuited therein, that at my Baptisme (although I was baptized by a Popish Archbishop) she sent him word to forbeare to use the spettle in my Baptisme; which was obeyed, being indeed a filthie and an apish tricke, rather in scorne than imitation of Christ. And her owne very words were, That she would not have a pockie Priest to spet in her childes mouth.

His Majesty's account of the faith that was not in him is entirely in the same vein. 'As for Purgatory,' he says in another place, 'and all the trash depending thereupon, it is not worth the talking of. Bellarmine cannot finde any ground for it in all the Scriptures. Onely I would pray him to tell me, if that faire greene meadow that is in Purgatory have a brooke running thorow it, that in case I come there I may have hawking upon it.'[1]

[1] A facetious reference to *De Purgatorio*, lib. II, c. vii. Bellarmine, as a matter of fact, was not speaking of Purgatory at all, but of Limbo, and had used as an illustration the vision reported by St. Bede the Venerable in his Ecclesiastical History (Lib. v, c. xiii).

The King felt that some strong declaration against Rome might help to kill in the public mind the suspicion that had been instilled into it by Torti's allegation about the letters to Pope Clement and the two Cardinals, so before concluding his Premonition he wandered off into a long, ludicrous dissertation that aimed at proving the Pope to be antichrist. More than fifty pages were devoted to the famous number 666 and other signs and portents, pages which the French ambassador described as 'the silliest and most pernicious that had ever been written on such a subject'.[1] After this diversion, he returns to Bellarmine, but only to dismiss him with a contemptuous stroke of the pen:

> As for the particular answering of his booke it is both unnecessary and uncomely for me to make a Reply. . . . Uncomely it must needs be (in my opinion) for a King to fall in altercation with a Cardinall, at least with one no more nobly descended then hee is; unnecessary because (as I have alreadie told you) my booke is never yet answered. . . . And therefore having resolved not to paine myself with making a reply, I have thought good to content myself with the reprinting of my Apologie; having, in a maner, corrected nothing but the Copiers or Printers faults therein.

That little parenthesis—'in a maner'—is an amusing touch, when the origins of the second edition of the Apology are remembered.

But King James was not yet done with Bellarmine for all his gesture of dismissal. There is a spiteful little essay on cardinals in general, emphasizing that kings 'being God his Lieutenants on earth have good reason to be jealous of such upstart princes, meane in their originall, coming to that height by their own creation, . . . defrauding us of our common and Christian interest in Generall Councels, having utterly abolished the same by rowling it up and making as it were a Monopoly thereof, in their conclave with the Pope.' Then there is a horrified paragraph on Bellarmine's doctrine of civil authority, which is described as 'an excellent ground in Divinitie for all Rebels and rebellious people, who are hereby allowed to rebell against their Princes and assume liberty unto themselves, when in their discretion they shall thinke it convenient.' Henceforth the Pope is styled the 'Babylonian monarch' in the argument, and the King gets more savage with every sentence he writes. Father Garnet is dragged in again, and

[1] *Ambassades*, t. IV, p. 302.

a comparison used which decency does not permit us to reprint. 'Even so,' his Majesty continues, 'though Jesuites practising in Treason be sufficiently verified, and that themselves cannot but confesse it; yet must they be accounted to suffer martyrdome for the faith and their blood worke miracles, and frame a *stramineum argumentum* upon strawes; when their heads are standing aloft, withered by the Sunne and the winde, a publike spectacle for the eternall commemoration of their treachery.'

Several more cruelly unfair pages are devoted to the denigration of Garnet, and then there is an abrupt change to the hortatory manner of a father confessor. The Protestant rulers are told in pontifical accents that they must stick together to promote 'the spirituall libertie of the Gospel, and not suffer this incroching Babylonian Monarch to winne still further ground'. Finally, the Catholic Princes are addressed:

As for you (my loving Brethren and Cosins) whom it hath not yet pleased God to illuminate with the light of his Trueth, I can but humbly pray with Elizeus, that it would please God to open your eyes. . . . But leaving this to God, his mercifull providence in his due time, I have good reason to remember you to maintaine the ancient liberties of your Crownes and Commonwealths, not suffering any under God to set himselfe up above you. . . . I end, with my earnest prayers to the Almightie for your prosperities, and that after your happie temporall Raignes in earth, ye may live and raigne in Heaven with him for ever.

7. Such was King James's famous Premonition, and it is fairly plain from every turbulent page of it how much Bellarmine must have stirred the muddy depths of his 'pragmatical self-conceit'. The Cardinal's style was not such as his royal ears were accustomed to, if we may judge by the sermons preached in his presence. Thus on one anniversary of his accession, he was saluted at Paul's Cross by the Dean of Windsor in the following terms:

Let me begin with his learning and knowledge, wherein I may safely say, he exceedeth all his 105 predecessors. Never had England more learned bishops and doctors: which of them ever returned from his Majesty's discourse without admiration? What King christened hath written so learned volumes? To omit the rest, his last in this kingdom, wherein he hath so held up Cardinal Bellarmine, is such that Plessis and Moulin, the two great lights of France, profess to receive their light in this discourse from his beams. And I may boldly say, Popery, since it was, never received

on the iuſt, yet moderate puniſhment of a part of theſe hainous Offenders; ſhall eaſily ſee that ~~gracious Prince~~ that Diuid deſunct Sadre was as free from perſecution, as they ſhall free theſe helliſh Inſtruments from the Honor of Martyrdome.

5. But now hauing ſacrificed (if I may ſo ſay) to the *Manes* of ~~my defunct Soueraigne, as well for the diſcharge of my particular duetie, as for loue of Veritie,~~ my late predeceſſor I may next ~~performe my duetie to his Maieſtie preſent, in teſtifying likewiſe the truth of his Actions in this matter.~~ Wherein I muſt for ~~the loue of Veritie confeſſe~~, That whatſoeuer was her iuſt and merciſull Gouernement ouer the Papiſts in her Time, ~~his Maieſties~~ my Gouernement ouer them ſince hath ſo farre exceeded hers, in Mercie and Clemencie, as not onely the Papiſts themſelues grewe to that height of Pride, in confidence of ~~his~~ mild. mildeneſſe, as they did directly expect, and aſſuredly promiſe to themſelues libertie of Conſcience & Equalitie with vs in all things; But euen ~~we~~ a nomber, I muſt truely confeſſe, ~~his Maieſties~~ of my beſt and faithfulleſt Subiects, were caſt in great feare and amazement of ~~his~~ my Maieſties

PAGE OF THE FIRST EDITION OF KING JAMES'S 'APOLOGIE' REVISED IN HIS MAJESTY'S OWN HAND.

From the British Museum.

so deep a wound from any work as from that of his. What King ever moderated so solemn acts of an university in all professions, and had so many hands clapped in the applause of his acute and learned determinations? Briefly, such is his entire acquaintance with all sciences, and with the queen of all, Divinity, that he might well dispute with the infallible Pope Paul V for the triple crown. And I would all Christian quarrels lay upon this duel.[1]

James, to do him justice, does not seem to have believed all the grand things that his preachers said, for, in spite of their assurances, he was not so satisfied with his masterpiece as to let it face a critical world unsupported. It was too small to impress learned men, and perhaps he realized that it contained more rhetoric than theology. At all events, he decided that a big, imposing tome should sail from the press in its wake. Bishop Andrewes was given the honour of preparing the work —an honour that had to be paid for dearly. On 11 November 1608 a private gentleman named John Chamberlain wrote from London to his friend Sir Dudley Carleton: 'I thank you for your remonstrance of the French Clergy, which will give me occasion perhaps to visit the good Bishop of Chichester,[2] though I doubt he be not at leisure for any bye matters; the King doth so hasten and spur him on in this business of Bellarmin's, which he were likely to perform very well (as I hear by them that can judge) if he might take his own time, and not be troubled nor entangled with arguments obtruded to him continually by the King.'[3] Three months later this same diligent correspondent gives a further hint of the temper of James: 'The Pope hath written to the French King, complaining that our King misuseth him continually in table-talk and calls him Antichrist at every word.'[4]

Before the summer of 1609 was over, Andrewes' answer appeared, a big, heavy volume of nearly five hundred pages, entitled, *Tortura Torti sive ad Matthaei Torti Librum Responsio*. An extraordinary amount of hard work must have gone to its making, but as John Chamberlain remarked at the time, the reading of it would require almost as much energy. The

[1] Strype's *Annals of Church and State*, Oxford ed., 1824, vol. IV, p. 504. The preacher was Doctor Joseph Hall, who soon after was created Bishop of Norwich. He was the author of a curious book called *The Peace of Rome proclaimed to all the World by her Famous Cardinal Bellarmine*. See vol. I of this work, pp. 149–150.

[2] Dr. Andrewes.

[3] Record Office, London. *State Papers Domestic*, vol. XXXVII, London, 11 November 1608.

[4] *State Papers Domestic*, vol. XLIII, London, 14 February 1609.

Latin style is very ponderous and uncouth, and the whole book from title to finis is choked with extravagant puns and paradoxes. On one occasion after Andrewes had preached before him, King James asked a Scottish Lord how he had liked the sermon, and the Lord answered 'that he was learned, but he did play with his text as a jackanapes does, who takes up a thing and tosses and plays with it, and then takes up another and plays a little with it. Here's a pretty thing, and there's a pretty thing.'[1] That is exactly what the Bishop does with Bellarmine in this book, making great capital out of his pseudonym of Tortus. 'Nomen accipio atque omen,' he says, and then quotes Horace—*Vino tortus et ira.* 'So petulant is this man,' he continues, 'so full of bile and bubble all through his book, so immodestly immodest, so reeking with abuse, that anyone may easily recognize Matthaeus Tortus, twisted, writhing Matt.' Then his victim is given a charitable warning: 'You know where you are, Matthew; You are in Rome, and take a tip from me, stay there. Among the seven hills you are safe, so don't leave them, lest coming with your dirge to a country where a King rules, you may discover what it means to talk laxly about the deposition of Kings.'

Such a style of writing makes one suspect that Andrewes must have been something else besides 'devout', and the suspicion is not lessened by some of the tricks to which he stoops in order to score a point against the Cardinal. Indeed, this man of 'rare and heaven-enamelled mind, the most apostolical and primitive-like Divine that wore a rochet in his age, the most devout when he appeared before God, full of alms and charity, *colossus inter icunculas*, a saint the ointment of whose name is sweeter than all spices',[2] this man, alas, with all his learning and piety was capable of deliberately falsifying documents in order to aggravate the supposed guilt of the unfortunate Father Garnet. In his answer to the King, Bellarmine had described Garnet as being of his own certain knowledge, 'a man of profound learning and incomparable sanctity,' praises which made the Bishop raise shocked eyes to heaven. As for Garnet's speech, he says, 'it smacks more of Bacchus than Apollo,' and as for his sanctity, 'it is only

[1] Quoted in Nichol's *Progresses* (vol. II, p. 47), from Aubrey's *Lives of Eminent Men.*

[2] From some verses written after his death, and Hacket's *Life of Archbishop Williams*, part I, p. 45. Cf. the reprint of *Tortura Torti* in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, Oxford, 1854, pp. xxviii–xxix and xxxiv.

too well known that he was often drunk.' These amenities were in the style of the time, but what are we to think of a man who maliciously adds phrases of his own invention to the text of a letter which he is translating that he may thus fasten greater odium on its writer?

While he was in the Tower, Father Garnet had very imprudently addressed many letters to friends outside, one of which, dated Palm Sunday, 13 April 1606, became celebrated. It was in the nature of an apology to his brethren of the Society of Jesus for his several confessions and disclosures, which he had been falsely informed had given scandal to the whole Catholic body. The original of it has disappeared, somewhat conveniently for Garnet's enemies, but at least two Latin versions were made before this happened, one by Andrewes for the *Tortura Torti* and another by Dr. Robert Abbot, one of Bellarmine's most vigorous English critics. Lingard, who at first had believed the letter to be a forgery, took the trouble to compare the two texts, and was led by the comparison to conclude 'not indeed, that there was no original, but that so many falsifications inconsistent with facts were introduced into the translation by Dr. Andrewes, that I was justified in supposing that there was none. . . . It cannot escape the notice of the reader that the many erroneous renderings are wilful, all being made for the purpose of aggravating the guilt of Garnet.' [1]

There is room here for only one specimen of the Bishop's methods:

Abbot's Text (Translated back from the Latin).	*Andrewes' Text.*
Further, my letters to Mistress Anne [Vaux] written in orange juice, were intercepted by I know not what perfidy. From these *they obtained some handle against me, although without cause.*	The letters which I wrote in orange juice to Mistress Anne [Vaux] also fell into their hands, I know not how. *In them I had confessed my knowledge* [of the G.P. Plot] *plainly enough.*[2]

[1] *History of England*, vol. VII, Appendix, note D, pp. 546–547.

[2] *Tortura Torti* (Oxford, 1851), p. 347. Bishop Andrewes' character has been so highly praised, and he is still held in such reverence by the Anglican Church, that his testimony against Garnet and Bellarmine would probably be accounted by many good people as sufficient damnation. For this reason, it is only fair to point out that, in spite of his sweet disposition, he lent himself willingly to all King James's harshest designs against the Catholics, and moreover, out of subservience to the King, played a deplorable

While Andrewes was at work, the King, in addition to his fussy encouragement, took other measures to get even with Bellarmine. Copies of his ' villainous ' *Responsio* were sought for in every direction and a public bonfire made of them, with great ceremony, at Paul's Cross, London. This was probably in May 1609.[1] A short time earlier three priests were condemned to death for the exercise of their sacred functions, but were offered their lives if they would take the Oath of Allegiance. They refused, and in due course paid the terrible forfeit, one at York, and two at Tyburn.[2]

8. The sudden recrudescence of persecuting fury immediately after the appearance of Bellarmine's book would appear to have been a fulfilment of King Henry the Fourth's forebodings. Two contemporary Scottish writers, the Presbyterians David Calderwood and James Melvill, are explicit on the point. Thus Calderwood says that the ' show of hard dealing against Papists was made to cover their present intentions, and Matthaeus Tortus his alledgeance, where he challengeth the King of his promise made to the Pope and the Papists, much devised but little performed ',[3] and Melvill informs us that ' for cleiring the King of sua odious sclanderis ' the Kirk resolved to appeal to his Majesty to set free the ministers who were in prison that all might make a united onslaught on the Catholics.[4]

These writers are referring to Bellarmine's allegation that James had written to Pope Clement and himself in 1600. At first the King was at his wits' ends to know what to do about

part in the affair of the Essex divorce. Rich indeed was his reward, for he was made successively Dean of the Chapel Royal, Bishop of Chichester, Ely, and Winchester, almoner of the King, and member of the Privy Council. And never once did this good man, who professed such contempt for Roman cupidity, think of refusing a benefice. On the scandal of the Essex divorce, see the remarks of Dean Church, *Masters in English Theology*, pp. 69–70.

[1] That the *Responsio Matthaei Torti* was publicly burned we know from a letter of the Spanish Ambassador to his King dated 1 December 1613. The letter is in the Simancas Archives and has been published by Père R. de Scorraille in his *François Suarez*, t. II, p. 194. The date of the holocaust is made fairly certain by a letter of Sir Henry Fanshaw, the remembrancer of the Exchequer, to John Chamberlain, May 1609, published in Birch's *Court and Times of James I*, vol. I, p. 97.

[2] La Boderie, *Ambassades*, t. III, p. 227 ; Challoner, *Missionary Priests*, vol. II, pp. 19–23.

[3] *The True History of the Church of Scotland* (Ed. of 1678), pp. 595–596.

[4] *Diary*, p. 767. It was not through any love of King James that the Kirk made this move, but merely as a means of obtaining the release of its leaders.

the matter, but at length he determined to brazen it out and deny that he had ever sent or dreamt of sending a personal message to Pope or Cardinals. Lord Balmerino, who as Sir James Elphinstone had been his secretary in Scotland, was summoned forthwith and charged with having surreptitiously passed the letters in among papers that were awaiting the King's signature. The door of the room in which the blustering interview took place was left open, and in the apartment beyond witnesses were concealed who could hear all that went on. Balmerino, the story goes, fell on his knees and acknowledged that he had drawn up the letter to the Pope. Moreover, he is supposed to have testified that the King could not have known what was in the unlucky documents, as he had signed them hastily, with the impatient barking of the stag-hounds in his ears. After scoring this initial victory, James placed the whole affair in the hands of his Privy Council, sending them at the same time elaborate instructions as to how they were to proceed. 'Though ye were born strangers to the country where this was done,' he told them in his own hand, 'yet are ye no strangers to the King thereof; and ye know, if the King of Scotland prove a knave, the King of England can never be an honest man. Work so, therefore, in this, as having interest in your King's reputation.' That hint was plain enough, but there were plainer to come. 'I remit to you and all honest men,' he wrote to Salisbury, 'to think upon all ways that may be for clearing of my honesty in it, which I had the more need to do, considering his treachery. I only pray you to think that never thing in this world touched me nearlier than this doth.'

The Privy Council put a very cleverly written confession of their own devising before the unfortunate Scottish Peer, and bade him sign it without more ado. Considering the means of persuasion at the Council's disposal, resistance was hopeless from the start, so Balmerino did as he was told. The King was greatly elated and crowed his triumph in a rather childish letter to the Lord Treasurer:

> For my part, I may justly say that the name-giving me of James included a prophetical mystery of my fortune, for as a Jacob I wrestled with my arms upon the fifth of August [1] for my life, and overcame. Upon the fifth of November, I wrestled and overcame with my wit, and now in a case ten times dearer to me

[1] The day of the Gowrie Plot.

than my life, I mean my reputation, I have wrestled and overcome with my memory.[1]

The next act of the judicial farce took place at St. Andrews, whither Balmerino was sent for his trial. The verdict was a foregone conclusion, but 'the doome after his convictione' says Calderwood 'was delayed till the King's farther pleasure were known, and then it was pronounced in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, that he should be beheaded, quartered and demaimed like a Traitour, and his members set up in publick places'.[2] Whatever his responsibility in the matter, James had no intention of letting the sentence be executed. In the following October, Calderwood reports that he sent a warrant giving Balmerino 'libertie of free ward in Falkland, and a mile about, he finding caution not to escape under the pain of fourtie thousand pounds. Yet he, fearing the worst, or taking deeply to heart the great disgrace and ignominie, under which he was laying, ended his days in displeasure not long after.' Before he died, however, he committed to paper a very different account of the whole affair from that contained in his extorted confession. It is interesting to know that that confession was originally intended to be part of the King's answer to Bellarmine, but his Majesty, fearful probably of some other compromising trumps which the Cardinal might have in reserve, thought it best to pass the matter over in silence for the time being.[3]

[1] The letters to the Council and Salisbury are in the *Hatfield MSS.*, vols. 126 and 134.

[2] *The True History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 605. The Report of the trial is in the Record Office, London, *State Papers Domestic*, vol. XLIV, 10 March 1609.

[3] Very much has been written on the case of Lord Balmerino. Practically none of the old writers, who were not the paid servants of King James, accepted his disavowal at its face value. The irrepressible La Boderie thought the whole affair a good joke, another instance of James's partiality for scapegoats. In modern times S. R. Gardiner defended the sincerity of the King's manœuvres on the ground of the 'transparent ingenuousness' of his letters to Salisbury and the Council (*History of England*, vol. II, p. 33). Andrew Lang (*Hist. of Scotland*, vol. II, pp. 439, 503, 521) followed Gardiner, but Professor Hume Brown disagrees with both of them and thinks that 'there can be little doubt that James wrote the letter' (*Hist. of Scotland*, vol. II, p. 237). Lingard had already scornfully pronounced the official story, as given in Balmerino's confession, to be 'a collection of falsehoods totally unworthy of credit' (*Hist. of England*, vol. VII, Appendix, note E, pp. 550–551). The reason why James made no use of the confession in his new edition of the Apology may very well have been a certain most interesting letter now preserved in the British Museum (Add. MS. 37021, f. 25). It is dated from Dalkeith, 31 July 1601, and addressed to Cardinal Borghese, then Protector of the Scottish nation at

9. Meantime the Premonition was meeting with a very mixed reception from the most mighty Monarchs, Kings, free Princes and States of Christendom. Its royal author had the French Ambassador cautiously sounded as to its prospects at the Court of Henry IV.

I replied [says La Boderie] that as far as accepting the book went, I did not think that coming from whence it did, and its contents being unknown, it would be refused by King Henry. But as for his reading it or at any rate reading it right through, that I could not guarantee. Reading for one thing is not a pastime in which he takes much delight, even when the subject is theology. He considers the sermons he hears to be sufficient for him in that line. Then, too, I doubt whether he would go on with the book after lighting on the passages where an attempt is made to prove

Rome, and afterwards Pope Paul V. Though signed by the Queen, Anne of Denmark, it expressly claims to have been written by the authority of her husband, in answer to letters received by him from Clement VIII. The opening sentences are as follows : *Allatae sunt a S^mo D[omino] N[ostro] ad serenissimum Scotiae regem litterae gratissimae ; his rescribere justis de causis non potuit. Nos, accepta rescribendi ab eodem rege aucthoritate, earumdem latorem, fide erga nos in hac legatione probatum cum epistolis ad S[anctita]tem S[uam] et mandatis remittimus. . . .* The reason given why James could not write himself was that he was afraid of Queen Elizabeth. His wife states openly that Scotland was then ready for return to the Catholic fold, and in her instructions to the bearer of the letter, who was the Sir Edward Drummond mentioned in Bellarmine's letter to the King, in 1600, she does not suggest that there was any need to keep her astonishing remarks a secret from her husband. (See *The English Historical Review*, Jan. 1905, pp. 125–126.) As the letter is not well known, the reader may care to have the rest of it before him : *Spiritus Sancti gratia ex haeresis tenebris ad catholicae veritatis lucem revivimus ; et fidem catholicam nostro nomine apud Sanctam Apostolicam Sedem profitendi curam nuntio et procuratori huic nostro commisimus. Clancularij qui ex vestra curia [veniunt] nuntij nostrarum rerum quae apud vos geruntur, piae regis serenissimi nostraeque voluntatis, Angliae reginam certiorem reddunt, cujus anfractus prasentium lator aegre protegente etiam serenissimo rege accusatus devitavit. Nos regni et vitae (quod majoribus nostris contigit) pericula metuentes cautius et tardius cogimur incedere. Is est apud nos rerum status quem ad hunc diem non aspeximus, ut ope Sanctae Sedis et diligentia feliciora omnia speremus. Cunctando et deliberando hostium insidiis deteriorem fore rerum conditionem et regni nostri periculum cernimus. Nuntius hic, ea quam commisimus fide, illa quibus ad messis proventum maxime indigemus nostro nomine significabit. Illustrissimam V[estram] D[ominationem], ea quam ejusdem nuntii relatione rex serenissimus de vobis concepit benevolentia, a S^mo D[omino] N[ostro] omnia sollicite procurare cupimus, ut felix aliquando hoc regnum, ex misera nostrorum temporum calamitate reviviscens, quam nusquam antea dereliquit majorum suorum fidem recipiat, pro qua nos omnes adversos casus et vitae et sceptri pericula subire paratas offerimus, pioque huic et tam necessario operi incumbentibus suscepti laboris a Deo praemium reposcemus. Datum ex palatio nostro Dalquetensi pridie Calendas Augusti* M.D.CI.

Illustrissimae et Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae Obsequentissima.

ANNA R.

that the Pope is Antichrist, a thing altogether contrary to the religion which his Majesty professes. [1]

This reply was not very encouraging, but all the same, James posted the precious volume to Paris immediately. With it went a covering letter begging King Henry 'de le lire a vostre bon loisir pour l'amour de moy'.[2] Ubaldini, the Papal Nuncio in France, did his best to keep the book out, and not succeeding, did his best to prevent any harmful consequences. Cardinal du Perron, who had expressed such admiration for Bellarmine's work in the past, was of opinion that he had not conducted the controversy with King James in a sufficiently tactful way. Ubaldini, who was eminently tactful, then suggested that du Perron should himself go to England and invite James to have the matter thrashed out in one of those theological tournaments of which he was so fond. The idea appealed immensely to King Henry, but his royal brother across the channel told him, with obvious regret, that he dared not invite a Cardinal, as the red robe would be certain to work the Puritans into a great ferment.[3]

A little later, the King of France adopted a firmer attitude, and even employed an eminent theologian to answer the Premonition. James complained of this with a good deal of bitterness, resenting in particular the mean social standing of his antagonist. 'Tell him from me,' wrote Henry to his ambassador, 'that as he is the most learned man in Christendom in such matters, I could not find anybody capable of answering him worthily except a doctor of theology. . . . Moreover he cannot be unaware that whoever undertakes to write and publish books on matters of religion must expect to find himself contradicted, even by people whose blood is not blue.'

In Spain they knew how to do things much better. The English Ambassador, Sir Charles Cornwallis, was most politely intercepted on his way to the King with the book under his arm, and informed in dulcet tones that his Spanish Majesty would ever hold most dear and in highest esteem anything that came from the hands of the King of England 'as the prince in the world whose amity he most affected'. Nevertheless he marvelled much that the King of England should think it possible for the King of Spain, sincere and obedient

[1] *Ambassades*, t. IV, p. 329.
[2] Printed in *The Fortescue Papers*, Camden Society, 1871, p. 3.
[3] Record Office, London. *Roman Transcripts, Borghese*, 7 and 21 July 1609.

son of the Roman Church as he was, to accept a book of that nature. Consequently 'out of his ever continuing affection to his Majesty of Great Britain', his ambassador was warned that 'if such a book he had to present, he should forbear to do it'. Cornwallis had the sense to take the hint and that ended the matter.[1]

England's representative in Venice was not so wise:

Sir Henry Wotton hath had of late a great contestation with the state of Venice, for that after they had received the King's books they did by public ordinance forbid the publishing of the same; which he took so tenderly, as thereupon he charged them with the breach of their amity with his majesty, and declared unto them than in respect thereof he could not longer exercise his charge in the quality of a public minister among them. This protestation of his was found so strange by that state, as they sent hither in great diligence to understand whether his majesty would avow him therein; which did very much trouble them here to make a cleanly answer thereunto, for the salving of the ambassador's credit, who is censured to have prosecuted the matter to an over-great extremity.[2]

Sir Henry certainly does not appear to have striven after the ideal described in his famous poem, 'The Character of a Happy Life':

> How happy is he born and taught
> That serveth not another's will?
> Whose armour is his honest thought
> And simple truth his utmost skill?
> . . . . . .
> Who God doth late and early pray
> More of His grace than gifts to lend
> And entertains the harmless day
> With a religious book, or friend.

He and his chaplain Bedell entertained the harmless day with a succession of intrigues against the Pope, their aim being, with the aid of their 'religious friend', Fra Paolo, to introduce Protestantism into Venice. In the matter of the Premonition, King James himself considered that he had gone

[1] Winwood, *Memorials*, vol. III, p. 66.

[2] Sir Thomas Edmonds to Sir Ralph Winwood, *Memorials*, vol. III, p. 77. Wotton was very intimate with Fra Paolo Sarpi and between them they, at first, persuaded the Doge to accept the book. But the Inquisition took the matter up with such vigour that his Grace soon changed his mind and issued stringent orders against its publication or sale on Venetian territory.

altogether too far, as we learn from the following interesting letter addressed by his Majesty to the Earl of Salisbury :

My littil Beagle,

I have bene this Night surprysed by the *Venetian* Ambassadoure, who, for all my Hunting, hathe not spaired to hunte me out heir : To be shorte, his chiefe Errande was to tell me of a greate Fraye in *Venice* betwixte my Ambassadoure thaire, and that Staite, anent a Prohibicion that the Inquisition of *Venice* hathe sett foorthe against the publishing of my Booke thaire. He hath complained that my Ambassadoure takis this so hoatlie, as passeth on Disorder. He hath bestowid an Houris vehement Oration upon me for this Purpose. My answer was, that I could never dreame, that ather the State of *Venice*, wolde ever give me any just Cause of Offence, or yett that ever my Ambassadoure thaire, wolde do thaime any evill Office ; but as to give him any particulaire Ansoure, I told him, I must first heare from my Ambassadoure, for he knew well enewgh that everie Prince or State, muste have a greate Truste in thaire owin Ministers. I only wryte this unto you now, that in Case this Pantalone come unto you, ye may give him the lyke deferring Ansoure ; albeit, if I shoulde tell you my Conscience, if all this Mannis Tale be trewe, my Ambassadoure hathe usid this Maitter with a littel more fervent Zeale, then temperate Wisdome. I now hoape to heare from you the Assurance that your Sonne is well, and so fair well.

James R.[1]

The prohibition of the King's book on Venetian territory was due rather to the zeal of the Inquisition than to the benevolent attitude of the Senate towards the Pope. In other Catholic states it was the civil authorities themselves who took the initiative. The governments at Brussels and Vienna refused point-blank to accept a present of the Premonition, while at Florence and Milan it was accepted only to be torn to pieces and burned with opprobrium.[2]

Rome was the natural leader of all the opposition, and very stringent measures were there adopted. The King's work was put on the Index, of course, the penalty for reading it being excommunication reserved to the Holy See. Notwith-

[1] Indorsed in Salisbury's handwriting : ' His Majesty to me, 12 September 1609.' *Letters and Memorials of State written and collected by Sir Henry Sydney, etc.* Edited by A. Collins, London, 1746, p. 325. As already noted, Salisbury was given the pet name ' Little Beagle ' by his royal master as a tribute to his skill in smelling out the King's enemies, real or imaginary.

[2] Asselineau to Duplessis-Mornay, 15 September 1609. Mornay's *Mémoires et Correspondance*, p. 386.

standing the earnest advice of Henry IV that nothing further should be written in answer, Bellarmine received peremptory orders from the Pope to continue the controversy. He was a man of peace and in no way anxious for such a commission, but orders were orders and there was no more to be said. 'It was mid summer and the heat was more than ordinarily excessive,' records his chaplain, Matteo Torti, whose name had suddenly become so famous. 'He was living in a room in the Vatican so hot that when any of his servants had to go there on business, they were forced by the intolerable atmosphere to beat a hasty retreat into the open air, which, though the air of Rome's dog days, seemed to them refreshing in comparison with the furnace they had just left. One after another, we begged him to exchange this miserable room, which some of us used to call hell and some purgatory, for any of the innumerable apartments of the great Vatican Palace. They were cool, or at least less hot than the one he occupied. His only answer was to remind us with a smile that suffering was part of man's business in the world. Yes, to suffer if you like but not to kill yourself, we replied. It is all very well to put up with the heat, but not to be boiled alive on a slow fire or melted in an oven, as is happening to you.' [1]

10. In the late autumn of 1609, Bartholomew Zannetti of Rome issued the book, which had very literally been written in the sweat of its author's brow: *The Apology of Robert Bellarmine, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, for his Answer to the book of James, King of Great Britain.* It contained 160 octavo pages and was dedicated, not to all Christian rulers, but to such only 'as acknowledge God for their Father and the Catholic Church for their Mother'. These men were told in a modest preface that the little volume was not offered them as an antidote against heretical poison because they were too well and wisely grounded in their religion to need such a remedy. The reason was of a more personal kind. Its author had been maligned and traduced in their Majesties' presence, so it was only fair that he should have an opportunity to defend himself before them, and also, what was of greater importance, to defend the sacred dogmas of their common faith. Nor could he justly be accounted an insolent fellow for writing against a King, since not a few bishops of old, such as St. Hilary, St. Gregory Nazianzen, and St. Cyril of Alexandria, had set him the example.

[1] Bartoli, *Vita*, pp. 401–402.

Then the majestic inscription in which James described himself as the 'Professor, Maintainer, and Defender of the True, Christian, Catholique, and Apostolique Faith' is analysed and confronted with an array of pitiless facts that prove it to be suspiciously like mere bombast. 'Whatever the Fathers of the first five hundred yeers did with unanime consent agree upon, I either will believe it also, or at least will be humbly silent,' said the King. Very good, answers the Cardinal; let us take the dogma which his Majesty styles intolerable idolatry, namely the intercession of the Saints and the veneration of their relics, and see what the Fathers and Councils of the first five centuries have to say about it. Nineteen striking passages from the Greek Fathers and another nineteen from the Latins are produced in answer, and this is but one place among many where the royal theologian is buried under an avalanche of texts. In the following chapter, Bellarmine banters him a little for his grand airs with the other princes, telling them to awake from their long sleep, 'as if nobody but the King of England was wise and watchful. Let him waken himself, and attend to the words of our Lord, Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God, the things that are God's.'

James had given as one reason for his anonymity the fact that he was dealing with a mere Cardinal who was not even of noble birth. To this the Cardinal answered with a few ironical allusions:

I do not see why it should be necessary to look for equality of birth or station or power in a theological controversy, since equality of wits and learning is all that matters. Henry VIII, King of England, did not disdain to write against Martin Luther, whom he called a mere bit of a friar. Julian the Emperor also wrote against people who were not Kings, but only Christian Bishops, and then there was Nero, who did not seek out Kings or Princes for a contest on the harp, but considered it no small triumph if he could beat ordinary mortals of some musical ability. . . .

My parents, it is true, were people of no great consequence in the world's eyes, but they were honest and upright. Pope Marcellus II was my uncle, a man so good and learned that even those opposed to the Church were constrained to sing his praises. . . . But even if my relatives had been artisans or country-folk, provided that they were pious Catholics I should have been proud of them, remembering that of the two Princes of the Apostles one was a fisherman and the other a maker of tents. David a King and Prophet was summoned from his flocks to the throne, and chiefest

example of all, Christ our Lord was called, and desired to be taken for, a carpenter and a carpenter's son, that He might teach us to hold the world in little esteem. Let his Majesty of England listen to St. Paul speaking to the Corinthians: See your vocation brethren that there are not many wise according to the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble; but the foolish things of the world hath God chosen that He may confound the wise, and the weak things, that He may confound the strong.

After this modest apology for his existence the Cardinal devotes nine very learned pages to a defence of the purple which he wore.

There is no sequence in his book, and he explains ruefully that this is because he is obliged to jump about from subject to subject in order to keep pace with the King:

> His Majesty uses up page after page describing the fights that went on between Emperors and Popes. But what is the point of all this history, if, as he says, his only purpose is to show that the oath of allegiance is concerned with nothing but civil and temporal obedience? What kind of an argument, I beg you, is this? Many Kings believed that the Pope had no power over them, but, on the contrary, that they had a great deal of power over him. Ergo, the King of England requires nothing by his oath except civil obedience! Not even Aristotle himself could spy a middle term in such a syllogism.

After this, he patiently pursues the straggling road which James had taken, saying, 'if he will digress, then so must we, and thus we shall be fulfilling the evangelical precept, *Whosoever will force thee one mile, go with him other two.*'

In the course of the long dissertation on Popes and Kings which follows, he comes to the story of Edward I and the Dean of St. Paul's, which James had cited with admiration. This Dean had refused at the command of the King to collect tithes for the Holy Places, according to the instructions of the Pope. 'Here (I hope) a Church man disobeyed the Pope for obedience to his Prince even in Church matters,' exclaimed James piously, 'but this new Jesuited Divinitie was not then knowen in the world.' Bellarmine's answer to the argument shows how remarkably qualified he was in history as in most other branches of learning. After expressing wonder that James should be able to cite so few cases of English Churchmen disobedient to the Pope during the space of five centuries, he twits him for forgetting, in his absorption over one paltry Dean, the many illustrious bishops who for conscience sake had been

disobedient to their King. Then he recalls in successive paragraphs, the famous struggles of St. Anselm, St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Edmund, St. Dunstan, St. Hugh of Lincoln, and St. Richard of Chichester. 'Here then,' he concludes, 'we have what his Majesty was looking for, namely, instances of Kings who forcibly deprived Churchmen of spiritual as well as temporal possessions. But here also we have what his Majesty was *not* looking for, namely, instances of holy prelates who fought might and main, in toil and suffering, for the liberties of the Church.'

In the seventh chapter the question once again is whether King James may properly be called a heretic. James was very indignant at being so styled, though what else a Catholic could style him is rather hard to see. To minimize the testimony of his mother against him, on which Bellarmine was fond of dwelling, he had attributed to her the scandalous words about the ceremonies of Baptism which were quoted above. Bellarmine's answer to this was very good. He could not well give his royal antagonist the lie direct, but he could do better; he could point out from St. Ambrose, St. Gregory, St. Bede the Venerable, Hugh of St. Victor, and others, that the use of saliva in baptism had at least the sanction of antiquity. And then he could and did render the whole story ridiculous by simply referring to the *Rituale* where the priest is instructed to touch the ears and nostrils of the infant with saliva, but no mention whatever is made of applying it to the lips. As to Mary of Scotland's tolerance of her son's heresy and her last words telling him to lead a good life and not bother about the rest, why, answers the Cardinal, many letters written in the Queen's own hand are to be seen here in Rome, which plainly show how anxious she was that her son should return to the Catholic fold.

Forty pages of excellent controversy follow in defence of the various dogmas with which the King had made merry. Once or twice the Cardinal gives him scorn for scorn, as when he says: 'With reference to the fair green meadow that is in Purgatory, let his Majesty inquire of that noble English Doctor, the Venerable Bede, from whom I borrowed the story, whether there be a river running through it. However, it matters little what Purgatory is like to people who do not believe in it. 'Tis plain enough their curiosity should be about hell, as that is the only place left for them.'

King James was a very inconstant man, and, as is ever the

way of such, he boasted of nothing more loudly than of his constancy. Accordingly when Bellarmine hinted in his first book that he was a turn-coat, his wrath knew no bounds :

I cannot enough wonder with what brazen face this Answerer could say that I was a Puritane in Scotland, and an enemy to Protestants : I that was persecuted by Puritanes there, not from my birth only, but even since foure months before my birth ? . . . I that in my Booke to my Sonne, doe speake ten times more bitterly of them nor of the Papists, having in my second Edition thereof affixed a long Apologetike Preface, only *in odium Puritanorum*. . . . And surely I give a faire commendation to the Puritanes in that place of my booke, where I affirme that I have found greater honesty with the high-land and border theeves than with that sort of people.

His anger even made him rash enough to return the charge upon the Cardinal's head. He, and not King James, was the real Puritan :

That Bishops ought to be in the Church, I ever maintained as an Apostolike institution and so the ordinance of God ; contrarie to the Puritanes and likewise to Bellarmine, who denies that Bishops have their Jurisdiction immediately from God. But it is no wonder he takes the Puritanes part, since Jesuits are nothing but Puritan-Papists. [1]

It was thus that his Majesty fumed in protest. The Cardinal answered him with two dates : ' It is very strange that the King should have been so excited by my remark when there still exists in Scotland a confession of faith drawn up by the Puritan ministers, which he signed at Edinburgh on January 28th, the year of our Lord 1581, and the fourteenth of his reign. This confession was refuted by the Bishop of Vaison, himself a Scotsman, in a book published by him at Avignon in 1601.' [2]

[1] Cardinal Manning, as is well known, permitted himself a similar remark : ' There is only a plank between them [the Jesuits] and Presbyterianism '. Leslie, *Henry Edward Manning*, London, 1921, p. 295.

[2] Cf. Calderwood, *The True History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 96 : ' The second Confession of Faith, commonly called the Kings Confession, was subscribed by the King and his Household with sundrie others, the twenty eight day of January 1581 according to the new accompt. . . . In this Confession under the name Hierarchie, is condemned Episcopal Government. . . . The Discipline to be maintained by this Confession, is not the Episcopal Government, but the jurisdiction of Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, Synodal Assemblies and General, agreed upon before. . . . A charge was subscribed by the King the second of March, whereby subjects of all ranks were charged to subscribe the Confession which He and his house had subscribed.'

James's long and laboured effort to prove that the Pope was Antichrist, next claimed attention. Bellarmine had already devoted some 50,000 words of his *Controversies* to this weary business of which the Protestant athletes were so fond. He points out now that the King has brought no new arguments to supplement the battered old inventions of his predecessors. Moreover, the learning displayed by his Majesty, such as it was, was all borrowed without acknowledgment from the books of Robert Abbot and Thomas Brightman. These gentlemen were well-known to the Cardinal as they had made him the special object of their boisterous polemics, and it must have amused him to find his latest foe stealing their thunder. His friend of friends, Father Eudaemon-Joannes, had already answered the two doctors in full, but still he did not refuse to follow the royal plagiarist anew on to that arid ground where never a blade of common sense was known to grow.

In the next chapter, he expounds his theories on the origin of civil government and the exemption of clerics, which James had distorted into sheer anarchy. Then he takes up, once more, the defence of the persecuted English Catholics. 'I do constantly maintaine,' said the King, 'that no man, either in my time or in the late Queenes, ever died here for his conscience. For let him be never so devout a Papist, his life is in no danger by the Law if he breake not out into some outward act expressly against the words of the Law, or plot not some unlawfull or dangerous practise or attempt.'

The answer to that is quite easy [retorted the Cardinal]; for even though it were true that no one suffered death for conscience sake in England who had not first openly transgressed the law, yet since the law forbids any one to receive a Catholic priest into his house, to be reconciled to the Church, to hear Mass, and to do many other things plainly connected with religion, one who dies for transgressing such a law may rightly be said to have died for his religion. In deciding whether a man is a martyr, it matters little whether he was killed because he professed the Catholic faith, or because he broke the Law which commanded him to renounce the same. It is an old imperial pagan trick to make a law against religion and then murder men, not intolerantly for religion's sake, of course, but with wise statesmanship, because they offended against the majesty of the constitution. As for the 'Priests and Popish Church-men' who, according to his Majesty, are forbidden to go home to England under pain of Treason on account of their manifold plottings and conspiracies,—that story, too, has its parallels in the past. The pagan emperors used to

APOLOGIA
ROBERTI
S. R. E. CARDINALIS
BELLARMINI,
PRO RESPONSIONE SVA
AD LIBRVM IACOBI
MAGNAE BRITANNIAE REGIS,
CVIVS TITVLVS EST,

Triplici nodo triplex cuneus;

IN QVA APOLOGIA REFELLITVR
Præfatio Monitoria Regis eiuſdem.

ACCESSIT EADEM IPSA RESPONSIO
Iterum recuſa, quæ ſub nomine MATTHAEI TORTI
Anno ſuperiore prodierat.

ROMÆ, Apud Bartholomæum Zannettum. M. DC. IX.
SVPERIORVM PERMISSV.

CARDINAL BELLARMINE'S SECOND ANSWER TO KING JAMES.

say similar things about the early Christians, imputing to them all manner of public crimes. Nero himself burnt down a big part of Rome and then burnt the Christians for doing it.

In no part of his Premonition is the venom of King James so manifest as when he takes it upon him to blacken the fame of Father Garnet, 'that straw Saint,[1] who was so publikely and solemnly convicted and executed, upon his owne so cleare, unforced, and often repeated confession, of his knowledge and concealing of that horrible Treason.' More than twenty years earlier Bellarmine had been Garnet's 'spiritual father' in Rome. While locked up in Paris during the siege, he had received some news of his old friend's doings in England, and commenting on it in a letter, said: 'I was delighted to be told something about our Father Henry, whom I have always greatly loved for his goodness. Sure I am that the reward of all his toil for souls will one day be the crown of martyrdom, and when that happens, I think I shall have a good advocate in Heaven. . . .'[2] Blessed Robert was not the one to let the fair name of a friend be trampled in the mud without a vigorous protest:

Let the King urge and argue as much as he likes, yet will I tell him what an important personage who is not a priest, nor a Jesuit, nor a pupil of the seminaries, swore solemnly before me here in Rome; namely, that he was present at Garnet's execution, and heard the Father say clearly, just as he was about to die, that he had had no knowledge of the treason except what was given him under the seal of confession. And I for one can easily believe it, since he was my intimate friend during many years. No one knew better than I what an absolutely upright man he was; no one was in a better position to appreciate the perfect purity of life which crowned his great gifts of intellect and learning.

The doctrine of the sacramental seal was 'damnable' in the eyes of King James, but he knew enough about it to be able to urge that Garnet ought to have given some warning of the plot, even if, according to his Jesuit theology, the plotters' identity had to be carefully concealed. Bellarmine's answer to this clever point was very sound:

I would ask the King whether if Father Garnet had warned him that his life was in danger from the machinations of traitors, he would have forborne out of respect for the seal of confession

[1] A reference to the well-known story of the ear of wheat on which Father Garnet's features were said to be represented.

[2] Le Bachelet, *Bellarmin avant son Cardinalat*, p. 258.

to demand their names ? Certain it is that one holding such views as he does about the sacrament would instead have ordered the Father to be clapped into chains and subjected to the most terrible tortures until he revealed everything.[1]

The Apology concludes with a telling criticism of the English Monarch's hopes for the reunion of the Protestant Churches : ' His Majesty is crying for the moon. How can the disputes be ended when the disputants will have no umpire but the Scriptures, which each of them can interpret as he pleases ? If in the civil courts we had nothing but the law to go by, judges and the legal fraternity being rigorously excluded, what hope could we entertain of ever seeing the end of our litigation ? '

A copy of the work was at once posted off to the Emperor Rudolph II, with a modest letter of explanation :

King James of England dedicated to your Majesty a book in which he not only attacks the Catholic Faith, but pours out the vials of his wrath on my humble self. He foists on me many false inventions that he may discredit me before your Highness and the other Princes, so I was compelled to answer him in defence of the Church and of my character. I trust that your Majesty will look upon my effort with a kindly eye, as I have done my best to avoid giving any reasonable offence. May it please you then graciously to accept this little work, and to number me among the most devoted of your servants.[2]

By this time King James had had more than enough of the duel, so instead of neglecting his hawks and hounds to engage in it anew, he bade his henchmen take up the burden, which they did with a will, knowing that it was the way to glory. On Bellarmine's side, also, there were many warriors eager for the fray, and the two parties were soon locked in such a battle of books as the world had never seen before.

[1] Bishop Goodman was devoted to the memory of King James whom he described as ' my good old master'. But the Bishop was a very fair-minded man, and took up the defence of Father Garnet on exactly the same lines as those adopted by Bellarmine. Cf. *The Court of King James the First*, vol. I, pp. 109–114. An English film entitled ' Guy Fawkes ', which is still going its rounds with Mr. Matheson Lang as star, shows Father Garnet solemnly blessing the barrels of gunpowder in the cellar under the House of Parliament !

[2] Fuligatti, *Epistolae familiares*, lxviii, p. 156.

CHAPTER XXIV

CARDINAL'S MEN AND KING'S MEN

1. King James had put away his pen, but he found it impossible to put Bellarmine out of his thoughts. Indeed, his pleasant anticipations of Christmas merriment seem to have been rather spoilt by the obtrusive Cardinal, to judge by the following letter of Sir Thomas Lake to Lord Salisbury, 9 December 1609:

> I have sent your lordship, in a paper, certain places taken out of Bellarmyne's late booke . . . with which his Majestie would have your lordship and some other of my lordes of the Councell your frends, to sound your owne consciences and to see whether you finde any such opinions there; that his Majestie may know against he commeth to London to be merry with you this Christmas whether he shall be in charity with you or no, for without charity there can be no harty mirth. Especially the last clause toucheth your lordship.'[1]

To ease his mind, James once more sought the help of his trusty henchman Andrewes, and that industrious Bishop was soon at work on another volume, bigger than his last, against the Cardinal. It appeared in the winter of 1610, with the pleasantly straightforward title, *A Reply to the Apology of Cardinal Bellarmine*, but with a preface smelling very unpleasantly of the cheap incense which his Majesty loved. James is described as 'the morning-star of our dawn, the leader and chief of this controversy, to whom all princes owe gratitude for having defended their rights, and erected on this isle of the western world a lighthouse, by the far-spreading beams of which each may steer the ship of state committed to his charge.'

[1] Record Office, London, *State Papers Domestic*, vol. L, Newmarket, 9 December 1609. It is difficult to decide which passages of Bellarmine were causing the trouble. Probably the King was anxious to know whether Salisbury believed that he had been 'a Puritane in Scotland' or had written to Pope Clement VIII, as the Cardinal alleged.

Then the good Bishop speaks for himself: 'On our part too, gratitude is owing to his Majesty for having given us the easy task of dispatching that common foe whom he had already wounded mortally and left half dead upon the field.' The common foe is dubbed 'a doubtful kind of beast, the ram of the Roman flock,' and Andrewes tells him that since the King has pricked his bubble 'he might well change his pseudonym from twisted Matthew to punctured Mark'. A mocking line of Horace is applied to him (for the Bishop was great on the poets), and his family name is made the subject of a dreary pun—*Bellarminus bello et armis minus jam idoneus*. His reference to Pope Marcellus, his uncle, is thus received: 'We congratulate him on his uncle, and if he was as holy as he makes out, then would to goodness he would imitate him. . . . It is said, right enough, that Marcellus was by no means a bad man, for he did not stay long enough on the Papal throne to be corrupted by it.' And so this queer book of learning, abuse, and vile Latin, goes on for more than five hundred crotchety pages.

Another ally, almost as precious as Andrewes, came to comfort the King in his hour of anxiety. In May 1610 the famous classical scholar, Isaac Casaubon, wrote to him hinting plainly that he would appreciate an invitation to England: 'Even here in France, greatest of Kings, I know well the divine clemency of your Majesty, and that surpassing virtue which has won immortal honour for your name in other countries. . . . You have God Himself for the judge of your contest and for spectators and sympathizers all the good men of Europe.' That was the style of the letter, and, needless to say, the answer was a hearty welcome. In October Casaubon crossed the channel, and two months later we find him writing in ecstasy to James: 'You have given me permission to stay in your Kingdom and serve your most serene Majesty. . . . All hail, then, my King, my Maecenas, my Master. I hope that your immense clemency and goodness will suffer me to salute your Majesty now, not as a stranger and sojourner, but as one of your own subjects and household servants.' [1] Shortly afterwards, this excellent recruit shed his Calvinism, and became a devout Anglican and a great friend of Bishop Andrewes.

Bellarmine figured largely in their learned conversations, but poor fellow, not being much of a Greek scholar, Casaubon

[1] *Casauboni Epistolae*, pp. 347, 364.

had only contempt for him. Besides, it was good policy to despise those whom King James despised, so we find the Frenchman writing in his Diary, November 24 : ' I had dinner to-day with the Bishop of Ely [Andrewes] and heard him read chapter VIII of his book. It is wonderful with what elegance this most learned man confutes the theological scum, the folly, and sometimes the impious blasphemies of Bellarmine.' [1] The King had desired to know his opinion of Andrewes' book, and this was how he expressed it, a few days earlier, in a letter to James Montagu, the Bishop of Bath and Wells :

I have read and daily read this work in which sincere piety contends for first place with varied learning and a certain most sweet elegance. . . . Truly wretched Cardinal, who has thus found in his effete old age an antagonist full of genius, rare erudition, and eloquence. . . . If there is any sense of shame left in him I do not think he will ever again dare to descend into the arena with this adversary—*certe enim impar congressus Achilli.*[2]

The whole story of Casaubon's relations with the Court of St. James reads like a tragedy. That true scholar had really no quarrel with Bellarmine or the Jesuits at all, but he was passionately devoted to his classical texts, and found it necessary, for their sake, to adopt the dislikes of his patrons. Being a poor man, sick himself and with a sick wife, money was the great need. King James could provide that, but only for service rendered, and so Dr. Isaac had willy-nilly to pretend that James's crochets were dear to him, an affectation all the more galling to his civil soul, because one of his best friends was the French Jesuit, Père Fronton du Duc, or Fronto Ducaeus as he was known in the learned world. Their common passion for ancient texts had brought those two splendid editors into closest intimacy, and when Casaubon, in his need, undertook at the King's suggestion to write an attack on Bellarmine and Father Garnet, his attempt to justify himself in the eyes of their brother in religion was pathetic in the extreme. Father Fronto had asked him before he left France, to intercede with James on behalf of the Society of Jesus, and had given him a short *apologia* for its doctrines, written by another French Jesuit, to be presented to his Majesty. The following is part of a letter which he sent from London, May 1611 :

[1] *Ephemerides Isaaci Casauboni* (Oxford, 1850), p. 793. Andrewes embodied a good many of his visitor's suggestions in the Reply to Bellarmine. Cf. *Ephemerides*, pp. 790, 792. [2] *Epistolae*, p. 366.

Clarissime Fronto, I will tell you now, simply and like a brother, all that has happened. . . . Not long after I had spoken to the King according to your request, his Majesty read your apology, and then summoning me back at once, made the following speech in the presence of many bishops and noblemen. 'Behold a book, Casaubon, that agrees most beautifully with Father Fronto's amiable professions! You will find in it a defence of the authors who teach that pernicious doctrine [of the deposing power] to Princes; you will find Bellarmine's late Satanical effusion openly upheld; you will find the innocence of the Powder-traitors championed, and themselves numbered in the glorious army of martyrs; you will find, in short, everything the exact opposite to Fronto's words.'

His Majesty then ordered me to take the book home and examine its reasons carefully, with particular attention to the apologist's account of English affairs. When I had done this, the King instructed me to write to you about the whole matter that you may know, once and for all, what manner of behaviour is expected from those who look for his friendship. . . . I shall send you this letter soon, and beg you now to accept it with an open mind, as I make you the umpire of all its arguments. Permit me then, dearest and most learned Fronto, to deal candidly with you and to say just what I think. . . . If you have the least influence with those of your Faith who live here in England under the rule of a most merciful, loving, and excellent King, do try to argue them out of the stupid simplicity which makes them accept those opinions, for otherwise their blood will be upon the heads of the authors of such pestilent doctrine. However, you will read all about this in my letter. I have many things to say to you, but I will keep them till in God's good time we can have an intimate talk again. If it is not too much trouble, please remember me to Fathers Sirmond and Coton. Goodbye and love me.[1]

It might appear from this pleasant letter that Casaubon had undertaken the investigation in a spirit of impartial inquiry, but he knew very well that his work would be published in England, even before being sent to the man for whom it was supposed to be exclusively written. Consequently he had to say what King James wanted him to say, and that he might do this the more securely, he was permitted to see only such evidence as would be likely to prejudice him against Bellarmine and Garnet. Andrewes was at his elbow all the time, guiding him in the way he ought to go, and when he quotes Garnet's letters it is Andrewes' falsified version that he gives. At last, in October, Father Fronto received his 'letter', and he must have gasped as he unfolded it, for it runs to more than 40,000

[1] *Epistolae*, pp. 382–383.

words.[1] Bellarmine as usual is the chief villain. 'He, more than the Pope himself,' says Casaubon, 'was responsible for entangling the consciences of English Catholics in the spider's web of his theology.' After a dose of Dr. Andrewes' Latinity, turning to the beautiful style of this heroic epistle is like coming from a stuffy room into the sunlight. But the style is its only virtue. As an historical document it is worthless:

> What avails the classic bent,
> And what the cultured word,
> Against the undoctored incident . . . ?

2. King James's foreign legion was a rather motley collection of nondescripts. It numbered one or two other men of Casaubon's stamp, such as the learned Pierre du Moulin, but the majority were more amusing than efficient, and some of them made no secret that it was English gold they were after. Thus a French Calvinist named de Tourval, who had translated the *Triplici Nodo* into his native tongue, held out his cap to the King unblushingly:

> I have been put to great expense, not to speak of hardships and peril, in my efforts to get his Majesty's book printed. At length, as no one would undertake the work for love or money, I was obliged to return to Paris by night, and do the printing stealthily, without anyone knowing except a certain English gentleman. Meantime the Jesuits were searching high and low for my translation, and I do not think it would have been good for my health had they found me out. But God grant that I may never seek to spare my blood in the service of his Majesty and of that blessed land of promise which I have loved from my mother's womb. There, twenty years ago, I vowed to seek refuge some day from the plagues of my French Egypt and the slavery of Rome.[2]

After this account of his stewardship, de Tourval reminds Salisbury that his recompense has not yet been forthcoming, and begs him to see to the omission.

There were plenty of Tourvals in the controversy, but only one of them was of any consequence, and that was the extraordinary person known to fame as Mark Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato. Spalato was in the territory of Venice, and its ex-Jesuit Prelate had, as mentioned above, sided with Fra Paolo and the other dissidents, in their fierce quarrel with

[1] *Casauboni Epistolae*, pp. 385–426.

[2] Record Office, *State Papers Domestic*, James I, vol. LV, 2 June 1610, Strand.

the Holy See. When peace was made, de Dominis began to wonder whether he would not be better off somewhere else. Bishop Goodman gives a very amusing account of the sequel to these deliberations: 'Having composed some great volumes, [the Archbishop] brought them to our English Ambassador, and there began to acquaint him that he did desire to live in a Church reformed and of all other Churches he commended most the Church of England, and did heartily wish that his means lay there; and if my lord Ambassador could but procure an exchange, he would be very glad to live and die a member of the Church of England and would pray daily for his lordship.'

Two hundred pounds a year and the use of a servant was all that the modest proselyte asked, and the zealous Sir Henry Wotton urged James to close with the offer:

> The King acquainted the Archbishop of Canterbury who was very forward in the contribution, and did desire that it might be laid upon the bishops and he would give him lodging and diet at his own house; so the bishop was sent unto, that he should have his own desires, let him come as soon as he pleased. . . . The King did use him most graciously and the archbishop did very kindly invite him and entertain him at his house in Lambeth, [but he] having lived long at Lambeth, they grew weary of him, for he was somewhat an unquiet man, and not of that fair, quiet, civil carriage as would give contentment. This he perceiving made bold to write unto the King, desiring him that he might not live always at another man's table but that he might have some subsistence of his own: whereupon the King so contrived it, that although the mastership of the Savoy had been given to another, yet was it resigned and conferred upon him, and about half a year after, the deanery of Windsor; both which preferments might amount to four hundred and thirty pounds per annum or thereabout, the King giving him no certain pension, yet gave him a very good New year's gift every year.[1] . . .

[1] Fuller gives the explanation of King James's munificence: 'Above all, King James, whose hands were seldom shut to any and always open to men of merit, was most munificent unto him, highly rejoicing that Rome had lost and England got such a jewel. How many of our English youth were taken out of our universities unto Italy and there taught treason and heresy together? This aged prelate of eminent parts, coming thence of his own accord, would make a plentiful reparation for the departure of many novices.' Referring to one of the New Year gifts, 'a fine bason and bowl of silver,' Fuller tells us that de Dominis received it with this compliment, 'The King of Great Britain hath sent me a silver bason to wash from me the filth of the Roman Church, and a silver cup to mind me to drink the purity of the gospel.' *Church History*, x, p. 94.

In Windsor he fell out with the canons [and] being of that unquiet disposition in whom little devotion did appear, every day he grew to be more and more neglected. The King did likewise dislike a Latin sermon which he made, wherein he defended the dormition of souls until the last day of judgment; and he, finding himself to decline in credit, hearing that the prince was gone into Spain, he gave himself over then as a lost man, expecting that when the Spaniards came hither they would offer him up in sacrifice. It fell out like wise about the same time, that Paulus Quintus, the pope whom he had offended, died; and to him succeeded, as I take it, Gregory, who had been a schoolfellow. Spalato wrote unto him to congratulate his election and that he did assure himself that God had a hand therein, and that it was for the great good of the Christian world, and that he himself should think himself very happy to die a member of that Church wherein God had made him his high priest. . . .[1]

Notwithstanding his interest in the pope, yet he durst not commit himself to his mercy, but he went to the several Catholic ambassadors that were then resident about London, telling them that his coming over unto England was to do some great good service to God's Catholic Church, but having now had sufficient experience, he finds that the time is not yet come, that things are not ripened for the settlement and establishment of that peace, and himself being now grown very old, not fit for labours and employments, he did desire to return to his own country, to die a member of the Church of Rome and to be buried with his fathers. Here now at length King James began to have notice of his departure, being wonderfully sorry that he had been so cheated and cozened by an impostor. . . . Being a stranger coming with leave into the Kingdom, being an old man and an archbishop, he thought it could not stand with his honour either to hinder his journey or to imprison him. Yet the King did resolve to put some disgrace upon him and while thus resolving, he receives a letter from Spalato to this effect: that he gave his Majesty most humble and hearty thanks for the preferments and kind entertainment which he had received and did daily desire God to reward him, that his coming over was truly to inform himself of the state of the Church of England, which now perfectly knowing and finding it to be a commendable church, he doubted not but to do it better service by his absence than if he should continue here; that as he came in with his Majesty's leave, so he might leave the Kingdom with his approbation; and to that end he would make bold to attend his Majesty, that he might have the honour to kiss his hand, whereby all men might take notice that he was in his good opinion.

[1] Pope Gregory XV was elected 9 February, 1621. De Dominis returned to Rome in 1622 and was given a pension by the charitable Pontiff.

The King hereupon calls Dr. Younge, Dean of Winchester, and wills him to repair to Spalato that he should command him in the King's name that he should not dare to come near the court. He willed him further to take order, especially of his goods and of his money, that they might not be conveyed away without the King's leave. This was the rather done because Spalato was hiring a house by the water-side near Greenwich, and as they said, he had hired a small Ketch to carry him over. . . . The Dean of Winchester found that his plate and what he purposed to carry over with him was sent to an ambassador's house who was shortly to go out of the Kingdom ; and a special eye and care was had of those trunks. At length the bishops thought fit to banish him, and appointed him a very short day, and commanded him to depart before that day, upon pain of imprisonment ; so his trunks were to go after him.

When the trunks were come to Gravesend and the steward was ready to convey them to the ship, an officer came to him, and told him that sometimes when ambassadors had had great entertainment of the King, yet their servants did colour [1] and transport other men's goods ; therefore they had command to search whether any other goods were there but the lord-ambassador's. The steward did assure them that there were none others. This did not suffice, they would search ; and so coming to Spalato's trunks, they knew them very well and seized upon them. In the trunks there was what he had in New Year's gifts and what he had saved out of his pensions, the sum of sixteen or seventeen hundred pounds. Whenas Spalato, lying now in Holland in expectation of his trunks, heard that they were intercepted, he wrote to the King and procured all the ambassadors to join with him, that seeing it was all his stock and treasure and the means that he had to live upon, which he confessed he had by the King's own bounty, that therefore the same goodness would permit him to enjoy it, whereby he might live and subsist, daily to pray for his Majesty. When the King had made it appear that he was as provident as Spalato was deceitful, he permitted the trunks to be restored.

Now Spalato having his trunks, posted to Rome, where the princes had procured his pardon, so that he lived securely. But most of the cardinals would not vouchsafe to look upon him or have any acquaintance with him. . . . And not living long, when he was upon his deathbed they that were about him sent up and down Rome to find out Englishmen. And the ghostly father brings them all unto Spalato's chamber and speaks to Spalato to this effect : ' My Lord, you are now passed hope of life and here are many Englishmen come to see you. It is fit that now

[1] ' *To colour Strangers' goods,* is when a Freeman allows a Foreigner to enter goods at the custom-house in his name '—*Cyclopædia or an Universal Dictionary,* by E. Chambers, London, 1728, vol. 1, p. 262.

you should declare in what faith and religion you die that so you may make some satisfaction for your former revolt.' Whereupon Spalato took a crucifix which then lay upon the bed and kissed it and used these words : ' I do die a member of the Roman Catholic Church.' And when he was dead his study was searched, and there were found certain papers which did imply his opinion to be that there was inequality of Persons in the Holy Trinity. After much discussion, it was resolved that he died in a state of heresy and so his body was burned.[1]

3. Though de Dominis may not have been a very estimable character, he was undoubtedly a very learned man and his celebrated book, *De Republica Christiana*, which appeared in London in 1617, was one of the most effective answers that appeared in Bellarmine's life-time to his defence of Papal prerogatives. Meanwhile, however, Bellarmine did not lack stout champions. In 1610 Andrewes remarked that ' their barking could be heard on every side', and he gave a little list of them as follows : ' The most wicked sycophant Pacenius, Becan who could not easily be matched for folly and impudence, Coquaeus, the scavenger of the party, who brushes all the rubbish into a heap, a huge heap weighing nothing, and that *portentum nominis*, *portentum hominis*, Eudaemon-Joannes. Then there is the vile buffoon of impure lips and stinking mind, a Frenchman, but the shame and infamy of his country, with whose name I should blush to defile my page. Finally, and in a more respectable class stand Coeffeteau, Peletier and, for once in a way, Gretser.' [2] But these were only a few of the many pens that were busy in the fray. Towards the end of 1611 Casaubon wrote to one of his friends :

[1] *The Court of King James the First*, vol. I, pp. 336–354. In spite of the obvious gusto with which Goodman tells the story of the poor Archbishop's failings, his account is substantially accurate. There is an additional story in Hacket's *Life of Archbishop Williams*, to the effect that Sir Edward Sackville went one day with Bellarmine's friend, Father Thomas Fitzherbert, S.J., to pay de Dominis a visit, and found him in a narrow, dark room which looked out upon a blank wall, about three yards distant. After the usual civilities, Sir Edward said : ' My Lord of Spalato, you have here a dark lodging ; it was not so with you in England : there you had at Windsor as good a prospect by land as was in all the country ; and at the Savoy you had the best prospect upon water that was in all the city '—' I have forgot those things,' said the Bishop : ' Here I can best contemplate the Kingdom of heaven.' Sir Edward, taking Fitzherbert aside into the next room, says to him, ' Sir, tell me honestly, do you think this man is employed in the contemplation of heaven ? ' Says the Father Rector, ' I think nothing less : for he was a malcontent Knave when he fled from us, a railing Knave while he lived with you, and a motley, parti-coloured Knave, now he is come again.' Part I, p. 104.

[2] *Responsio ad Bellarminum, Ad Lectorem.*

The King, great and learned as he is, is now so entirely taken up with one sort of book that he keeps his own mind and the minds of all about him occupied exclusively on the one topic. Hardly a day passes in which some new pamphlet is not brought him, mostly written by Jesuits, on such matters as the martyrdom of Garnet and the persecution of the English Catholics. I have to read these books and tell his Majesty what I think about them and I wish to goodness he would give them all a rest, agents of the devil though they be.[1]

Andrew Melvill and La Boderie were amused spectators of the comedy. *Rex ringitur, alii rident*, was the comment of the first—'the King chafes and everybody else chuckles'.[2]

One of the busiest of the Cardinal's defenders was his English friend, Father Thomas Fitzherbert. In 1613 he answered Dr. Barlow's rejoinder to Father Persons (died 1610), and also the well-known 'Pseudo-Martyr' of John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's. The same year, there appeared at St. Omer's his *Confutation of certaine Absurdities, Falsities, and Follies uttered by M. O. Andrewes, in his answer to Cardinal Bellarmine's Apology*. This work brought upon him a furious onslaught from one of the King's chaplains named Samuel Collins. Dr. Samuel's style is involved, but he is well worth reading for the vigour with which he expresses himself. Whether he meant to be funny or not, he certainly succeeds in being so from his title, 'Epphata to F.T.' onwards. 'May it please your Majesty,' the dedication begins, 'out of your Princely clemency which exceedeth all things, yet enclaspes the least, to vouchsafe to these poor labours—true Benonies, the sonnes of my sorrow, so many disasters have annoyed them from the womb—the skirt of your royall clothing. Undertaken at first by your Majesties commandment for the repulsing of the lewde slaunders of a namelesse Papist, and to redeeme the credit of a renowned Bishop; but continued to the confirmation of your Majesties liege people in their religion to God, and their obedience to your Majesty, *in quibus duobus universa lex pendet et prophetae.*' After this dash of the usual 'eau bénite de cour', Collins goes gaily in pursuit of Bellarmine and enjoys himself enormously in the chase. Except that some of his pages read like the distressing part of small boys' algebra known as 'Brackets', his book is very enter-

[1] *Casauboni Epistolae*, p. 437.

[2] *Melvini Epistolae*, pp. 51, 79; La Boderie, *Ambassades*, t. IV, pp. 271, 301, 318, 324, 372.

taining. In 1621, the year of Bellarmine's death, Father Fitzherbert answered it with *The Obmutesce of F.T. to the Epphata of Dr. Collins; or the Reply of F.T. to Dr. Collins his Defence of My Lord of Winchester's Answere to Cardinal Bellarmine's Apology.*

Father Martin Becan or Van der Beeck, a Jesuit Professor at Mayence, was another famous captain in the controversy. In the years 1609 and 1610 he answered King James and Bishop Andrewes. In 1611, he took on the three Anglican theologians, Tooker, Burhill, and Thomson, all at the same time, and then, thoroughly roused by his experiences, published in 1612 his unfortunate *Dissidium Anglicanum de Primatu Regis.* That book made history, for in it Father Martin contended that, under certain circumstances, not only the deposition, but the murder of heretical princes was lawful. There was a tremendous hubbub, and both Parliament and Sorbonne were on the point of condemning the book by public proclamation, when Rome took the wind out of their sails by putting it on the Index. Bellarmine was one of the Cardinals responsible for this move, much to the chagrin of the ' politiques ' who were bent on including him, too, in their reprisals.[1] In Belgium, Father Leonard Lessius, mindful of the help which Bellarmine had given him in his own time of trial, came to his aid with a ' Treatise on Antichrist,' which turned the laugh against King James. The operation was performed ever so gently, for Lessius was the politest of men, but before the book ended, his Majesty of England appeared in its deft pages, according to the rules of evidence which he had himself chosen, as one of the indubitable precursors of the Man of Sin ! In the following years Father Leonard wrote two other learned works in defence of his old master.

But by far the most famous and important reply to Bellarmine's royal traducer came from Spain, where Francis Suarez had been engaged on it intermittently ever since the appearance of the King's first book. The English agent at Madrid, Sir John Digby, knew what was afoot, and his letters to James during the years 1612–1613 are full of references to the progress that was being made. James was in a great state of excitement, hoping possibly that Suarez, who lived far away from Rome, would not be so stalwart on the Pope's side as Bellarmine. Sad then was his disillusionment when, early

[1] Ubaldini to Borghese, 29 January 1613. Quoted in Fouqueray's *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France*, t. III (1922), p. 304.

in November 1613, he received the *Defence of the Catholic and Apostolic Faith against the Errors of the Anglican Sect, with a Reply to the Apology for the Oath of Allegiance and the Premonition of the Most Serene King James of England.*[1] In the first two of its six books, his Majesty read one of the finest criticisms of the whole Anglican position that has ever been published. In the third, he found Bellarmine's theses on the indirect power, and the sovereignty of the people, developed and defended with such powerful logic as had never been brought to bear on them before. The fourth book gave him still less comfort, justifying as it did, in the calm, progressive method of Scholasticism, all that Bellarmine had written on ecclesiastical immunities. The fifth book was on antichrist, and the last, and worst of all from the King's point of view, was a direct attack on his Oath of Allegiance which dotted the *i's* and crossed the *t's* of all its former assailants.

When the trial of Father Ogilvie began, just at this time, the accused man tells us that the books of Bellarmine and Suarez were on his judge's table. He was asked whether he believed the doctrines taught in them, and answering bravely that he did, he was condemned to death. The two theologians here bracketed together by the holy martyr who was their brother in religion, were well known to one another. On January 15, 1614 Suarez wrote to Bellarmine telling him that he was sending on a copy of the *Defensio*: 'I wish to make your Lordship a present of my book on our Anglican friends. I was most anxious that you should have been one of the first to receive it, but I had to abandon that pleasure owing to the expensiveness of sending it by courier-post. It is coming to you now over the sea, but I do not know when it will reach you.' On the back of this letter Bellarmine scribbled a sentence or two of the acknowledgment he proposed to send: 'My recollections of your Reverence are too pleasant for me to receive your book with anything less than the greatest satisfaction. But it is very long, and I am up to my eyes in work, so I cannot promise you that I shall read every bit of it.'[2]

It was part of the business of the nunciature at Paris to keep Rome informed about developments in England. Towards the end of the year 1613 the following piece of news was sent:

[1] Coimbra, 1613, in fol., pp. 780.

[2] Reproduced from private Archives by de Scorraille, *François Suarez*, t. II, p. 188, note 3.

Father Suarez' book in defence of Papal authority has greatly angered the King. He has caused it to be publicly burned together with the writings of Becan and Scioppius on the same subject, and, while the burning proceeded, an heretical minister, deputed by the King, preached with strong invectives against the authors.[1]

A fight being on, it was inevitable that Scioppius, or Schopp, to give him the name by which his mother knew him, should have a part in it. He was a friend and correspondent of Cardinal Bellarmine, and he had his virtues, though moderation of language was not one of them. In 1611 he brought out a rather violent book entitled *Ecclesiasticus*, against the pretensions of King James, which caused the downfall of the anti-Catholic English Ambassador Sir Henry Wotton. The tragicomic story is narrated as follows by Izaak Walton :

At his first going Ambassadour into *Italy*, as he passed through *Germany*, he stayed some days at *Augusta* ; where having been in his former Travels well known by many of the best note for Learning and Ingeniousness (those that are esteemed the *Vertuosi* of that Nation), with whom he passing an Evening in Merriments was requested by *Christopher Flecamore* to write some Sentence in his *Albo* (a Book of white Paper, which for that purpose many of the *German* Gentry usually carry about them) ; and Sir *Henry Wotton* consenting to the motion, took an occasion from some accidental discourse of the present Company to write a pleasant definition of an Ambassadour in these very words : *Legatus est vir bonus peregre missus ad mentiendum Reipublicae causa.*

Which Sir *Henry Wotton* could have been content should have been thus Englished : *An Ambassadour is an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his Country.* But the word for *lye* (being the hinge upon which the Conceit was to turn) was not so exprest in Latine as would admit (in the hands of an Enemy especially) so fair a construction as Sir *Henry* thought in *English.*

Yet as it was, it slept quietly among other Sentences in this *Albo* almost eight years, till by accident it fell into the hands of Jasper Scioppius, a Romanist, a man of restless spirit, and a malicious Pen : who, with Books against King *James*, prints this as a Principle of that Religion, professed by the King and his Ambassadour, Sir *Henry Wotton*, then at *Venice* : and in *Venice* it was presently after written in several Glass-windows, and spitefully declared to be Sir *Henry Wotton's.*

This coming to the knowledge of King *James*, he apprehended it to be such an oversight, such a weakness, or worse, in Sir

[1] Vatican Archives, *Avvisi d'Inghilterra*, 1613. Quoted in de Scorraille's *François Suarez*, t. II, p. 193. The reception Suarez met with in Paris is described *l.c.*, chapter iv, and by Fouqueray, *Histoire*, t. III, pp. 305–313.

Henry Wotton, as caused the King to express much wrath against him. . . .[1]

To make a long story short, Sir Henry was in disgrace at the English Court for more than a year, in spite of two apologies for his jest, one to the King, who was ' not amused', and the other to the Burgomaster of Augsburg. In this latter document, the mild ambassador calls Schopp among other things ' a hungry Renegado, a dirty Sharker about the Romish Court, a raw Pedant who only scribbles that he may dine, the spawn of a Sexton, and an Ammunition Trull'. The whole story illustrates the ramifications of the controversy about the Oath of Allegiance, and also throws light on the ' pragmatical self-conceit ' of James. In justice to the combative Schopp, it might be added that it proves him not to have had an entire monopoly of abusive language.[2]

4. We have now to deal with a very curious and interesting turn in the controversy, which shifted its centre of gravity from London to Paris and made Bellarmine for a while the chief subject of French politics. If any one felt inclined to deny that political theory, even in the books of its most respected exponents, is essentially ' pragmatic ' in character, the history of French opinion during the second half of the sixteenth century ought to give him pause. Until the beginning of the wars of religion, questions dealing with the nature and claims of civil authority were not often discussed. So far as there was any general and widely-diffused conviction about the matter, it was undoubtedly the old scholastic view that prevailed, namely that the ruler held his power from God through the consent of the people.

This conviction appears to have been common to both Catholics and Huguenots. For the latter as for the former, reverence for the majesty of the Throne was a part of religion. The King might ultimately derive his authority from the consent of his subjects, but for all that he was God's anointed to whom, by Apostolic injunction, respect and fidelity were invariably due. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 23 August

[1] *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, Edited by Izaak Walton, London, 1685. The passages are from the introductory Life of Sir Henry, which is unpaged.

[2] When Gaspar was in Madrid, the English agent there, John Digby, kept a close eye on him. Digby wrote to King James as follows, on Christmas Eve, 1613 : ' As for the person of Scioppius, your Majesty will see that he gets his deserts from me. If my plan comes off, he will one day pay dearly for his misdeeds.' R.O. London, *State Papers Spanish*, 24 December 1613.

1572, marked the end of this reverent acquiescence on the part of the Huguenots. As an eminent authority puts it, 'le tocsin de Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois détermine un brusque renversement des valeurs dans la littérature historique.'[1] Only a few months after the Massacre, Francis Hotman published his celebrated manifesto entitled *Francogallia*, in which he laboured to prove that all monarchies should be elective. The following year, 1574, Theodore Beza issued a small volume, *Du droit des magistrats sur leurs subjets*, advocating democratic views similar to those of Hotman, and making use of the idea of a 'social contract' for the first time in political literature. The brilliant and widely influential little work called the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos* appeared at the same hour of Huguenot exacerbation, probably from the pen of their great leader, Philippe de Mornay, Seigneur du Plessis Marly. Protestantism in France was soon democratic to the core, but that its convictions were not based on mere philosophical considerations became apparent in 1584 when the Duke of Anjou, the last Catholic heir of the House of Valois, passed to his fathers. The Huguenot Henry of Navarre then became heir to the throne, and the Protestants began to ask themselves uneasily whether by their championship of democratic principles they were not helping to spoil the chances of the future. Francis Hotman certainly thought so, and throwing consistency to the winds published a book *De jure successionis*, which was an excellent refutation of his *Francogallia*. The Seigneur du Plessis Marly also trimmed his sails,[2] and the Huguenots in general were soon ardent advocates of the divine hereditary right of kings.

The League, on the other hand, especially after the excommunication of Navarre, made the sovereignty of the people one of its fundamental dogmas. A famous Catholic preacher, named Jean Boucher, wrote a pamphlet in 1589, *De justa Henrici tertii abdicatione*, wherein were advanced all the best arguments for democracy that Hotman and Mornay had originally propagated. Catholic pulpits everywhere rang with eloquent discourse on the rights of the people, and even the highly aristocratic Duke of Mayenne was heard to speak

[1] Hauser, *Les Sources de l'histoire de France*, t. III, Paris, 1912, p. 234.

[2] This quondam champion of the rights of the people, published in 1611 a folio volume in which he made amends for his famous *Vindiciae*. It was entitled, *Le Mystère d'Iniquité . . . Où sont . . . defendus les droicts des Empereurs, Rois et Princes Chrestiens, contre les assertions des Cardinaux Bellarmin et Baronius.*

openly about pacts and contracts between princes and their subjects. The theologians of the Sorbonne were as loud as everybody else in their protestations against the doctrine of divine right, and, as has been seen in the chapter on Bellarmine's mission to France, they declared in 1590 that any Catholic having commerce with Henry of Navarre would incur the guilt of mortal sin. Among the most celebrated of these doctors was Edmond Richer, who was afterwards elected syndic or official guardian of the powerful Faculty of Theology. Writing prior to 1592, Richer said that in those days he used to venerate Bellarmine's teaching in his fifth book on the Pope as a fifth Gospel—*pro quinto evangelio tum coluisse.*[1] That confession is peculiarly piquant in view of developments with which we shall have to deal presently.

The seesaw of political opinion in France ended in a very interesting kind of equilibrium. After the abjuration of Henry IV in 1593, the Catholics were in the same predicament as the Huguenots had been in upon the death of the Duke of Anjou. Their King was now of their own religion, so what were they to do with those democratic principles which they had advocated for the sole purpose of keeping out a Protestant ruler? The obvious thing to do was to give them up, and give them up they did without a scruple. Men of every religion were satisfied with the tolerant and lovable 'Béarnais' and consequently, before the end of the sixteenth century, Protestants and Catholics were to be found sharing at least one dogma in common, namely the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings.

The next thing needed was that some learned man should put the doctrine into philosophic shape and muster round it the usual phalanxes of supporting texts. This was done in the year of jubilee and grace 1600 by William Barclay, a Scottish Catholic who was professor of law at the University of Pont-à-Mousson. The title of his book, which was published in Paris, was *De regno et regali potestate*, and its purpose was indicated as being *adversus Buchananum, Brutum, Boucherium et reliquos monarchomachos.* Among the other 'monarchomachs' was Robert Bellarmine, for if the power of kings, as

[1] E. Puyol, *Edmond Richer*, 1876, t. I, p. 71, note 1. The ups and downs of political theory in France at the period of which we write have been excellently described by Victor Martin in a recent series of articles entitled *L'adoption du gallicanisme politique par le clergé de France. Revue des Sciences Religieuses* (Université de Strasbourg), t. VI, 1926, pp. 305 sqq., 453 sqq.

Barclay contended, is absolute and immediately from God, Bellarmine's theory of the indirect power of the Pope had obviously to be repudiated and refuted.

In 1603 Barclay had a difference with his employers and was compelled to resign his post. King James of England then endeavoured to lure him to London, promising him a very lucrative employment if he would renounce his faith. Barclay honourably refused the offer, and took up professorial work at the University of Angers, where he occupied his leisure hours, during some years, in developing the anti-Bellarmine thesis of his first book. He died in 1608, without having had the courage or the opportunity to give his treatise to the world. His son, John Barclay, published it in London the following year and so won for himself the special favour of the English Monarch. The full title of the book was: *De Potestate Papae, an et quatenus in reges et principes saeculares jus et imperium habeat*,—on the power of the Pope, an inquiry concerning the existence and extent of his dominion over secular princes. A few months later, in 1610, the Roman printer, Zannetti, issued a small volume entitled: *Tractatus de Potestate Summi Pontificis in Rebus temporalibus*,—a treatise on the power of the Supreme Pontiff in temporal matters. This was Bellarmine's answer to Barclay, an octavo of 276 pages, which, as will soon be seen, helped to make history.

Bellarmine realized very fully that Barclay's attack on Papal prerogatives was calculated to do immense harm, as it had come from one who professed himself to be a devout Catholic, and was, moreover, drawn up with all the ability of an eminent lawyer. It seemed to him, then, no occasion for mincing words, or for being too careful about literary amenities.

> Possibly Barclay was afraid [he says] that men might charge him with incredible arrogance and temerity, if like another Goliath he had taken the field, singly, against the combined forces of all Catholic writers. So, hushing up the vast number of his adversaries, he of set purpose chose my writings alone for his attack. But I do not rate myself so highly as to think that the cause of the Church must stand or fall with me. I am well aware of my limitations, I know that I am only one among many, and I will not allow that, whatever my personal fortunes in the fight, the common cause is prejudiced thereby. For this reason I shall first bring forward testimonials from famous men of every Christian nation under heaven, so that all who read may understand that Barclay is alone in his opinion, and at odds with the whole Catholic

world, be they theologians, canonists, or professors of civil law. Then, in order to give no one a loophole for doubt as to the teaching of the Church on the matter, I shall convoke the Fathers of several councils in one supreme assembly.

The Cardinal is as good as his word, and gives in the following twenty-eight pages an anthology of telling passages from Italian, French, Spanish, German, English, and Scottish writers. This done, Barclay's excuses for his venture are taken up and rather rudely shattered. 'I would have my readers very particularly remember,' said the Scotsman, 'that I pursue the present investigation with all reverence and goodwill towards the Holy See.' Bellarmine was not satisfied with his profession, and answered: 'It seems rather like what St. Mark writes in his fifteenth chapter, *They struck His head with a reed and bowing their knees they adored Him*; or as St. John relates, *They came to Him and said: Hail King of the Jews, and they gave Him blows.*' The rest of the three hundred pages are occupied with the refutation of Barclay's arguments, and the answering of his objections, the best and freshest section being a dialogue between a nation too devoted to its King and a Pope who has the spiritual welfare of that nation committed to his keeping. This little effort in the Socratic manner is quite charmingly successful. In the epilogue, the personal note, so unusually prominent throughout the book, is struck again with emphasis:

When I stand before the tribunal of the Supreme Judge, as I shall soon have to do, I think I shall be able to plead with a good conscience that neither enmity nor a desire to curry favour has ever inspired my pen. I have written down what I judged to be the truth, what I learned from the Church, and what many wise and holy men had written before me. Nor was it of my own sweet will that I engaged in this combat, but because I was attacked by a man of whom I had no knowledge, and so compelled, in my old age, to defend what I wrote when I was young. If, according to my most earnest desire, I have acquitted myself becomingly, I offer my humblest thanks to God who holds us all, as well as our arguments, in the hollow of His hand. But if on the contrary I be found wanting through human weakness, in any or many respects, I crave forgiveness from Him who is meek and kind and full of mercy to all who call upon His name.

5. Several years before the appearance of his new book, the theories of 'le Sieur Bellarmin' had been denounced in France by the new converts to regalism, as constituting a grave danger

to the sacred ' Franchises et Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane'. Every effort made by Rome to have the decrees of Trent promulgated in their country was fought with bitter and successful obstinacy by these zealots, and not till the last years of Henry the Fourth's reign did there seem to be the least prospect of breaking down their resistance. That great King had fully determined to force the *Politiques* into submission, but on 14 May, 1610, the dagger of a crazy ex-friar came to their assistance. In the trial of the murderer which followed, these men endeavoured to fasten on Rome's most active supporters the odium of the King's assassination. Notwithstanding Ravaillac's persistent denials that the Jesuits had anything whatever to do with the affair, it was given out, and even preached from several pulpits, that he had been directly inspired by Father Mariana's book, *De Rege et Regis Institutione*. Ravaillac was known to be as innocent of Latin as a native of Patagonia, and the Jesuits were known to have been the devoted friends of King Henry, but the passion and prejudice of the Politiques were more than a match for such an undistinguished thing as logic. Edmond Richer, the Sorbonne doctor who once upon a time had venerated Bellarmine as a fifth evangelist, waved Mariana's work about in fury, as if it had been some new, vile contrivance from the Jesuits' arsenal, and, eleven years old though it was, the Paris *Parlement* ordered it to be publicly torn to pieces and burned by the common hangman on the square in front of Notre Dame.

During this time of their greatest trouble, the worst enemy of the Jesuits was a priest named John Dubois. He had joined the order of Celestines when a boy, but his superiors quickly discovered that he was better cut out for a camp than for a monastery. Getting a dispensation from his vows, he enlisted in the army of Henry III, and won from that King by his daring the soubriquet, ' Emperor of the Monks.' Then tiring of a soldier's life, he decided to return to his first vocation, but soon went to Rome in the hope of obtaining permission to live as a secular priest and of securing some comfortable benefice. While he was there, Bellarmine, who was Cardinal Protector of the Celestines, showed him the greatest kindness. However, he was a restless person and sighed all the time for the excitements of Paris. Back he hurried then, feeling very sore that he had not obtained all that he wanted in Rome, and soon enough we find him hand in glove with the most prominent of the *Politiques*. These astute tacticians knew how to manipulate the man's

impecuniosity and ambition for their own purposes. On the Trinity Sunday following the murder of Henry IV, Dubois preached his most celebrated sermon in the church of St. Eustache : ' There are some learned men in France and Paris,' he said, ' who, though they know the law of God, teach abominable and execrable things altogether contrary to that law. I mean, those who, bearing the name of Jesus, teach in their writings that it is lawful to murder Kings.' A little later, warming to his subject, he describes the Jesuits as ' fellows more ferocious than tigers, who, being the enemies of God, could not tolerate the good King, God's image, and so caused him to be murdered by the hand of a vile assassin.'[1]

Bellarmine heard of this tirade from his friend the Nuncio Ubaldini and on July 19 addressed the following letter to Dubois :

Very Reverend Father,

Last month I had a letter from you assuring me of your good-will towards the Society of Jesus, and of your sympathy with our Fathers in the dangers which appear to threaten them as a consequence of Father Mariana's teaching. In my reply, I thanked you for this kindness, but shortly afterwards I was shown a sermon that your Reverence had preached against the Society in Paris. The reading of this sermon completely stunned me, and I was quite unable to conceive any reason which could have induced you so publicly and unjustly to defame a religious order that you knew to have been greatly loved and honoured by the King. Henceforth then, unless your Reverence chooses publicly to make good the wrong you have done to innocent men, I shall continue to love you, but only as an enemy, and I shall pray for you but only, according to our Lord's command, as I would for one who had persecuted and slandered me.[2]

That Bellarmine was incapable of real rancour, his future dealings with this fire-eating monk will show.

Not long after the date of the above letter, a pamphlet began to circulate in France with the following clumsy and comical title : ' The Tocsin to the King, the Queen Regent, Mother of the King, the Princes of the blood, and all parliaments, magistrates, officers, and good and loyal subjects of the Crown of France, against the book on the temporal power of the

[1] Quoted from the manuscript document *Oeuvres et épreuves de la Compagnie en France*, in Fouqueray, *Histoire*, t. III, pp. 245–246. The other details about Dubois are from L'Estoile, *Régistres Journaux*, Collection Petitot, t. XLIX, pp. 42, 62.

[2] *Epistolae familiares*, lxxv, pp. 169–171.

Pope, recently issued by Cardinal Bellarmine, the Jesuit.' The author or at least instigator of this extraordinary ' morceau à grand orchestre' was very probably Dubois himself. He began thus :

France, it is high time that the tocsin sounded its alarm loudly and without cease in the hearts of all thy children. Bellarmine, the Jesuit, has rashly and rudely chosen this night of thy King's minority to storm thy sovereign rights and batter down the doors of thy inviolate majesty. . . . This precious Cardinal, this sophistical dunderhead, this blood-sucker of princes, this reptile with hooked teeth, would cram his pontiffs with ambition to possess the whole world and reduce every nation to their sway. The pages of his book are as dangerous as the drooling slime of a mad dog. O drowsy France, open thy eyes, and see, before they be closed in death, the miseries into which this Cardinal wishes to plunge thee.

Rubbish though it was, the *Tocsin* had its effect. Everybody was soon talking about Bellarmine and his book, in spite of the fact that no copy had yet been seen. One of the bitterest of the *Politiques*, the advocate-general, Louis Servin, managed to secure some extracts, however, and these he read aloud and denounced with great eloquence in a full session of the Paris Parliament. Then was raised that cry which has so often rung out in French history, ' La Patrie est en danger ! ' Ubaldini did his utmost to dissipate the gathering storm, pointing out to the Chancellor, Sillery, that Bellarmine had invented nothing new, that he merely re-edited theories which had been held by many of France's most distinguished sons, and that, finally, it was not fair to allow Barclay's book right of way while prohibiting the Cardinal's.[1]

His expostulations were of no avail. Diligent search was made everywhere by the police until a copy of the book was discovered, upon which a special messenger was dispatched in hot haste to put it in the hands of the first president, who was taking a rest in the country. Servin and his friends were exultant, and set about obtaining an official condemnation from the Sorbonne, after which they intended to pilot a decree through Parliament that would secure a public bonfire for Bellarmine on the Place du Palais. Unfortunately for them, Bellarmine's friend Ubaldini, who regarded him as ' the

[1] All the details of this famous struggle are to be found in Ubaldini's dispatches to Borghese. Vatican Archives, *Nunziature Diverse*, 37, 38, 10 November 1610 to 17 March 1611. Numerous extracts are given in Dr. V. Martin's *Le Gallicanisme et la Réforme Catholique*, Paris, 1919.

Athanasius and Augustine of the Age ',[1] was aware of their designs, and proceeded to counter them with the greatest vigour. He won over the Queen Regent, Marie de Medici, without difficulty, and persuaded Cardinals du Perron and de Joyeuse, as well as the influential Dominican, Nicholas Coeffeteau, to take an active part in his struggle against the Politiques.

After this, events moved swiftly to a climax. The *Politiques*, egged on by the agents of his Majesty of England, determined to brave the wrath of Nuncio and Queen, so when Parliament met on 26 November, 1610, the chief business of the day was a report and remonstrance against Bellarmine's book. After these documents had been read, the deputies divided into four groups. Group number one proposed that the book should be burned and prohibited, and a declaration made to the effect that the Pope had no power in France. Group two considered it better to omit the declaration. Group three thought that it would be sufficient merely to prohibit the book, and the last group, which had the president Séguier at its head, declined to take any action whatever without the consent of the Queen. These moderate men were outvoted by the hot-heads, and a decree was passed condemning Bellarmine's thesis as ' a false and detestable proposition which tended to the subversion of sovereign powers ordained by God, to the rebellion of subjects against their princes, to the instigation of attempts upon their persons and states, and to the disturbance of public order and tranquillity.' All men and women of whatever degree or quality they might be, were strictly forbidden ' sur peine de crime de lèze-majesté, recevoir, communiquer, imprimer, faire imprimer, ni exposer en vente le dit livre ', and all doctors and professors were prohibited under the same penalty, ' de traiter, disputer, écrire, ni enseigner directement ou indirectement, en leurs écoles, collèges, et tous autres lieux, la susdite proposition ', namely, the indirect power of the Pope.[2]

Ubaldini rightly regarded this decree as an affront to the Sovereign Pontiff, and, as he had been unable to prevent its passage, he determined to go to any extreme rather than suffer it to be printed and published. The first president, de Harlay, discovered the very next day (November 27) what was afoot, and thereupon sent an urgent message to Servin to get the document through the press ' with all possible diligence '. Meantime Marie de Medici had issued orders against publi-

[1] *Summarium*, n. 28, *Testimonio Del Signor Cardinale Ubaldini*.
[2] L'Estoile, *Régistres Journaux*, Collection Petitot, t. XLIX, pp. 153–154.

cation, but the *Politiques* were too quick for her, and that same evening Paris was placarded with ' les Rémonstrances et conclusions des gens du Roy et arrest du Parlement sur le livre intitulé *Tractatus de potestate summi Pontificis, Authore S. R. E. Cardinale Bellarmino* '.[1] The Nuncio was extremely indignant when he read the posters, and decided that the time had come for him to play his strongest card. In a letter to the Queen he said :

This morning I have seen printed and published the decree of Parliament against Cardinal Bellarmine's book. That body, not content with arrogating to itself the right to sit in judgment on the doctrine of the Church, has proceeded without shame to stigmatize in opprobrious terms and to visit with public infamy the memory of a cardinal who has deserved so well of the Pope. I do not see, then, how I can remain here any longer without an affront to the dignity of the Sovereign Pontiff. It was only your Majesty's assurance that all this turmoil had arisen contrary to your express orders, in conjunction with your promise to apply immediate remedies, which induced me to stay up to the present. Even so, I doubt whether the Holy Father will consider as valid these excuses for not having already demanded my passports, because he will find it difficult to believe that your Majesty had not sufficient authority to prevent the scandal, or at least to have punished those responsible for it.[2]

The Queen, who was not less angry than Ubaldini himself, immediately sent for her ministers. Joyeuse, Gondi, Villeroy, the Chancellor, and others, hastened to the Louvre, and it was there decided to hold a great council on the following day to which all the princes should be invited. The upshot of their discussion was a peremptory summons to the first president, de Harlay, the other presidents, Servin, and all the royal advocates, to meet the Regent on November 30. Her Majesty reproached them severely for having meddled in an affair that did not concern them, and that, too, against her express orders. As they had grievously offended the Pope and endangered the relations between France and the Vatican, they must at once bethink themselves of some suitable reparation, because otherwise she would herself do the thinking for them. After the Chancellor had spoken in support of the

[1] L'Estoile, *Régistres Journaux*, p. 155. ' Le soir du jour mesme la ville éstoit remplie d'imprimés tant en placcards qu'en demie feuilles.'

[2] Vatican Archives, *Nunziatura de Francia*, 44, fol. 162. Père F. Prat gives the letter in his work on P. Coton, t. III, pp. 311–312.

Queen, de Harlay and Servin jumped to their feet and regaled the assembly with a perfect torrent of denunciations against Bellarmine, whose book they described as 'the most wicked, detestable, and pernicious that had ever been printed' inasmuch as 'the main point of it was to give subjects a handle for killing their Kings'.[1]

After having relieved their minds in this sturdy fashion, the *Politiques* reluctantly promised to deliberate with their colleagues and see what could be done to satisfy the Queen and the Nuncio. Day after day passed, however, without any result, and Ubaldini soon saw that the shrewd fellows were quietly shelving the issue altogether. Once again he wrote to the Queen, telling her with polite firmness that unless some steps were taken immediately he would return to Rome. This ultimatum caused consternation at the Louvre. The Council reassembled in haste and suspended the offensive decree, but in order not to cause fresh trouble with the parliamentarians, they worded their notification to the Nuncio as mildly as possible. He was not satisfied, and insisted that the suspension should be made public in as complete and integral a form as the decree itself had been, pointing out that he might justly have demanded the entire annulment of that edict, instead of being contented, for the sake of peace, with a measure that merely rendered it inoperative. Furthermore, he gave the Queen to understand that he would not consider that justice had been done until the suspension had been broadcasted throughout France with all the pomp and ceremony which had attended the publication of the decree.

The wrath and rage of the *Politiques* knew no bounds. Parliament summoned the representatives of the printers' guild and informed them that any member of theirs who should dare to print the suspension would himself be suspended with a rope. A few days of violent struggle followed, but the Regent and Nuncio steadily gained ground. The advocate-general Servin took to the Louvre some printed copies of the Council's *arrêt*, which had been seized by the public prosecutor, and crying with vexation, flourished them in her Majesty's face: 'Never has Parliament received so gross an insult!' he exclaimed, and then broke out into wild denunciations of Bellarmine. The Queen silenced him with an indignant gesture: 'It is not your business nor the business

[1] D'Argentré, *Collectio Judiciorum*, vol. II, pars ii, pp. 36, 37; L'Estoile, *Régistres Journaux*, p. 156.

of Parliament to meddle in affairs of State,' she said. 'In future you will endeavour to be more discreet, especially when you have received my orders.' It was the end of the battle. Wherever the decree had been published, the suspension was published too, and with the same éclat. Thus at Bourges, the victory of Bellarmine was made known, not only by posters and handbills, but also by proclamation to the sound of trumpets on the public square.[1]

The Cardinal himself felt no inclination to dance when the news came that he had won, for he was quite wearied of controversy. This book against Barclay had cost him untold trouble from the day when it was first projected.[2] He had had no desire to enter the lists, and did so only at the urgent request of Roman friends who pointed out that failure to answer the Scotsman would be considered by regalist champions as an acknowledgment of defeat. Then, when the book was ready, Pope Paul had intervened and shown himself most reluctant to permit its publication, an attitude which had the full sympathy of Bellarmine's great friend, St. Francis de Sales. It was not pleasant to be in opposition to the desires of such men, but the Cardinal could find no way out of his dilemma. Whatever he did, he must offend somebody, and, the greatest contentment of the greatest number being a reasonable motive to action, he yielded to the wishes of the majority. After the Paris Parliament had pronounced its decree, the Spanish party in Rome persecuted him with their attentions in the hope of winning him over to a definitely anti-French policy, and nothing shows better the integrity and noble independence of his character than his quiet resistance to these advances. On 23 December, 1610, a French official in Rome wrote as follows to the Minister, Puiseux:

> Just now the Spaniards are endeavouring to get the better of us whenever a chance offers. [By the passing of the decree] we are providing a Cardinal, eminent for learning and goodness, with inducements to throw in his lot with them . . . and to persuade the Pope to adopt extreme measures, should the necessity arise. Indeed it needs very great courage and singular disinterestedness of soul to forget the sharp blow which Messieurs

[1] The complete text of the famous *arrêt* is given in Durand de Maillane's huge commentary on Pithou's *Articles : Les Libertéz de l'Église Gallicane*, Lyons, 1771, t. III, pp. 782–810. It is listed significantly under the heading, 'Pièces concernant la Doctrine du Tyrannicide.'

[2] See the first volume of the present work, pages 274–275, for the bitter letter of Dr. Francis Pegna to Pope Paul against the book.

the Parliamentarians have given this Cardinal by their decree. Nevertheless, as far as I can learn, he has shown fine moderation, and was one of the first to try to hush up all further talk about this affair.[1]

Bellarmine's only step in defence of his honour was to write the following temperate letter to the Queen of France :

Most Christian and Noble Lady,

I have seen the decree of Parliament in which is prohibited a book written by me in support of the authority of the Pope. I have thought it well to give your Majesty an account of the book that you may decide in your prudence whether or not it was justly condemned. Twenty-four years ago, I published several books in defence of our holy faith against modern heretics, including five on the Primacy of St. Peter and his successor the Pope. A certain William Barclay undertook to answer one of those books, but had not the courage to publish the work during his life-time. It was produced in England last year by the heretics, and as a reply was necessary I wrote it this present year, but without adding anything except a simple defence to what I had taught in the printed books which had formerly come from my pen. This is the work which Parliament has thought it well to forbid.

Now I would ask your Majesty to consider the following points. First, the teaching of this book is identical with that which has been printed and reprinted several times in Germany, France, and Italy, with the authority and privilege of many Sovereign Princes. Not long since, it was printed in Paris itself and in Lyons with the sanction of King Henry IV, of glorious memory, your Majesty's Consort. The Parliament of France, then, has prohibited that which the King of France had approved with his favour, and which for twenty-four years has been read in all the countries of Christendom, without contradiction except from open heretics. Secondly, the teaching of my book is the same as that of all the grave doctors who have written on these matters during several centuries past. This may be seen by glancing at the first chapter where are registered the very words of seventy authors, Italian, French, Spanish, German, and English by nationality. Among these men are many of God's holy ones, such as St. Bernard, St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, St. Raymond, St. Antoninus, and others, to all of whom the Parliament of Paris offers opposition in order to please the Calvinists of England.

[1] *Notices et Extraits des Manuscripts de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, t. VII, p. 435. Cf. Père de la Servière's admirable thesis, *De Jacobo I cum Card. Bellarmino Disputante*, Paris, 1900, pp. 124–125.

Thirdly, the teaching of my book was championed not only by all the good doctors of the Church of God, but also by many Councils, and in particular by the Council of Lyons, in the presence of Pope Innocent IV and numerous French prelates. St. Louis, King of France, gave his active assistance to this Council, but now the Parliament of France opposes it, and opposes, too, that saintly monarch, the ancestor of Henry IV of glorious memory, and of Louis XIII, your most Christian Majesty's son. In the fourth place, the teaching of my book is the exact contrary of that contained in William Barclay's, which was brought into the light by the heretics of England and which has been condemned as full of errors by the Holy Apostolic See. Consequently, as the Parliament in prohibiting my book necessarily approves the other, it thus shows itself a patron of the Church's enemies. Fifthly, the decree of Parliament attributes to my book many dangerous assertions which are not to be found in it. Perhaps this is not to be wondered at, as I hear that there are only one or two copies in circulation in France, and it is easy for the Parliament men to vilify a book in the eyes of those who have not seen it.

These, then, are the points which I thought I should represent to Your Majesty, leaving the remedy to your discretion. I need only remind you that as the union of France with the Church of Rome and the obedience of so many glorious Kings to the Apostolic See won for your Country the proud title of the Most Christian Kingdom, so may we fear that the intention of this Parliament is to sever the Kingdom of France from the Vicar of Christ and consequently from Christ Himself. . . . But I am in good hope that Your Majesty's authority and power, joined with the singular piety and prudence which God has put into your heart, will find a remedy for everything, and bring about, during the reign of Louis XIII, that concord and union of the Crown of France with the Church of St. Peter which flourished in the days of Charlemagne and St. Louis. And now I make my humble bow to Your Majesty, praying that God may grant you all happiness.[1]

Whatever may be thought of the wisdom or unwisdom of the reasons advanced in Bellarmine's apology to the Queen, his book certainly helped to check for a time the victorious march of Gallicanism. At the meeting of the States General in 1614, an oath of allegiance was put forward, almost identical with the English one, which it was proposed should have to be taken by all clerics and magistrates. There is little doubt that it would have become law but for the strenuous opposition of Bellarmine's distinguished friend, Cardinal du Perron. In

[1] Process of Beatification, *Summarium additionale*, n. 10, § 6.

his famous *Harangue devant le Tiers aux États généraux*, that splendid orator invested the plain logic of the book against Barclay with the glow of his powerful rhetoric. 'This oath,' he said, 'is like the monster mentioned by Horace. It has the head of a beautiful woman, to wit, the pretext of loyalty to sovereigns; but its tail is the tail of a fish, namely schism and division in religion. And in truth, it may well be said to have the tail of a fish, for it has swum over to us from England.' [1] The speech made a tremendous impression and nerved Marie de Medici to forbid peremptorily all further debate on the oath.

How the whole affair of Bellarmine's condemnation appeared to English eyes we learn from a letter of King James's agent in Paris to his agent at Brussels:

Mr. Beaulieu to Mr. Trumbull
PARIS, *27th November* 1610 [old style]

SIR,

By my last which was of the 18th of this month, I gave you notice of the Arrest pronounced against Bellarmine's book, which hath since raised up here a terrible stir amongst us by the stormy complaints which the Nuncio hath made to the Queen against the said Arrest, as being so injurious to his Master's Holiness, as unless reparation were made unto him of it, he threatened that he would no longer stay here. Whereupon the Queen being much troubled called before her those of the Parliament to give a reason of their Arrest, in the presence of the Princes and of the Council of State wherewith she was assisted. Before all whom they maintained with great confidence and stoutness the justice and necessity of the said Arrest; and especially the first President who with great discretion, resolution and zeal, represented to her the pernicious, detestable and most dangerous positions of the said book: whereby both she and her son were drawn into a subjection and continuall danger of being deposed of their dignity and Kingdom whenever it should please the Pope. He shewed her the malice and ambitious designs of the forgers of the said book, who . . . did cast this firebrand of sedition amongst her people and yoke of slavery upon her crown; which if they had durst to have done in the late King's time, he would have gone himself to Rome and taken out the author of it to punish him as he deserved: terming the said book (as somebody told me) the canonization of Ravaillac and an authenticall approbation of his crime.[2]

[1] *Harangue* (ed. 1826), p. 86.

[2] Winwood, *Memorials of Affairs of State*, pp. 233–234. Beaulieu must have been in touch with that irrepressible gossip L'Estoile, who writes: 'Trois ou quatre mois avant que le feu Roy fust tué, Sa Majesté avoit eu

Not long after the date of this letter, Sir Thomas Lake, one of King James's secretaries, wrote to tell Salisbury that his royal master was highly indignant with the French Court for its refusal to sanction the decree against Bellarmine's book, which had already been suppressed at Venice. His Majesty could not understand why France did not follow the excellent example set by that State, and his ambassador is to remonstrate with M. de Villeroy and the Queen on the subject.[1] In England itself Blessed Robert's *Apologia* continued for long, in spite of the King and his ministers, to wield immense influence. Catholic prisoners in the Tower of London and other places were frequently questioned about it, sometimes under torture. The following story, told by a contemporary about the valiant confessor, Father Thomas Strange, is interesting in this connection :

One of the underlings of the Tower, incited to it by the Lieutenant, questioned the Father about Cardinal Bellarmine. ' I have heard,' said the man, ' our preachers often speak of him, and that he has lately written against the King,' etc. Being quite aware of his drift, the Father answered : ' Your ministers and preachers are no more to be compared with Bellarmine than Balaam with his donkey.' The brazen official was not ashamed to ground upon this reply a charge against the Father, whom he reported for having said that the King stood to Bellarmine as Balaam's ass did to its owner. He was summoned to answer this charge, Cecil was one of the quorum, and the Lieutenant of the Tower, his underlings, and others stood by. . . . On his return to the Tower, the Father was, during three days following, thrice put to the torture for two hours together. . . . Threatened with immediate execution, his answer to this was that none but a madman would prefer to be imprisoned for a week in the Tower to being hanged. . . .[2]

advis de Romme de son ambassadeur que ce livre estoit sur la presse. De quoi il fust tant offensé, qu'il escrivist aussi tost au Pape qu'il eust à le faire supprimer : autrement qu'il iroit lui mesmes à Romme pour le faire faire. Et est bien certain que de son vivant il n'eust jamais veu la lumière : car encores qu'on die que les Rommains sont de la nature des crestes du coq, et qu'ils veulent tousjours tenir le haut bout, si est ce qu'une plus longue vie de ce grand Roy (que Dieu nous a osté en sa fureur) en eust bien abaissé les crestes.' *Régistres Journaux de Pierre de l'Estoile*, Collection Petitot, t. XLIX, pp. 154–155.

[1] Record Office, *State Papers Domestic*, James I, vol. LVIII, 10 December 1610, Royston. Annexed to the letter is an extract of Bellarmine's work.

[2] *Annual Letters of the English College in Rome*, A.D. 1611. Cf. Foley, *Records*, vol. VII, part ii, pp. 1025–1026.

6. The Barclays, father and son, were not the only Catholics who sided with the King on the question of the Oath of Allegiance, and perhaps the most prolific of all writers in its favour was the enigmatic gentleman known as Roger Widdrington, who spent the best part of his life in prison for the faith. Widdrington is commonly believed to have been the *alias* of Father Thomas Preston, the provincial of the English Benedictines, but this identification has been seriously questioned in recent years.[1]

Whoever it was that the name concealed, he stood out from the beginning as the most zealous champion of the Oath which the controversy produced, and wrote no less than ten volumes in reply to its ablest critics, such as Lessius, Suarez, Becan, Gretser, Kellison, and Fitzherbert. His first effort was naturally against Bellarmine himself, whom he endeavoured to convict of theological inconsistency in a book published in 1611 with the title *Apologia Cardinalis Bellarmini pro jure principum*. It is known for certain that the Cardinal wrote an answer to this ingenious travesty, for we have his own word for it in a letter to George Birkhead, the man who had been appointed Archpriest of England in place of Blackwell. The letter is dated 12 September 1612, and says: 'With regard to Roger Widdrington's book, I answered it last year without much difficulty; indeed I might say with hardly any difficulty at all. During the course of the present year my reply was printed, but for good reasons publication was deferred.'[2] In the event it was never published, as Pope Paul was very anxious to avoid a repetition of the excitement that had greeted the appearance of the Cardinal's answer to Barclay. Consequently copies of it became as rare as the fine folio Bibles of Pope Sixtus, and not even the diligent bibliographer Sommervogel succeeded in tracing them.

It was not, however, till the year after its printing that the real mystery connected with Bellarmine's elusive 'Examination' of Widdrington began. In that year (1613), a well-known German theologian named Adolph Schulcken published at Cologne a defence of the Cardinal against the Englishman's cavils which was destined to bother bibliographers for exactly

[1] Cf. Ethelred L. Taunton's article in the *English Historical Review*, January 1903, pp. 116 sqq.

[2] *Epistolae familiares*, xcvi, p. 214. The letter is wrongly given by Fuligatti as addressed to Blackwell. Cf. *Autobiography*, n. xxxix: 'Eodem tempore edidit librum contra Rogerum Widdrincthonem.'

APOLOGIA CARDINALIS BELLARMINI PRO IVRE PRINCIPVM.

Aduersùs suas ipsius rationes pro auctoritate *Papali Principes Seculares in ordine ad bonum spirituale deponendi.*

Authore ROGERO WIDDRINGTONO Catholico Anglo.

Audite Reges, & intelligite, quoniam data est à Domino potestas vobis. Sap. cap. 6.

COSMOPOLI,
Apud Theophilum Pratum.
Anno 1611.

TRACTATVS
DE POTESTATE
SVMMI PONTIFICIS
IN REBVS TEMPORALIBVS,
Aduersus
GVLIELMVM BARCLAIVM.
AVCTORE
ROBERTO S. R. E.
CARD. BELLARMINO.
Recèns ad exemplar Romanum impressus.

COLONIAE AGRIPPINAE,
Sumptibus Bernardi Gualtheri.
ANNO M. DC. XI.
Cum priuilegio S.C. Maiest. & permissu Superiorum.

TITLE-PAGES OF WIDDRINGTON'S ANSWER TO BELLARMINE AND OF BELLARMINE'S ANSWER TO BARCLAY.

three centuries.[1] Learned people who read this book rubbed their eyes and said something equivalent to ' aut Bellarminus aut diabolus ', for the style and arguments of it were plainly never made in Germany. Bellarmine's imprint was everywhere unmistakable, so the obvious conclusion seemed to be that the Cardinal was once again hiding behind a pseudonym. His enemies accepted the suggestion gratefully, for it gave them a rare chance of making both him and his friends look ridiculous. Thus, to cite one example of their methods, Döllinger and Reusch called attention to several passages in Schulcken's book where Bellarmine is warmly praised, implying of course that that good man was all the time complacently patting his own distinguished back. Döllinger was especially amused to find Bartoli quoting one of those passages as evidence of the great esteem in which the Cardinal was held. However, ' time the old justice which tries such offenders ' has turned their irony stale and convicted them of ignorant bias. In the course of his prolonged researches, Père le Bachelet discovered not only the original manuscript of Bellarmine's *Examen*, but also two printed copies, and thus had in his hands at last the key to the mystery which had baffled all previous investigators. In his *Auctarium Bellarminianum*, published in 1913, we are given a series of parallel passages from the Cardinal and his German defender, which prove, once and for all, that Schulcken used the text of the *Examen* in the composition of his Apology. For the most part the passages are practically word for word the same, but whenever Schulcken breaks into praise of the man he is defending there is invariably a blank space in the Cardinal's column. It will not be without interest to read in juxtaposition the opening sections where both writers point out that Widdrington, while professing the greatest respect for Bellarmine, had accused him of gross inconsistency in the very title of his book, inasmuch as that title implied that the Cardinal's answer to King James was in flat contradiction with the principles of his *Controversies* :

[1] The full title of the book was : *Apologia Adolphi Schulckenii Geldriensis S. Theologiae apud Ubios doctoris et professoris atque ad D. Martini Pastoris, Pro Illustrissimo Domino D. Roberto Bellarmino, S.R.E. Card. De Potestate Romani Pont. temporali. Adversus librum falso inscriptum : Apologia Card. Bellarmini pro jure principum, etc. Auctor Rogero Widdringtono Catholico Anglo.* Coloniae Agrippinae, sumptibus Bernandi Gualtheri, anno MDCXIII.

Bellarmine	Schulcken
Certainly no one would write an apology against himself, unless he were either drunk or mad. If playfully to accuse a man of doing that is to pay him a compliment, I admit that I have been greatly honoured by Roger. But if, on the contrary, the joke serves only to make the man look ridiculous, then Roger must not wonder that I should have been made somewhat angry by his silly title.	Certainly no one but a lunatic or a man in his cups writes an apology against his own arguments. If to twit Bellarmine with having done that is to venerate and honour him, then Roger does indeed give proof of his admiration. But if, on the contrary, it is to make a laughing stock of him, as is undoubtedly the case, then there are two things that cause me wonder; first, that our author should have reached such a pitch of rashness and impudence as to take on himself to ridicule so childishly, not to say scurrilously, a saintly, learned, illustrious man, of advanced age, whom all true Catholics venerate by many titles, and look up to with affectionate esteem; and secondly, I wonder how any sensible man could read such a silly title without losing his temper.

How Schulcken came into possession of Bellarmine's manuscript is explained in a letter of Father Claudius Aquaviva to the Rector of the Jesuit College at Cologne, 15 December 1612, informing him that the Cardinal is sending his book to the Apostolic Nuncio. The Nuncio is to give it to the best volunteer whom he is able to discover, with instructions from its author 'to use it only as a source of material and a help in his own work'.[1]

Schulcken was approached in due course and willingly undertook the reply to Widdrington. Though he followed his model very closely as a rule, he sometimes made additions or expansions which were not characterized by its prudent reserves. Consequently, on 10 June 1613, his *Apologia* was given to the flames by the irate Parliamentarians of Paris. Twelve of its propositions were condemned, but of these

[1] Le Bachelet, *Auctarium Bellarminianum*, p. 206. The parallel passages are given pp. 358–373.

Schulcken had borrowed only a single one from Bellarmine's manuscript.

7. Now at last we have come to the end of this most turbulent and complicated chapter in the great man's story and it only remains to chronicle the kindliness of heart and sweet good-nature with which he bore all contumely. After much tacking in his course to catch the most profitable breezes, Abbé Dubois found himself at last on the edge of an episcopal typhoon. Threatened with excommunication if he did not cease his tirades against the Jesuits, he came to his senses in a very short time, and retracted the slanders with his usual vigour. Then his old friends the *Politiques* set upon him in a fury, ' pursuing him with hate or rather avoiding him as one stricken by the plague ', reported Ubaldini. In this new extremity the poor fellow, remembering Bellarmine's generosity to him in the past, wrote asking him to use his good offices with the Pope on his behalf. The following was the Cardinal's reply :

Very Reverend Sir,

I received the letter and the French book which you sent me, and put all other business aside in order to read them at once. And truly, in the same measure that your sermon grieved me have I now been made glad by your book. Indeed, I can readily believe that the former invectives against the Jesuits were not the spontaneous utterance of your candid soul, Father Abbot, but rather the suggestion of politicians. You know, being a man of prudent judgment, that the Jesuits are hated more than other Catholics by all heretics, and that the conversion of King Henry IV, of glorious memory, was considered by the heretics to be genuine, principally because he showed favour to the Society of Jesus. Thoughtful men felt that so much kindness in their regard would not have been at all likely had the King not been sincere in embracing the Catholic faith. I am in good hope that your Reverence's action will be the means of restoring you without difficulty to the favour of the Pope ; indeed, it is possible that you are already back in his good graces. I shall know this for certain when his Holiness returns from his Villa at Frascati and I shall not fail to plead your interests with him to the best of my ability. Good-bye. Rome, October 1610.[1]

Eight years after receiving this letter poor Dubois was in trouble again, and ended up in the prison-cells of the Roman Inquisition. During his long confinement, the only comfort

[1] *Epistolae familiares*, lxxix, pp. 177–179.

he knew was in the faithful friendship of the old Cardinal whom he had once so bitterly maligned.[1] They had a common bond in the memory of San Celestino of whose Order Bellarmine was the protector and Dubois the very unruly son, and of this bond the sweet-souled old man made use to console the captive. On 4 February 1618 he sent him this characteristic letter:

My very Reverend Dear Friend,

I rejoiced very greatly indeed when I learned from your letter that you had bowed your will to the will of God, our Lord, and now I am convinced that divine Providence sent you the sorrows of captivity, not as a tribulation and a prison, but as a solitude and hermitage in which you can devote yourself to contemplation, and prepare your soul for the liberty of the children of God. Therefore I can well believe, Father, that you so abound in holy meditations in your solitude as not to need human consolations and many visits from friends. You are well aware how much our holy father Celestine loved loneliness, and a hard life, and the lack of human comforts. Indeed, I know of no Saint whose love for these lacks was as great as his. Remember, then, Father, that you have now received what our holy Celestine always longed for, namely, to be alone with God and your own soul, and that too under the hardest of circumstances. Good-bye and pray for me that I may understand the holy will of God and what He requires of his poor servant during the little time that remains to him in this world.[2]

This forgiving kindness of the old Cardinal was also to shed its benediction over the last years of the man who had been responsible for the publication of Barclay's attack on the temporal jurisdiction of the Holy See. Unlike his father, John Barclay had had no scruples about accepting employment from King James, and many and large were the sums which he received from his Majesty's privy purse.[3] Though educated by the Jesuits, and himself the grand-nephew of the distinguished Jesuit, Father Edmund Hay, Barclay turned against their Society and even wrote a satire in the manner of Petronius to prove to the King of England how little he cared for the men who had taught him his elegant Latinity. To Bellarmine's attack on his father he retorted spiritedly enough in a book entitled *The Piety of John Barclay, or a public*

[1] Bartoli, *Vita*, p. 518.
[2] *Epistolae familiares*, cxlix, pp. 340–342.
[3] Cf. *Calendar of State Papers*, 1603–1610, pp. 376, 514, 561, 579.

Vindication of Kings and Princes and a private Vindication of his father William Barclay, against Robert Bellarmine's treatise on the power of the Pope in temporals. Whatever credit he might deserve for this filial effort is cancelled by the abusive tone of it, and also by his flattery of King James, and his Lord Treasurer. The elder Cecil he admits to have been a wise man, but adds that ' the wisdom of Burleigh bore the like proportion to that of his son, as the waters of the Thames do to the ocean '.

Fortune, however, proved as fickle a jade for him as for Dubois. He was a poet, and like most of that fraternity found himself at last on the rocks. Then he turned his eyes towards Rome, conscious that forgiveness awaited there all who cared to seek it. The immediate answer of the Pope to his nervous request was, not merely permission, but an invitation to come to the Eternal City and make himself at home. He accepted it with alacrity, and it is very pleasant to relate that he and Bellarmine soon became the fastest of friends. Pope Paul settled on him a pension for life, very probably at the Cardinal's suggestion. Thus secure, he turned to literature again, and produced his famous Latin romance called *Argenis*, as well as a book against the heretics in which he wrote these words about Blessed Robert :

> As a chief part of my happiness and good fortune here in Rome, I reckon the friendship of my dearest patron Cardinal Bellarmine. Who is there who, without sorrow and regret, could find himself in opposition to such a great Captain of Christ, or have merited the displeasure of one endowed with so many virtues of heart and gifts of mind ? Just as he is the admiration of all men now alive, so will future ages never cease to venerate his memory.[1]

In the time left over from his literary engagements, Barclay satisfied his Scottish instincts by gardening, and had, we are told, the disease known as ' Tulipomania ' so badly that he kept two mastiffs constantly on guard over his bulbs. Bellarmine, who used to visit him in his retreat, doubtless had many a lecture on tulips. He died in August 1621, and a month later his friend, the Cardinal, followed him to the grave.

Finally to bring together in peace the two men whose rival pens started all the clamour, we may give for what it is worth the following pleasant story about Cardinal and King. ' I have heard from a trustworthy source,' says the narrator, who

[1] *Paraenesis ad Sectarios, Dedicatio.*

was a witness before the Congregation of Rites, 'that when one of his Bishops praised the book of some heretic to King James, his Majesty declared that there was more solid doctrine to be found on a single page of Bellarmine than in all the writings of his united episcopate. The King's opinion of the Cardinal may be gathered from the fact that he practically always carried his *De Gemitu Columbae* about with him. On one occasion he told his courtiers in public that he intended to imitate its author, who in his old age had given up controversy and taken to the writing of devotional books. Not long after this he brought out a little work on the Lord's Prayer, dedicated to his favourite, the Marquis of Buckingham.' [1]

[1] Fuligatti, *Vita*, p. 294; *Summarium additionale*, n. 6, § 9. Gardiner has a few interesting remarks about King James's efforts as an ascetical writer: 'It [the *Meditations upon the Lord's Prayer*] was a strange farrago of pious observations and of shrewd onslaughts upon his enemies the Puritans, mingled with reminiscences of the hunting-field. The whole work is conspicuously that of a man whose buoyant spirits have never known trouble. After the lapse of another year [1620] he is writing another meditation upon the verses of St. Matthew's Gospel in which is narrated the mock coronation of the Saviour with the crown of thorns. This, he tells his son in the dedication, is the "pattern of a king's inauguration." The whole book is pervaded by a deep melancholy. The hunting stories are gone. The jokes about the Puritans are almost entirely absent. The crown of thorns, James writes, is the pattern of the crown which kings are called on to wear. . . .'—*History of England*, vol. III, p. 327. Very like the style of the exhortation which Blessed Robert Bellarmine delivered when he was made rector of the Roman College, is the advice which his Majesty of England gives his fellow-monarchs in their life of care, namely, to 'exercise their wisdom in handling so wisely these knotty difficulties with so great a moderation that too great extremity in one kind may not prove hurtful in another; but, by a musical skill, temper and turn all these discords into a sweet harmony.'

CHAPTER XXV

EVERYBODY'S COUNSELLOR

1. The names of four great servants of God have often occurred in these pages as part of Bellarmine's story—St. Francis, Pope Marcellus, Cardinal de Nobili, and St. Charles Borromeo—for the memory of their splendid fortitude was a chief inspiration of his own quietly heroic courses. 'During many years before his death,' Eudaemon-Joannes reported, 'it was never possible to persuade him to take a day's rest at Frascati or Tivoli, no matter how strongly he might be importuned. When the matter was broached in a vague and general way he used to show some signs of willingness to acquiesce, but when details were specified he was always ready with some excuse for not going. Once when I myself began an argument with him on the point, he answered that San Carlo used not to take holidays, and also reminded me that trips such as those which I suggested would mean extra expense. The expense was one of his great objections as he was miserly about every copper in order that he might have the more to give in alms.'[1]

Like Pope Marcellus and St. Charles, Cardinal Bellarmine was so eaten up with zeal for the glory of God that rest and recreation had become almost impossible to him. One who had been in his service for seventeen years testified that during all that time he had never once known his master to take the *siesta*, or mid-day nap, which in hot countries is part of the daily routine, even of religious. To work was his predominant passion, and with that 'goad of Divine love', the charity of Christ in his heart, urging him on, there could be no pause until the night came when no man can work. How he was able to do so much without killing himself is a mystery.

[1] *Summarium*, n. 29, p. 104. One of Blessed Robert's greatest treasures was a shirt that had been worn by San Carlo. When showing this to visitors he would first ask them to go on their knees and then light two candles before producing the relic (*Summarium*, n. 23, p. 53).

Shortly after his return to Rome in 1605, he became once again the leading member of nearly every congregation of the cardinals. During his last years he was prefect of no fewer than four congregations, and all his work in connection with them was done so conscientiously that one of his colleagues, Cardinal del Monte, was able to write about him after his death :

> I was not the only one who esteemed it an honour to follow his opinion, as being more certain and safe than any other. Often enough the whole Congregation of Rites, which numbered upwards of fourteen cardinals, abandoned or changed decisions that had been reached by common agreement, solely out of the respect in which each member held the learning and authority of this man.[1]

The Cardinal's zeal and charity found particular expression in the profound interest with which he followed the fortunes of the various Religious Orders. A whole book might be written on this side of his activities,[2] but the present book is already too big to allow of more than a few paragraphs being devoted to it. After his own Order, the Franciscans were those who experienced the fullest measure of Blessed Robert's sympathies, for his love for the Poverello was so great that it embraced all who called him Father. These men had recourse to him constantly and about all sorts of affairs, now proposing cases of conscience or difficult doctrinal and liturgical questions for solution, now asking him to obtain various privileges for them, to help them with the publication of books, or to intervene personally in the settlement of some dispute. One petition that reached him in May 1608 was signed by no fewer than thirty-six Capuchins.

So generous and kind was he in all his dealings with his correspondents that a Franciscan of the Gonzaga family began to think of him as a canonized saint years before his death. This good friar would never read a letter from the Cardinal without first having removed his skull-cap. In due course he became Bishop of Mantua, and when his relative Luigi Gonzaga was beatified, joyfully erected an altar to him in his Cathedral. Opposite this altar he built a chapel, the purpose of which was not apparent at first sight. When friends asked

[1] Fuligatti, *Vita*, p. 375. Lettera del Signore Card. Francesco Maria del Monte, Decano del Sacro Collegio, 12 Gennaro 1623.

[2] Père Le Bachelet devoted several very interesting articles to the subject in the Roman periodical *Gregorianum*, vol. v, pp. 169–182, 497–530 ; vol. vi, pp. 177–215 ; vol. vii, pp. 169–202.

Bishop Francis which of the saints was patron of his new chapel he used to answer with a smile that it had no patron yet but that one day it would be the chapel of Blessed Robert Bellarmine.[1]

In the last year of his life Blessed Robert received a signal of distress from the Franciscans, in connection with an affair over which everybody may now be permitted to smile. A learned Dominican named Abraham Bzovius published in 1616 a thirteenth volume of the *Annales ecclesiastici* which Baronius had left incomplete. In this volume there appeared a heading under the year 1294 on ' The death and praises of John the Scot '. Now the praises which the Dominican writer lavished on the Franciscan doctor were, to say the least, equivocal, and the religious brethren of Duns Scotus resented them very much indeed. The holy but hasty Irish Franciscan, Hugh MacCaghwell, who was afterwards appointed Archbishop of Armagh, was so roused that in 1620 he sent the printers of Antwerp a book with the following terrific title : *Apologia pro Joanne Duns Scoto Doctore Subtili, adversus opprobria, calumnias, et injurias quibus P. Abraham Bzovius, Ord. Praed. omnis modestia oblitus, eum onerat et lacessit in suis falsissimis annalibus, ad an.* 1294, *pag.* 1029.

This fierce retort so exasperated the Dominicans that, not content with denouncing the book to the Bishop of Antwerp and the Nuncios at Brussels and Cologne, they appealed directly to the Holy See and eventually succeeded in procuring a decree of the Index against the assailant of Father Abraham. The Franciscans then determined to lodge an appeal, and by order of their Procurator-general a memorial was drawn up begging for the suspension of the decree until they had been given an opportunity to defend themselves. This memorial was submitted to Bellarmine, as he was at the time Prefect of the Congregation of the Index. At the beginning of February 1621 he addressed the following note on the subject to the General of the Jesuits, Mutius Vitelleschi :

Instructions were given to the Secretary of the Index yesterday not to send information to Cologne or Lyons that the writings of the Franciscan Fathers against Bzovius had been prohibited, but to await the decision of the Congregation after they shall have heard the Franciscans' defence. Your Paternity knows that had it fallen

[1] Ippolito Donesmundi, *Vita dell' ill^mo e rev^mo Monsignor Francesco Gonzaga, Vescovo di Mantova*, Venice, 1625, pp. 355, 379, 400, 416. Referred to by Père Le Bachelet, *Gregorianum*, vol. VI, p. 187.

to me to speak first in the Congregation, the decree against these Fathers would not have been passed, but as the meeting was held at my house I had to speak last, when all the others were finished, and as they all spoke with one accord against the Franciscans, I was unable single-handed to resist them. Still, I am in hopes that the decision then reached will not be carried out.[1]

The hope expressed in this letter was completely fulfilled, as the decree was cancelled in the next meeting of the Congregation, a turn of events which seems to show that there was no exaggeration in what Cardinal del Monte said about Bellarmine's authority and influence. Two years after Blessed Robert had gone to his grave the valiant Irishman whom he had rescued published at Paris a defence of his onslaught on Bzovius entitled : *Apologia Apologiae pro Joanne Duns Scoto, Doctore Subtili, theologorum Principe*,[2] and therein told the world how much he owed to the intervention of ' Cardinal Bellarmine of blessed memory whose death has been so heavy a loss to the whole Church of God '.

The Cardinal was on terms of such close friendship with the Discalced Carmelites, and so keenly devoted to their interests, that a rumour went round in 1616 according to which he had once told a saintly member of the Order named Father Peter of the Mother of God that were he beginning life again he would be a Carmelite and not a Jesuit. A gentleman of Milan named Alexander Rho heard this astonishing story and thought that he should inform Blessed Robert. His son John, who was a Jesuit, brought the news to the Cardinal and afterwards gave the following account of his interview with him :

As he read my father's letter, the Cardinal at first blushed a little and then began to smile. I was beginning to get very red in the face myself, so the good old man said to me : ' Do you know, dear brother (that being the title by which in his kindness he used to address all of us who were not yet priests), do you know what your father has written to me about in this letter ? ' When I answered that I did not, he told me the story, smiling very sweetly the while, and promised that he would draw up such an answer as would completely satisfy my father and everybody else on the subject. I still possess this answer written in his own hand. At the conclusion of our interview he added that once in the past he had said to

[1] Italian text given by Le Bachelet, *Gregorianum*, vol. VI, p. 185.

[2] There would seem to be a bit of real Irish ' divilment ' in that provocative phrase, *theologorum Principe* !

Father Peter jokingly : ' If I should ever feel inclined to enter your Order, it would certainly not be the bare-footed branch of it that I would choose, because, owing to a superfluity of humours, my feet have a habit of swelling up unpleasantly.' [1]

Blessed Robert's relations with the two Carmelite houses in Rome, Santa Maria della Scala and Santa Maria Traspontina, were so happy and friendly that in 1713 the General of the Discalced Carmelites expressed himself in the following striking terms in a supplication to Pope Clement XI for the Cardinal's beatification : *Etiam tacentibus nobis, loquerentur et postes et marmora hujus conventus nostri S. Mariae de Scala, et repercussae domesticae traditionis voce, quot eximiis virtutum exemplis Ven. Dei servus ea decoraverit, resonarent.*[2]

The following letter written on 10 September 1620 to a distinguished Carmelite who after being for three years General of his Order had been sent as Papal legate to the Emperor Ferdinand of Austria and Maximilian Duke of Bavaria, gives us a direct glimpse into Bellarmine's zealous heart :

My very Reverend and most respected Father,

I am writing to tell his Highness the Duke of Bavaria that God has given me a great desire to witness the conversion of the Duke of Saxony to the Catholic Church, as he is now leagued with the Catholic Princes and has joined forces with them in defence of our august and most religious Emperor Ferdinand ; and I am adding in my letter that, if I am not mistaken, your very Reverend Paternity might be the very means of bringing about this good work.

I know that the Duke of Saxony has had a conversation with the Bishop of Bamberg, and I have also been informed by one to whom the Duke himself made the avowal that he is well affected towards the Sovereign Pontiff, that he has given alms to Catholics, and that on his return home he had ordered his ministers not to declaim against the Pope. Finally, it is said that he calls the Bishop of Bamberg his ' Father'.

[1] *Joannis Rho Mediolanensis, S.J., ad Joannem Baptistam Castaldum, clericum regularem, Interrogationes apologeticae,* Lyons, 1641, pp. 65–66. Quoted by Père Le Bachelet, *Gregorianum,* vol. v, p. 528. In his answer Bellarmine pointed out that he could not originally have been thinking of becoming a Discalced Carmelite, for when he entered the Society of Jesus in 1560, the Carmelite reform had not yet begun. Then he added that he would not change his vocation as a Jesuit ' for any other in the world '.

[2] *Epistolae pro causa beatificationis,* xlv. In this same memorial Father Hyacinth of Saint Catherine recalls Bellarmine's efforts to bring about the canonization of St. Teresa—' plurimum adlaborasse ut seraphica sancta mater nostra Theresia sanctorum fastis adscriberetur.' His love for the Franciscans inspired him to similar efforts in the cause of St. Paschal Baylon in 1618 (Cf. de Porrentruy's *Saint Pascal Baylon,* Paris, 1899, pp. 386, 388).

It was the Bishop's suffragan who wrote all this to me, and he added that both the Bishop and himself had sown such seeds of salvation in the Duke's heart as gave excellent promise of a good harvest had they not been dispersed by one of his Highness's intimates. Accordingly, should the Duke of Bavaria wish to make use of your services in a matter of such moment, I beg your Paternity to lend them with all your heart. Meantime I commend my spiritual indigence to your kindness that I may close my course with a holy end, for this cannot now be very distant. May God enrich your devout soul with a store of merits. . . .[1]

2. Among other Religious Orders with which Blessed Robert was in close touch was that of the Servites, for it was they who had charge of his titular church of Santa Maria in Via. He took a particular interest in the Christian doctrine classes held by the friars, and used to send them three or four scudi every month to buy comestibles for those who attended. In addition to this charity, he spent several thousand scudi on the restoration and beautifying of the church.[2] The Order of Minims experienced similar kindness at his hands, for he had always cherished a great devotion to their Founder, St. Francis of Paula. One interesting reason for his piety is explained by a son of this St. Francis, in his History of the Church :

[Cardinal Bellarmin] disait un jour à un Père de nostre Compagnie qu'il avoit toujours esté devot à nostre Père saint François de Paul, à cause que ce saint estoit mort un Vendredy saint, à mesme jour que le Sauveur mourut pour nos pechez à l'arbre de la Croix.[3]

To realize what a place the great Doctor St. Augustine filled in Bellarmine's thoughts it is only necessary to turn over a few pages of the Controversies. With Augustine thus a part of his very soul, it is not surprising that the Cardinal should have shown a particular regard for the Orders who looked to that Saint as their Father. Of his many dealings with Augustinians we have room here to refer only to two. One is about a certain ' cestello con li tartuffi ' or basket of truffles, which came to him as a present from their convent in Venice. That basket caused the Cardinal a scruple just as did the glasses and dainties which the Dominicans once sent him, as it was his fixed principle not to accept presents. In his letter of thanks to the donor he said : ' I did not dare to

[1] *Epistolae familiares*, clxx, pp. 386–388.
[2] *Summarium*, p. 53.
[3] Hilarion de Costa, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, Paris, 1725, p. 749. Cited by Le Bachelet, *Gregorianum*, vol. VI, p. 213.

take the truffles because religious are not allowed to accept anything unless it comes as a present to the whole convent. Consequently I sent them on to our Father General, and Father General has sent them back to me in the name of the whole Society of Jesus.' [1]

The other little story is about a very old Augustinian of Avignon, who wished to be allowed to resign his post and, dreadful to tell, to spend his last days in comfort under his brother's roof. Would Bellarmine please obtain these favours for him from the Father General of the Augustinians, he wrote, giving as his reason for addressing himself to the Cardinal the fact that ' in all the Roman firmament he could find no more helpful star than his Illustrious Lordship '. Blessed Robert was touched by this appeal of one old man to another and answered :

Though your Reverence and myself are not acquaintances, and though I do not much approve of religious living outside their convent walls, still I have not failed to put your wishes before very Reverend Father General. He told me that he would write to your Father Prior and exhort him to treat your Reverence with all charity and kindness, taking into account your age and infirmity.[2]

With the great family of St. Benedict Cardinal Bellarmine was on intimate terms during the last quarter of his long life. In the year 1600 a monk of Monte Cassino, Dom Constantine Gaetani, dedicated to him a study entitled, *De vero S. P. Benedicti obitus anno et die controversia.* Prefixed to this work was a preface, addressed to the author's brethren at Monte Cassino, which ran as follows :

It is only fitting, very Reverend Fathers, that this small book should be dedicated to his Lordship Cardinal Robert Bellarmine by whose own most learned books, to the great glory of the Society of Jesus which bore such a man, the universal Church flourishes

[1] Letter given by Le Bachelet, *Gregorianum*, vol. VI., p. 209. St. Felix, the first Bishop of Como, once sent St. Ambrose, the Archbishop of Milan, a grand basket of truffles. Ambrose thanked him in a delightful letter, quite unlike the Third Nocturn pieces from his pen. 'They are such lovely truffles,' he said, ' that instead of keeping them all to myself, I have decided to invite my friends to enjoy them with me.' Tatti, *Degli annali sacri della città di Como*, Como, 1663, n. 63.

[2] Le Bachelet, *l.c.*, p. 210. In 1610 the learned Augustinian confessor of the Grand Duchess of Tuscany, Father Leonard Coqueau, dedicated to Bellarmine a work written against the Premonition of King James of England. The Cardinal sent him a charming letter of thanks (*Epist. famil.*, lxxx) and afterwards used his good offices on his behalf in the Congregation of the Index.

and protects herself against the bitter enemies of our holy Faith. . . . Wherefore the Benedictine family, which the Cardinal so dearly loves, may well be defended, and the long-controverted question as to the year and day of our holy Father St. Benedict's death may well be discussed and answered, under the authority of his name.[1]

One famous Benedictine who owed much to Bellarmine's kindness was the zealous Abbot of Fulda, Dom Balthasar von Dermbach. He was an energetic promoter of the counter-reformation in Germany, but his own chapter became tainted with heresy and expelled him in 1576. For twenty-five years he pleaded his cause and the cause of his monastery in the imperial courts, Bellarmine all the time following the negotiations with anxious interest. When the *De Auxiliis* controversy was at its most critical stage, March 1602, he wrote as follows to the sorely-tried Abbot:

Your Lordship would find it difficult to believe me were I to explain to you the full measure of my distress at seeing an affair of such importance and such moment to religion held up by so many obstacles and delays. The only way in which I have power to help is by exhorting and imploring those who have charge of the negotiations. This I have done again and again and there is no fear that I shall grow weary in the future of constantly urging the matter by word of mouth and in writing. I am sending your Lordship a copy of the letter which I am posting to the Apostolic Nuncio. The very first time that a favourable opportunity presents itself I shall earnestly beg the Holy Father to use his authority to bring so just a cause to a speedy conclusion. . . .[2]

Five months later the Emperor decided the case in favour of the Abbot who immediately wrote to tell his benefactor the good news. Blessed Robert answered, 10 October 1602:

The joy and delight which your Lordship's letter gave me were in proportion to the despair which was beginning to creep over me

[1] Four years later another Benedictine monk, Dom Giacomo de Graffi, grand penitentiary of Naples, dedicated to the Cardinal his work, *Consilia et Responsa casuum conscientiae*, with the following address: 'Laborem hunc, Ill. ac Rm̃e Cardinalis, tibi jam pridem animo destinavi et inscripsi, ut quem in lucem edere vellem, illustrissimi tui nominis splendore cohonestarem, aut potius ut opus recenti ingenii foetura natum et brevi visurum parentis occasum veluti ad solis ortum exultaret cum oris tui lucem aspiceret, atque id demum in tanti praesulis tutela viveret in omnem aeternitatem, quod futurum erat ut paulo post scriptoris sui jam senio pene confecti defleret interitum. Cui enim lucem non afferas, qui non secus ac novum coeli sydus, non regnorum cladem, sed salutem beatitatemque praesagiens, offusis Germaniae tenebris, toti orbi illuxisti?' Le Bachelet, *Gregorianum*, vol. VII, pp. 172–173.

[2] *Epistolae familiares*, XXII, p. 53.

of ever seeing a happy end to your most righteous cause. It was beginning to look as if it might go on for ever. . . . Now it remains for your Lordship to apply yourself with all your might in your pastoral solicitude to the reformation of that diocese, to collect your scattered flock and, driving out the wolves, to make up by increased vigilance for the time which the injustice of your adversaries forced you in a manner to waste in litigation.

I pray God with all my heart that as He has given your Lordship the opportunity of gathering the most sweet fruit of daily patience on earth, so He would grant to both of us to find in Heaven the crown of our pastoral office and labours. Let us go on loving each other, and let us pray for each other that we may save our souls.[1]

3. In 1614 the Abbot of the monastery of St. Hubert in the Ardennes, Dom Nicholas Fanson, was zealously engaged on a project of religious reform. It was work that to succeed needed to have behind it the express approval of the Pope, and to obtain this the Abbot could think of no better means than an appeal to Cardinal Bellarmine. Blessed Robert immediately sought out Paul V to put the case before him. When afterwards reporting the result of his interview to the Abbot's Roman agent, he added these words : ' Si quid aliud possim in gratiam Amplitudinis vestrae vel abbatis S^ti^ Huberti, offero utrique libentissime operam meam,' and in a letter to the Abbot himself said : ' Your Reverence may rest assured that whatever services you might look to obtain from one of your intimate friends, those you can obtain from me.'[2] Writing again four years later, the Cardinal expresses his joy over the developments at St. Hubert's :

My Lord Abbot, I was immensely delighted to learn from your letter that the reformation of the monastery and the training of the novices were proceeding so well. . . . I have heard from your Reverence's agent that your two discontented monks have returned to you and expressed themselves ready to submit to the yoke of obedience. I shall not forget to pray that their change of heart may

[1] *Epistolae familiares*, xxix, pp. 67–69. The splendid work which the Abbot did after his restoration is described in H. von Egloffstein's *Fürstabt Balthasar v. Dermbach und die katholische Restauration im Hochstifte Fulda*, 1890. The Abbey of Fulda ever after retained grateful memories of Cardinal Bellarmine, and in 1713 was one of many influential petitioners for his beatification. Among the arguments offered by the then Abbot, Dom Adalbert von Schleiffras, was this consideration : ' Cum quoque in hisce partibus in ore omnium sit, plurimos sola lectione Bellarmini scriptorum, relictis nativis sacris, orthodoxam amplexos fuisse religionem ' (Cited by Père Le Bachelet, *Gregorianum*, vol. VII, p. 176).

[2] *Revue Bénédictine*, t. XIII, 1896, p. 261.

prove genuine and lasting, and that your novices may eagerly advance from virtue to virtue, to their own solid spiritual consolation, and to the very great merit of your Reverence. . . .[1]

The Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Trond between Louvain and Utrecht was also in frequent communication with his Lordship, for its two abbots, Leonard Betten and Hubert Germeys, were numbered among his special friends. The latter prelate reported to the Cardinal in 1615 that his death had been duly announced in Flanders, whereupon he received the following denial from Rome:

How on earth this story of my demise sprang up I am unable to imagine as I have not been seriously ill for many years and am seen daily by immense crowds of people at consistories, congregations, and Papal services. It may be that our friends the heretics are responsible, the wish in their case being father to the thought. . . .

It is true that being now an old man of seventy-four I cannot be far off my end, and I am trying as best I can to make ready for it. Would that I could prepare myself with greater diligence! I beg your Reverence to help me with your prayers and those of your community. . . .

About the seminary of Saint-Trond, the Fathers of our Society never complained to me that it had been refused them, nor have my religious brethren here in Rome any knowledge of its having been asked for. . . . Whatever the case, when anything is refused a friend on good grounds the refusal ought not to be allowed to spoil friendship, and I trust that the amicable relations between your venerable Monastery, so deserving of all honour, and the Society of Jesus, may never be broken. . . .[2]

The schemes for the restoration of the Benedictine Order in England, where it had been ruined by Tudor oppression, met with Bellarmine's warmest sympathy. Father Jones, or as he was known in religion, Father Leander of St. Martin, who held the post of vicar-general in the Anglo-Spanish mission of St. Benedict, wrote to him when the controversy about the reunion was at its height,[3] and received the following answer:

Very Reverend Father,

I have been tardy with my answer to your letter of July 30 last year, because I was in hopes that the affair would have been settled within a short time and that I would thus have been able to give you some accurate information about it. However, business

[1] Latin text given by Le Bachelet, *Gregorianum*, vol. VII, p. 178.

[2] *Epistolae familiares*, CXXIV, pp. 281–283.

[3] The course of the controversy is traced in Tierney-Dodd, vol. IV, pp. 84 sqq.

in Rome, owing to the amount of it that has to be done, takes a great deal of time and I must not keep you waiting any longer.

Your letter was delivered to me by Dom Sigebert,[1] as well as the scheme of union and other papers about the same matter. We had already talked the question over more than once in the Congregation of the Holy Office, and everyone was high in praise of Dom Sigebert's diligence, talents, and judgment. Though a settlement has not yet been reached, we are in good hopes that soon all will be satisfactorily concluded, and that Dom Sigebert will then return to you joyfully.

Dom Anselm,[2] the agent of the Monte Cassino monks, makes some opposition, but as the Cassinese are so far from England, it would perhaps be better if they and the English Congregation remained separate. It will be enough if the Englishmen in Spain, France, and Belgium come together, and with united forces and a single heart launch an assault against the powers of darkness which wage war on the servants of God in England. Good-bye and do not forget me in your holy prayers.[3]

Another matter of the first importance to the Benedictine Order as a whole, with which Bellarmine was closely associated, was the revision of the monastic Breviary. In a letter of 1611 or 1612, written to some prelate whose name is not mentioned, the Cardinal himself provides us with the details of this affair :

Illustrious and Right Reverend Lord,

The Prior of the Benedictines in Ypres sent the Holy Father a manuscript treatise in which the methods to be followed in the revision of the Benedictine Breviary were expounded. The Prior also urged upon the Pope that it would be a good thing if one Breviary only were to be adopted by the entire Benedictine Order. His Holiness ordered me to put the question before the Congregation of Rites. When I had explained everything fully, the Congregation gave its approval and commissioned me to call together all the procurators of the Order who were in Rome that I might discuss the suggestion with them and see whether it would be possible to carry it into effect.

I accordingly invited all the procurators to meet me, namely those of Monte Cassino, of the Cistercians, of the Celestines, of the Camaldolese, of Monte Oliveto, of Vallombrosa, of the Silvestrines, of Monte Vergine, and of the Spanish Benedictines. Then I put before them the wish of the Holy Father and the Congregation of

[1] This was Father Buckley, the only surviving English Benedictine who had been professed at Westminster. He died in 1610.

[2] Father Beech of Manchester, a former student of the English College, Rome.

[3] Letter published by Dom C. Reyner in his *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, Douai, 1626, app., p. 21.

Rites that the entire Order of St. Benedict should have a common Breviary as conformable to the Roman Breviary as the rule of St. Benedict permitted. All the procurators agreed most readily with the proposal, and four were then chosen to examine the various breviaries that have been revised in recent times, as well as the one sent here by the Prior of Ypres. When they have examined them they are either to select one for common use, or should none of those already printed be found suitable, to set about preparing a new one. This they will then bring to me that I may consult with the Congregation of Rites and with the Holy Father about giving it official approval.

I am writing all this to your Lordship by order of the Pope for you to communicate the information to the Prior of Ypres and to the other Benedictine superiors, that knowing it they may not print other breviaries but await the completion of the one about which I have spoken.[1]

Blessed Robert devoted himself with great assiduity to the work in connection with the new Breviary, which was to be 'as like the Roman Breviary as possible'. As the months went by, his pen was busy writing eloquent recommendations of it to all the superiors-general of the Orders that followed the Benedictine rule. The following is a small specimen of his style: *Spero autem gratissimum futurum Adm. R. Paternitati V. ut, sicut una quasi voce et uno spiritu in diversis regionibus Deum assidue laudant universi qui S^mi P. Benedicti regulam sequuntur, ita de uno atque eodem Breviario in Dei laudibus utantur et juxta ejusdem missalis directionem sacrificium Corporis et Sanguinis Domini aeterno Patri offerant.*[2]

The new Breviary, in the form published at Venice in 1612, bore two advertisements of different dates recording the permission of the Congregation of Rites, first for its local and then for its general use in the various Orders that followed the rule of St. Benedict. The earlier decree, dated 6 December 1608, is sufficiently interesting to be given in its original Latin:

Breviarium hoc Benedictinum ex Romano restitutum, et ad instantiam Abbatis S. Galli, Ordinis S. Benedicti, caeterorumq; Abbatum ejusdem Ordinis per Helvetiam ac Sueuiam, in sacra Rituum Congregatione propositum, et de Mandato S.D.N. Papae et ejusdem sacrae Congregationis, diligenter examinatum, recognitum ac subscriptum ab Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo D. Cardinali Bellarmino; eadem sacra Rituum Congregatio approbavit, licentiamq; concessit dicto Abbati S. Galli, ceterisq;

[1] Italian text given by Le Bachelet, *Gregorianum*, vol. VII, pp. 187–188.
[2] Letter given in Mittarelli's *Annales Camaldulenses*, vol. IX, p. 289.

Abbatibus Ordinis S. Benedicti, eorumq; Monachis per Helvetiam et Sueuiam ut eo libere et licite uti possint. . . .

The other decree, dated 24 April 1610, extends the permission to all Benedictine houses, as the Cardinals of the Congregation of Rites say that they have received requests from great numbers of abbots for such permission. For about four years the adoption of the new Breviary was left to the discretion of those interested, but it was then made obligatory. Before this happened, one good Father Provincial had, as will be seen presently, some strong objections to offer Cardinal Bellarmine against the project on which he had so completely set his heart.

4. By a Brief of 2 March 1606 Pope Paul V had nominated Blessed Robert Cardinal Protector of the Order of Celestines. That Order had been founded in 1264 by St. Peter Celestine, the holy hermit who resigned the Pontifical throne and was castigated by Dante for his *gran rifiuto*. It had spread with great rapidity and at the beginning of the sixteenth century possessed a hundred houses in Italy alone. Prosperity and the patronage of the great, however, brought the usual evils in their train, so the task of reformation with which Bellarmine was burdened was not one to which an arm-chair cardinal would have aspired. For this Cardinal it was a golden opportunity, a new avenue for his zeal which God in His goodness had opened to him. From the date of his appointment the Celestines crowd into the story of his life. Less than three weeks after receiving the Brief, he wrote to their Abbot-general, Peter d'Agellis, exhorting him most earnestly to see that the elections to offices in the Order were directed by the single aim of procuring holy, prudent, and learned superiors. He himself, he continued, would do all in his power to foster a great love of study in the hearts of the monks, and to persuade the *diffinitori*, or local superiors, to reside in the provinces that had been assigned to their care, for they were too apt to become ramblers.[1] A few words addressed at a later date to one of the Provincials of the Order will illustrate the spirit in which the Cardinal Protector worked :

Toto corde meo commendo pacem et unionem, et observantiam Decretorum, et super omnia rigidam observantiam Sanctissimae Regulae, et, ut loquitur Sanctus Gregorius, discretissimae, Sanctissimi Patris nostri Benedicti ; illa enim vere est scala, per quam idem Sanctissimus Pater ascendit in Coelum, et per quam etiam ascendit

[1] Italian text given by Le Bachelet, *Gregorianum*, vol. VII, pp. 181–182.

Beatissimus Coelestinus, et per eamdem nos ascendemus, si boni aemulatores fuerimus. . . .[1]

While thus engaged in reforming abuses Blessed Robert was also careful to strengthen the Order and the authority of its Abbot-general by obtaining from the Pope, 29 April 1606, a Bull which confirmed the various privileges of the Celestines and at the same time expressly defined that the jurisdiction of the Abbot-general extended over all monasteries in which the rule was followed, including those of France. His conduct as Cardinal Protector from first to last was characterized by a kind of sublime tact and sympathy that won for him the love and devoted allegiance of all the monks.

It was a point of honour with him never to trespass by a hair's breadth on the jurisdiction of any superior. When important people from the outside world endeavoured to engage his services on behalf of some relative in the Order, he used to tell them plainly that their request would first have to be put before the Abbot-general, nor could he ever be induced to bring any pressure to bear under such circumstances.

In May 1612 he went in person to preside at the triennial general chapter of the Order, which was held at the great Abbey on the slopes of Monte Morone, the wild retreat from whose caves San Celestino had been taken to be placed most unwillingly upon the papal throne. When passing through Aquila on his way to the Abbey, Bellarmine found to his horror that the city magnates had prepared a civic reception and a splendid banquet for him, but, though with his usual courtesy he made it plain how deeply he appreciated the honour they intended to do him, he could not be persuaded to eat anything of the gorgeous fare provided, and asked if there was such a thing in the menu as a boiled egg.[2]

In order to spare his hosts at Morone as much expense as possible, he had brought with him only a handful of servants, and these had each received strict injunctions to accept no gratuities. The good monks considered that such a mean retinue was quite beneath the dignity of their Protector, but no amount of persuading on their part to send for the rest of his household made the slightest impression on him. During the sittings of the chapter he was very unwell and troubled

[1] *Epistolae familiares*, clvi, pp. 355–357.
[2] The Capuan Process, quoted by Bartoli, *Vita*, p. 400.

with a cough, but all the same did not absent himself from a single ceremony,[1] and gave the monks an address each morning before business began. It is possible to read the results of these exhortations between the lines of a letter which Blessed Robert posted to the Provincial of the French Celestines shortly after the conclusion of the chapter:

Very Reverend Father,

In the May of this year the general chapter of the Celestines was held according to custom at the head monastery of the whole Congregation. I resolved to be present at it, though owing to my age and the length and difficulty of the journey, the project was not without its inconveniences. By the grace of God my going was not in vain, nor were my talks to the Fathers on the happiness that comes of observing the rule and the misery that results from neglect of it without fruit. The great thing done was the election, in entire concord and harmony, of an Abbot-general who, I have good reason to believe, was the best candidate of any present.

Then, too, it was decreed that the most careful attention must be given to the training of the novices, and as a help to this all the novices of the four Italian provinces have been directed to repair to a house where monastic discipline has always flourished. Individual monasteries are no longer allowed to have their own novices, for it is difficult to find many suitable directors, and moreover in small houses it is not any the easier to keep the few novices separated from the other monks.

A reform of the philosophical and theological studies of the Order was also carried out, and a decree was passed that all students must be gathered together in some few houses, found to be most suitable for the purpose, to the end that there may be large numbers of scholars attending the same classes, and that they may be provided with really competent professors.

Finally, I was greatly delighted to find that the practice of mental prayer after the night Office, and in fact after each of the Canonical Hours, was flourishing in the mother house, for such prayer has always been esteemed as of the greatest value to men under vows. I was anxious to tell your Paternity all this that you might take into consideration, with the other Fathers, at your next provincial chapter whether it would not be a good thing if you were to make similar regulations about the novices and scholastics, as well as about the practice of mental prayer. In this way your province, which is proud of its reform and observance, would make sure of not being found in any respect inferior to the Italian provinces, but would rather rival them in goodness, just as I most earnestly desire

[1] Fuligatti, *Vita*, p. 246.

that the Italian provinces may piously emulate the French province in many other matters pertaining to the strict observance of the rule. May your Paternity be mindful of me in your prayers ! [1]

One matter in connection with which Blessed Robert had doubts as to the action that would be taken by his French protégés concerned the new Breviary, because, though the Celestines followed the Benedictine rule, the head of the French province, to whom the above letter was addressed, had written to him a few months earlier expressing a number of sound and unsound objections against its adoption by his own particular subjects. For one thing, he said, the Celestines in France, despairing of anything being done in the matter by other provinces, had themselves brought out a revised Breviary at great expense of both energy and money, and it would be too bad if all their labours had to go for nothing. Then he wanted to know, in the event of the new Breviary being adopted, what good to the monastery would be the magnificent antiphonaries and other liturgical folios ' quae tanto labore et studio a nostris praedecessoribus sunt elaborata ut vix ac ne vix quidem talia reperiri possint '. That was a very reasonable objection, but the next one in the list must have caused Bellarmine to sigh :

Are we to be expected to leave our own saints in the lurch in order to venerate other people's saints ? The translation of the relics of Blessed Benedict [to France] is an event scorned and denied by the monks of Monte Cassino and other Italian Benedictines, but as the bones of our holy Father are here in our midst in the territory of Orléans to prove it, we, together with all the monks on this side of the Alps, as well as nearly all cathedral churches, celebrate the feast of the translation with a solemn octave in the July of each year. . . . We are sending your Lordship our Breviary, then, that you may examine it, make up your mind about it, and tell us freely whether you think we may be allowed to retain it in the future. . . .[2]

A year after the dispatch of this letter, the very monk who had revised and edited the Celestine Breviary referred to in

[1] *Epistolae familiares*, xciii, pp. 207–210.

[2] Latin text given by Le Bachelet, *Gregorianum*, vol. VII, p. 190. Even the Bollandists were terrified at the thought of intervening in the controversy about the translation of St. Benedict's relics, and quoted Baronius to show the danger of such an undertaking : ' Refugit animus tam densum controversiae hujus spinetum adire, quod horret vel e longe spectare.' *Acta Sanctorum*, Martii, t. III, p. 297.

hiculum, in aduersitate præsidiũ, in lubrico baculus, in naufragio portus: vt te duce quò tendimus, prosperè perueniamus, & demum incolumes ad propria redeamus.

ADesto quæsumus Domine, supplicationibus nostris: & viam famulorum tuorum in salutis tuę prosperitate dispone: vt inter omnes viæ & vitę huius varietates tuo semper protegamur auxilio.

PRęsta quęsumus omnipotens Deus: vt familia tua per viam salutis incedat, & beati Ioannis Prę-cursoris hortamenta sectando, ad eum quem prędixit, secura perueniat, Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum Filium tuum: Qui tecũ viuit & regnat in vnitate Spiritus sancti Deus, per omnia sęcula sęculorum. ℟. Amen.

℣. Procedamus in pace.

℟. In nomine Domini. Amen.

Robert. Cardin. Bellarminus.

FINIS.

REGESTVM.

✠ ✠✠ ✠✠✠ ✠✠✠✠ ✠✠✠✠✠ ABCDEFG
HIKLMNOPQRSTVXYZ
Aa Bb Cc Dd Ee Ff Gg Hh Ii Kk Ll Mm
Nn Oo Pp Qq Rr Ss Tt Vu Xx Yy Zz
Aaa Bbb Ccc Ddd Eee Fff Ggg Hhh Iii Kkk
Lll Mmm Nnn Ooo Ppp Qqq
a b c d e f g h i.

Omnes sunt Quaterniones, præter ✠✠✠✠✠, & i,

TITLE-PAGE AND LAST PAGE OF THE BENEDICTINE BREVIARY OF 1612.

it, was elected Provincial of the order in France.[1] Bellarmine's letter to him, dated 10 June 1613, shows what an extraordinary influence their Cardinal Protector exercised even over the powerful and rather independent French province:

VERY REVEREND FATHER,

I cordially congratulate your Reverence on being raised to the dignity of Provincial, and I pray God that your election may redound to His greater glory and the good of the Congregation. It has given me great pleasure to learn that what I urged with regard to mental prayer, the studies of the order, and the novices, has found approval in the eyes of your Fathers, and I trust that as time goes on it will give you still greater satisfaction. Further, it was most gratifying to me to find that the French Celestines have accepted the new Breviary, like their brethren in Italy and like all the other branches of the Benedictine family.

As to the oblates [2] wearing secular or military clothes when travelling, I think you should follow the custom of other religious, or should consult learned men, who are easily to be found in France, and who know what can and ought to be done in the matter in your country much better than we who live so far away from it. Absolutely speaking, it is not lawful, except in case of great necessity, for professed religious, including lay-brothers, to go about armed or in any other garb but their religious habit. Good-bye, your Reverence, and do not forget me in your holy prayers.[3]

Through the Cardinal's unwearying efforts various dissensions within the French province of the Celestines were completely healed, and all the provinces, French, Belgian, and Italian, were at length persuaded to recognize in the fullest fashion the jurisdiction of a single Abbot-general. The extent of the Order's indebtedness to its Protector is expressed with an emphatic flourish in a letter which the French Provincial posted to him from Amiens, 8 April 1619:

As soon as I received your Lordship's letter of February 16, I thanked God for the favours He has heaped upon us. Truly if we had not had you for our Protector we should have been lost. May God bless you for your most vigilant care of us. Now that the disturbances are ended, we shall learn to be wise at last. We shall watch over regular discipline with greater fervour, and under your Lordship's protection cause it to thrive and breathe forth its sweet odour.

[1] Dom Charles Campigny, whose work, published in 1592, was entitled: *Breviarium nostrae Congregationis ad normam Breviarii Concilii Tridentini restitutum.*

[2] Those who had entered the order late in life as lay-brothers.

[3] *Epistolae familiares*, XCIX, pp. 220–221.

All that you have done and endured for love of us will be kept in faithful memory that the fruit of your labours may not perish through carelessness on our part. God alone can reward you as you deserve, for our debt to you is too great for us ever to hope to repay it. . . .[1]

In 1610 the Premonstratensians began to envy the Celestines their monopoly of the Cardinal, and tried to get him to become their Protector too. In a most kind and courteous letter, he told them that he was afraid he must refuse, and begged them not to be offended with him. As they had no branch of their Order in Italy, he would not be able to do his duty by them properly, and, besides, the ' Protectorate ' with which he was already burdened was work enough for the feeble forces of one ' jam senem et plurimis aliis negotiis distentum '. The conclusion of his letter is characteristic : ' Your Paternity may rest assured that if there is any office of charity I can perform for you, all you have to do is to mention it to me.' [2]

Blessed Robert's devotion to St. Benedict and his sons nearly ended in tragedy. Though seventy-four years of age, he determined in June 1616 to make a pilgrimage to the holy grotto of Subiaco, the cradle of Western monasticism. All went well until he was within a mile and a half of the great Abbey, where a horse belonging to the monks was waiting to take him up the steep mountain path. As soon as he put his foot in the stirrup, the animal bolted, flinging him violently to the ground. To make matters worse, one of his servants in trying to raise him stumbled and fell heavily on top of him. No bones were broken nor limbs dislocated, but the poor Cardinal's left arm was badly crushed, and the shock to his system was so great that at first it was feared he would not survive. He was carried up to the monastery in a chair and devotedly nursed by the monks for five days.

Even during that time of pain and exhaustion, his thoughts were occupied continually with the question of questions, how to develop and intensify the spirit of prayer and observance in the Order of which he was Protector. Telling Pope Paul about his visit to Subiaco, he said that his few days in bed there had been passed ' con molta consolatione di quelli Rdi. Padri et mia '. A month's convalescence followed in Rome, during which time, unless the doctors expressly forbade him, he kept up his practices of devotion in every detail. Often

[1] Fuligatti, *Vita*, p. 252.
[2] *Epistolae familiares*, lxxvi, pp. 171–173.

enough when they did forbid him to make his meditation or say his Office, he became so downhearted that to cheer him up they were forced to withdraw their veto. In his impatience to say Mass, he began before he was really fit to stand on his feet, and, as his left arm was still very stiff and feeble, he obtained leave from the Pope to elevate the sacred Host with the right arm only.[1]

Immediately after his recovery, the Archbishop of Gnesen in Germany received a letter from him :

I have two of your Grace's letters on my conscience. The first I was unable to answer because it found me lying in bed, suffering greatly from a fall off a horse. As I am an old man of seventy-four, I thought that owing to the accident I should have gone to God, but it pleased His Divine Majesty so to break the fall that, without killing me, it might serve as an opportunity for patience and as a penance for my sins.

Now, however, that I am suffering only in my left arm and hope soon to be completely cured I thought that I must not delay answering a letter so full of love and kindness. What your Grace's nephew, a distinguished young man and one worthy of such an uncle, has told you, was true enough, namely that I have at least tried very earnestly to further your interests here. But I must own to your Grace that owing to the numerous difficulties in my path I was able to do only a fraction of what you deserved to have done for you. If there is anything more that I can do, you will always find me most ready. . . .[2]

5. On his journey home after the deliberations at Morone, Blessed Robert had turned aside to pay his devotions at the Portiuncula and other Umbrian shrines of his beloved St. Francis. At Assisi he found his brother Thomas and half the family awaiting him, in hopes of being able to persuade him to visit Montepulciano, which was only forty miles away. He showed himself delighted to see them all again, but as for going to Montepulciano they might just as well have asked him to go to the moon. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo II, also wanted to be visited in Florence, but to the Cardinal's great relief the letter of invitation did not reach him until he was safely back in Rome. As far as courteous expression went, his Highness's missive left nothing to be desired :

[1] Bartoli, *Vita*, p. 406.
[2] *Epistolae familiares*, cxxxii, pp. 303–305.

Hearing that you are coming in the direction of Assisi after the close of the Celestine chapter, and that you will consequently be so near my States, I cannot refrain, I will not say from inviting you to come hither, for invitations are sent out to strangers and not to those who know as you do how cordially they are loved and respected and how constant a wish we have to be of service to you, but from reminding you that you are and always will be master in my house and that you have it at your disposal just as if it were your own. . . .

A conversation with you would afford me very special pleasure . . . and I might almost say that you have a duty in conscience to gratify my wishes in this respect, as something is always to be learned from your singular goodness, wisdom, and virtue. Accordingly, with most lively feelings of affection, I kiss your Illustrious Lordship's hands.[1]

There were special reasons for the Duke's anxiety to meet Bellarmine, reasons which would, in any case, have made the Cardinal shy of accepting the proffered hospitality. He had strong views on the subject of mixed marriages. Writing in 1613 to a German gentleman whom he addressed as ' amice carissime ', he said : ' I dare not express openly what I think about the marriage of Catholics with heretics for fear of troubling consciences or casting a slur upon the customs of your country.' Now Duke Cosimo had been striving for some time to obtain the Church's sanction for a marriage between his sister and Henry, Prince of Wales, for whose benefit King James had written the *Basilikon Doron*. Father Aquaviva, the General of the Jesuits, was in favour of the match, but Bellarmine was stoutly opposed to it from the beginning, and indeed fought the project with such determination as to win round to his opinion all his colleagues on the committee appointed by the Pope to investigate the question. The dispensation was refused, and it was only the opportune death of Prince Henry in November 1612 that prevented serious trouble between King James and the Grand Duke.[2]

The precise reasons, other than his general dislike of mixed marriages, that determined Blessed Robert's attitude in the affair, are not easy to decide, but that they were good reasons as far as they went, seems to be shown by a huge letter which an English Jesuit, Father Robert Jones, addressed to him from

[1] Letter dispatched from Florence 24 May 1612, given by Bartoli, *Vita*, p. 500.

[2] Galuzzi, *Storia del Granducato di Toscana*, Florence, 1718, vol. III, p. 318.

London, 9 December 1612. There is room here for only a few extracts from this very interesting document:

Many reasons compel me at length, illustrious Cardinal, to address you, notwithstanding the important affairs of religion which engross your attention. First of all, lest I should seem to be stained with the blot of ingratitude towards you, to whom I ever remember to have been most indebted in so many ways; and very especially at the commencement, and through the course of that life in religion which by God's will has been my lot.

But beyond this especial obligation towards you, the deepest expression of gratitude both in my own name and that of all my religious brethren is justly due to you, who have so often administered timely succour to us in the difficult struggle wherein we are engaged. Indeed if this most welcome aid has hitherto never failed in our necessities, much more is it needed . . . now that the Amorrheans are so portentously increased and multiplied, and are not even yet filled up. Such new and unwonted tribulations do they employ with the utmost severity to afflict those who walk worthy of God, that they are forced to have recourse to the champions of the Catholic faith.

Father Jones next proceeds to give the Cardinal a long account of the tribulations that were the daily portion of Catholics in England. Then comes the last paragraph of his letter:

I will conclude this lengthy recital of our miseries with the death of our Prince Henry. I know not whether it be an event of good or ill. Everyone knows that he was most hostile to Catholics, and shortly before his death he said like another Roboam, and in the presence of a number of people, that his father had scourged us with whips, but that he would scourge us with scorpions. And he added: 'The Pope and Bellarmine have greatly insulted my father; but if ever I wield the sceptre, then, with the aid of my brother (the Palatine of the Rhine, who is going to marry his sister), I shall revenge myself upon them not with the pen but with the sword.' The Almighty, however, a few days after, closed the mouth of him who spoke impiously, and who was proudly sounding his trumpet before victory; though, had he lived, there was not much to fear from an effeminate and unwarlike tyro. . . .[1]

During this same year, 1612, Dr. George Birkhead began a correspondence with the Cardinal, whose pupil he had once

[1] Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, vol. IV, pp. 374–378. The original letter is in the Stonyhurst archives. It ends with a postscript on the brutal execution of the heroic secular priest, Father John Almond, which took place at Tyburn, 5 December 1612.

been. In his first letter of February 3, after alluding to the harm that was being done by Roger Widdrington's *Apologia* and begging Bellarmine to answer it,[1] he turned to the difficult question of an English hierarchy:

If we had bishops, as is the case everywhere else throughout the Church, this evil of bad books written by persons who pretend to be Catholics might be more easily put down. As however for nearly fifty years we have been entirely deprived of so necessary a help and have lived without any settled order, we cannot be surprised to see a thousand troubles of this kind rising in our midst. We who are every day stricken by the enemy's missiles and see so close at hand the evils of our time are endeavouring by every means in our power and by most earnest entreaties to do away with such a calamitous state of affairs by having bishops set over us. . . .

We do not fear to entrust to your Illustrious Lordship this most just demand of ours, imploring you earnestly that by the mercy of God you may be pleased to further efficaciously with his Holiness a matter so necessary for the good of our most afflicted Church. Of a truth the heretics spare no endeavour to root out the Catholic faith from men's minds, and what reasonable person will blame us if, notwithstanding a most grievous persecution, we do all we can to oppose those most ferocious and cunning enemies, by asking to have our forces better organized that so we may endeavour to keep the precious jewel of faith unharmed in spite of pursuivants and Parliament?

Your Lordship sees how confidently we deal with you and how much we trust to your kindness. I personally have special reasons for doing so because I know that I am bound to you by the strong tie of gratitude, as a scholar to his old master. More than thirty years back I attended your lectures in Rome, and I owe to God and to you what little learning I have acquired. G.B.[2]

Bellarmine's answer shows that he considered the question of appointing bishops for England to be surrounded with too many difficulties for him to express a decided opinion on the matter. Indeed, the way in which he jumps over the problem in his letter is almost comical:

. . . As to the question of bishops, I have always thought that it was very much to be desired that some way might be found to bring it to a happy issue. I am very glad indeed that in former days I had such a distinguished pupil and I shall pray God to prosper all your labours, which I know to be very great. . . .[3]

[1] *Vide supra*, pp. 238 sqq.
[2] Archives of his Eminence, the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster.
[3] *Epistolae familiares*, xcvi, pp. 214–216.

Dr. Birkhead answered on November 23 :

Your letter of October last [1] has reached me, and it was a great consolation to me that one so eminent as your Lordship should have given credence to my agent when he handed you a letter of mine which did not bear my signature. So, too, I feel strengthened to uphold our cause, and am thoroughly satisfied by the news that you have written a book against Widdrington. We like your book against Barclay very much indeed. I wish the other also could reach us that it might put an end to the triumph of Widdrington, and of the one whom we all suspect to be the author of the book [published under Widdrington's name].[2] They boast that no reply has as yet appeared, just as if they had gained a victory over you all. . . .

Your Lordship seems to think too highly of my labours. I would bear them willingly if I had, as I have not, the support of an authority which I cordially revere. We have received no power, except *in foro conscientiae*, over Catholic laymen, and so they make light without a scruple of the little jurisdiction which we possess. This is one reason the more why our clergy urge the Sovereign Pontiff to grant us bishops as judges-in-ordinary.

I have thought it well to mention these matters to your Lordship, as one of the Princes of the Church, that with the prudence and learning in which you excel you may be pleased to further our supplication with his Holiness. God save your Illustrious Lordship from all your enemies.

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

George Birkhead,

Unworthy Archpriest of England.[3]

In answering on 10 January 1613 another letter which he had received from the Cardinal, Birkhead thanks him very warmly for his goodness to the afflicted Catholics of England :

Your Lordship seems ever ready to go to the Pope and to treat with him on our affairs so that he may the better understand the opposition which we have to encounter and be pleased to restrain in some effective way certain Catholics who by their strange books try to cast ridicule on our labours. . . .

With regard to your Lordship's statement that the difficulties connected with the provision of bishops for England are so numerous as to cause you to doubt seriously whether the affair can ever have a successful issue, unless I am mistaken some Fathers think the

[1] Bellarmine's long delay in answering Birkhead's first letter was due, the Cardinal explained, to his not having received it until many months after its dispatch.

[2] Father Thomas Preston, O.S.B.

[3] Archives of his Eminence, the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster.

reverse, believing that when it is a question of preserving the faith no difficulties must be allowed to stand in the way. . . .[1]

It was all very well for the Archpriest to argue as he did, but he was really begging the question. The very point which Bellarmine and many other zealous men were unable to decide was whether the appointment of a bishop would not do more harm than good. In modern times Cardinal Manning expressed his belief that there were two true reasons ' why the Church in England ceased to exist for 300 years ', and the first of the reasons given by his Eminence was ' because the restoration of the Hierarchy was opposed in Rome by the deliberate action of the Jesuits '.[2] Now as everybody knows perfectly well, the Church in England did not by any means cease to exist for 300 years, nor was the Church in England ever, even in the darkest night of her tribulation, absolutely without an episcopal head, for at such times the Pope himself was her Bishop. Leaving such exaggerations out of account, we come to the charge that the Jesuits by their opposition to the restoration of the hierarchy were responsible for the loss of England's faith. The mere fact that Blessed Robert Bellarmine, if not exactly opposed to the appointment of a bishop, certainly does not seem to have favoured it, ought to be enough to make any one hesitate before accepting Cardinal Manning's verdict. As the preceding pages have shown, the great aim, the overmastering passion of Bellarmine's life, was the preservation or restoration of the faith. With his record before us, the idea that he would have seconded in a spirit of mistaken loyalty the opposition of his fellow-religious to the appointment of a bishop, if that opposition were based on anything but a sincere conviction of its being the right course, is simply preposterous. He was always as candid in his dealings with his own Order as he was in his dealings with the rest of the world. On some points he frankly sided with the Dominicans against Molina in the greatest struggle in which his Order was ever engaged. He criticized Lessius and Suarez, and he opposed with all his might the Tuscan marriage project which Aquaviva favoured. Is it likely then that such a man would have allowed himself to be influenced by party-spirit or the prejudices of individuals when the faith of a whole nation was at stake ?

The truth of the matter is that the wisdom of appointing

[1] Archives of his Eminence, the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster.
[2] Leslie, *Henry Edward Manning*, p. 290.

bishops for England was by no means as evident to the Pope and his advisers as it was to George Birkhead. A bishop merely because he was a bishop and had the power to ordain priests would have been a marked man from the day he set foot in the country. While the persecution raged, the chances of his escaping the gallows and incidentally involving the death of any of his flock who might have harboured or helped him would have been practically negligible. Bishop Goldwell had tried to come to England in 1580, but turned back when he realized the hopelessness of the prospect. Even men who were not bishops and so had not the power to multiply missionaries by ordinations, were obliged, as soon as their influence began to make itself felt, either to take to flight or else spend their days in a dungeon. Allen and Persons had both to leave, and though Blackwell remained, it was as a close prisoner in the Clink.

So far as real evidence goes, the Pope was always desirous of sending a bishop, and Cardinal Bellarmine would have been only too pleased if he could have been safely sent. The fact that he was sent as soon as Queen Henrietta Maria was there to protect him, is proof enough that Manning's allegation, which is also to be found *ad nauseam* in the fifth volume of Tierney-Dodd, is a little wide of the truth. If after a few years in office Bishop Smith was obliged to quit the country, that was certainly due to his own indiscretions, and the incident served only to confirm the Pope and his advisers in the opinion which, without needing any help from Jesuits, they had all along entertained.

Few countries in the world occupied so much of Cardinal Bellarmine's thoughts as England. He counted it a special joy to be able to ordain students at the English College. In 1611 he gave all the minor and major orders to the brother of the Duke of Rutland, Sir Oliver Manners, whom King James had knighted at Beauvoir Castle on his progress to London in 1603, and three years later it was he who raised to the priesthood in his own titular Church of Santa Maria in Via, Sir Toby Matthews, the son of the Archbishop of York. The following letter addressed on 16 December 1618 to Count Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador in London, shows the Cardinal to the life:

To the Royal Ambassador in England.

I hear that your Excellency is ever rendering services to the English Catholics and in particular to our Fathers of the Society of

Jesus. For this special favour to the Catholics I thank God and your Excellency with all my heart, and I earnestly beg you not to relax in so good a work, but to put more and more energy into it every day. It is a glorious thing and pleasing to God beyond measure to console those who are in affliction. If there was any way in which I could possibly be of assistance to you, I would jump at the opportunity.

As, however, I know of nothing else, what better can I do than beg God that He would give you full measure, pressed down and shaken together, of true and perfect happiness? Never in the present nor in the future will I cease to beg this for you in my prayers.

Our friend Barclay [1] is quite well and is very much liked by the Pope and the whole Court. As your Excellency foretold to him, he is as dear to me as if he were my well-loved child. He often comes to visit me and to consult me about his affairs. I do not wish to detain you any longer, but pray that you may enjoy all happiness and prosperity this Christmas and in the New Year from the hands of Him who is the beginning and source of all good.[2]

6. Blessed Robert's correspondence was with all kinds of people, and about all sorts of things, but a single motive inspired and directed it from beginning to end. During the late summer of 1609 the Cardinal was brought a letter by no less a person than the pugnacious Gaspar Schopp from the Archduke Ferdinand of Styria, who became Emperor ten years afterwards. This man in his fervent zeal for the Catholic cause was intent on organizing a great league by which he hoped to save the faith of the German people and the integrity of the Empire from the Protestant and revolutionary agencies that threatened both.[3] His letter appealing for Bellarmine's influence on behalf of the good work received an immediate answer:

Your Serene Highness,

Mr. Gaspar Schopp brought me your letter on September 2 and told me a good deal about the tremendous disturbances in Germany on the religious question. I thank your Highness deeply

[1] *Vide supra*, pp. 258–259.

[2] *Epistolae familiares*, clv, pp. 353–354.

[3] Writing about the results eventually achieved by Ferdinand's League, Professor S. R. Gardiner said: 'When every allowance has been made, the dispassionate inquirer, however badly he may think of the religious system by which Protestantism was superseded in these territories [the Austrian dominions], can hardly do otherwise than rejoice at the defeat of the political system of the men by whom Protestantism was in the main supported.' *History of England*, vol. III, p. 263.

for addressing yourself to me who am bound by so many titles of affection to your noble House. My one great grief is that I have not sufficient influence to secure the favour you mention, though my respect for your Highness would lead me to do almost anything to obtain it, especially as it is for a cause so closely bound up with the welfare of Germany and the entire Catholic Church.

As a beginning, at least, I went straight off to the Pope and most earnestly commended the whole affair to him, urging him at the same time to forestall and ward off such great dangers by every means in his power, and in his prudence to find a remedy for all these impending evils. He listened to me most willingly, telling me that he had the cause deeply at heart and that he was quite ready to give his very life for the salvation of so many souls. God grant that his deeds may answer to his words. Meantime we shall see what plan his Holiness will adopt, and if it is referred to a committee of Cardinals of which I, as generally happens, am nominated a member, I shall not fail in the duty and devotion which I owe to your Highness and the noble House of Austria.

However, as the Wise Man says, ' the thoughts of mortal men are fearful and our counsels uncertain,' so we must lift up our eyes to our Father in Heaven and beg Him with fervent prayers to look down and have mercy upon us. That your Highness does this I am very sure, and we too shall do it. Putting our trust in the help of the Lord whose cause is at stake, we shall do our part faithfully with the aid of His grace. Then come what may, we shall bow to His most just and holy will. With all my heart do I pray that the same Lord may long keep your Highness safe and give you fullest happiness.[1]

In due course the Catholic League came into being under the leadership of Maximilian the Great, Duke of Bavaria, its purpose being to withstand the Protestant Coalition or Evangelical Union, captained by Frederick, the Elector Palatine, son-in-law of King James of England. Thus the stage for the Thirty Years' War was gradually being set. In August 1609 the three archiepiscopal Electors of Mainz, Cologne, and Trèves addressed a joint supplication to Bellarmine to engage his interest on behalf of the Catholic Princes. Their letter did not reach him till 12 March 1610, which accounts for his answer being dated March 14 of that year:

The Reverend Count Frederick of Hohenzollern delivered to me your letter of August 31 last year on March 12. From it and from the lips of your envoys I learned not only the danger to which religion is exposed but also the zeal and diligence of your Illustrious

[1] *Epistolae familiares*, lxiv, pp. 146–148.

Lordships in maintaining the interests of Catholicism. The envoys will inform you what you in turn may expect from the Apostolic See and the Sovereign Pontiff. Out of my littleness, I thank God from my heart that in such perilous times He has fired the minds of so many illustrious Princes to unite in a League, not only advantageous, but almost necessary for religion. If you all stand by it, I have not the slightest doubt but that God will be with you and by His almighty hand will prosperously further your efforts.

Meanwhile, both by my prayers to Him and by my counsel and exhortations to our Holy Father, the Pope, I will aid the common cause with all my power. May God confirm what He has begun in you, and as He has given you the resolution to act, so may He help you to bring your plans to complete success, to the glory of His Holy Name. . . .[1]

The head of the League, Duke Maximilian, also had a letter posted to him on the same day:

Julius Cæsar Crivelli brought me your Serene Highness's letter on March 12, and laid before me the commission with which you had entrusted him on behalf of the common cause of the Church, now in such danger in Germany. A few days earlier, he had entrusted to me another affair which directly concerned your Highness. I have done all in my power to further it, and was given the opportunity because the Pope expressly asked for my views about the matter. . . .

Your Highness may rest assured that I shall do all that I possibly can and with the greatest good will in the world, by advice to the Holy Father, by prayer to Almighty God, and by a grant of money too if the Pope thinks well. Though my revenues are very small indeed,[2] still it will be the greatest pleasure to me to give like holy Tobias *ex modico modicum*—a little out of my little. May God preserve your Highness many years for the defence of the Church and the increase of your own merits.[3]

Bohemia, the land of the 'Utraquists' where the Thirty Years' War was to begin in 1618, gave the Cardinal food for anxious thought much earlier, but among its disreputable and seditious aristocracy he found one good nobleman on whom to rest his hopes. To this friend, George Drugeth von Homonay, he wrote, 27 November 1610:

Your letter gave me very great pleasure as it revived in my mind the memory of our sweet acquaintance. I have spoken in real

[1] *Epistolae familiares*, lxxii, pp. 164–166.
[2] 'Quamvis enim perexigui sint redditus mei.'
[3] *Epistolae familiares*, lxxiii, pp. 166–168.

earnest to Father General about your kind proposal to establish a College for the Society of Jesus on your property. I found him well disposed and I did all I could to persuade him to settle the matter definitely, and I most sincerely hope that your Lordship's desire will soon be fulfilled.

The name of the holy Count whom I am accustomed to propose to men of noble birth for their imitation is Blessed Eleazar of Ariano, whose story is related by Surius in his *Lives of the Saints*, on September 27. . . . You will find in this same work of Surius the lives of a number of other noblemen, including Princes and Kings, the study of which cannot fail to be of great advantage to your soul. Go forward, then, on your journey, and march prosperously along the way of Eternal Life. No other good thing is of much worth, for being but temporary we shall soon be forced to leave it behind.

If you are called to the holy state of matrimony do not forget to study the Book of Tobias with great attention, nor think it too wearisome to explain it to your wife if she does not know how to read. Meantime I will do the only thing I have it in my power to do by recommending in prayer to our common Lord your good estate, safety, and perseverance in the service of God, and I would ask you in return to remember my old age in your prayers that its end may be a happy one.[1]

Five years later Bohemia was on the verge of insurrection, but in the midst of the storm Count George remained true to his Emperor and to his faith. Bellarmine and he frequently corresponded, the following letter, dated 15 May 1617, being a typical answer from the Cardinal :

Father John Szentgiorgij brought me your Lordship's letter and told me about the ardent zeal for the faith which burns in your heart, and the great labours you have undergone for the sake of our holy religion. All this news made me thank God from the bottom of my heart, and I never cease commending to Him, our most merciful Lord, the person and the interests of so good a Prince. Would that your afflicted country, which was once happy and flourishing, had many Princes like you !

Your Lordship may rest in the sure hope that the toils and perils which are your portion will not fail of a great reward from God. The Vicar of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Pope Paul V, rejoiced exceedingly when he was told of your Lordship's worth, and he willingly granted the petition made to him by Father John in your name. As for myself, it was with the very greatest pleasure that I undertook the task of seeing the business carried through as expeditiously as possible. Good-bye, your Lordship, and God aiding you, may you

[1] *Epistolae familiares*, lxxxi, pp. 181–183.

fight might and main against the enemies of the Church and enjoy a glorious victory.[1]

When the zealous Archduke Ferdinand was elected Emperor in 1619 Blessed Robert's joy was so great that he could not wait until the end of the retreat which he was making at the time before giving it expression. His lyrical letter went off from the Jesuit Novitiate, Rome, 14 September 1619:

Your Sacred Majesty,

My heart bounded with delight within me when I heard of your happy election as head of the Holy Roman Empire, and my joy was all the greater because it was clear that the Providence of God, for the good of the Holy Catholic Church, had broken down and scattered every unseen obstacle which the devils of Hell could throw in your way and every visible difficulty which heretics and false Christians could raise up against you.

To the great God, to His only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Redeemer, and to the whole Court of Heaven, be glory and praise evermore. May the King of Heaven grant your Imperial Majesty a long life, and complete victory over all your enemies. . . . To every one of us, the humble servants of your Majesty, it would be the greatest of pleasures to see you crowned here at Rome by the Sovereign Pontiff, who holds on earth the place of His Divine Majesty, the King of kings. . . . There is not one of us but would gladly give his life for your sake, for all recognize you as the Father of your country and the defender and steadfast champion of our holy Faith. I must say no more for fear I should weary your Majesty, but pray remember that I shall ever be your most faithful and humble servant with all my heart.[2]

During the first or Palatinate period of the Thirty Years' War, which was all of the struggle that Bellarmine lived to see, his hero of heroes was the brave and chivalrous captain

[1] *Epistolae familiares*, cxliii, pp. 328–329.

[2] *L.c.*, clx, pp. 364–366. That Blessed Robert's enthusiasm about Ferdinand was not without solid grounds may be seen from the following estimate of Professor Gardiner: 'He [Ferdinand] knew of but one fountain of justice and order—the Church of Rome. To a life-long struggle against that which was in his eyes the root of all evil, Ferdinand devoted himself by a pilgrimage to Loretto. Yet it would-be wrong to speak of him as an ordinary persecutor. He never put himself forward as a general extirpator of heresy. He never displayed any personal animosity against heretics. His own nature was kindly and forgiving, and he was, by disposition, inclined to peace. . . . In maintaining his position he was as fearless as he was incapable of doubt. When called upon to face a raging multitude, he would be as calm as if he were standing in the midst of a circle of devoted friends.' *History of England*, vol. III, pp. 268–269.

of the Catholic League, Maximilian of Bavaria.[1] The lawless Protestant aristocracy of Bohemia had chosen Frederick to be King of the country in August 1619 instead of its rightful sovereign Ferdinand, and the irresolute, muddle-headed Elector Palatine had been rash and stupid enough to accept the fateful crown. Before Duke Maximilian took the field against the usurper, Bellarmine wrote to counsel and encourage him in an enterprise that vitally concerned the welfare of the Catholic cause :

Most Serene and Potent Prince, well loved by God,

The letter from your Highness rejoiced my soul. As from the first beginnings of the Lutheran heresy the House of Bavaria held high the banner of Catholicism, and as its Sovereigns have been the only ones, if I mistake not, who have kept their territories free from the dreadful contagion of false doctrine, so now with God's help that same noble House will not only preserve its own dominions, but, at the head of the Catholic League, will deliver many other lands from the plague of heresy. Even though the Gates of Hell be opened wide and the Kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary be confident in their united strength of their ability to overthrow Jerusalem, the Holy City, it is not difficult for the Lord of Hosts to shield His servants from all danger.

One thing, however, is necessary above all others, and it is that the soldiers of Christ should have the honour of God and the safety of the Church as their single aim. Before taking the field they should have their sins washed away by Confession and their souls strengthened by Holy Communion. I will put before you two examples of the results of such religious preparations. William of Tyre records in the sixth book of his *Holy War* [2] that innumerable pagans were put to flight by a handful of Christians who had been to Confession and Holy Communion.[3] Similarly, Paulus Aemilius

[1] Even Professor Gardiner, who was not too sympathetic towards Maximilian, admitted that ' like Ferdinand, [he] was a man of deep and sincere piety . . . but unlike Ferdinand, he had the statesman's capacity for holding the thread of complicated affairs in the grasp of a strong intellect. . . . He was never in a hurry ; but when the time for action came, it was certain to be found that everything had been done that human ingenuity could devise to secure success. As one of his political opponents expressed it, whatever he did " had hands and feet." . . . His people were happy and contented under his rule. He had the best filled treasury and the best appointed army in Germany. The general at the head of his forces, the Walloon Tilly, was one of the ablest commanders in Europe.' *History of England*, vol. III, pp. 317, 318.

[2] *Belli sacri historia*, by William, Archbishop of Tyre in 1180. The book is a history of the Crusades and was published at Basel in 1594.

[3] The event alluded to here was the successful sally and complete victory of the Christians at Antioch, under the leadership of Peter the Hermit.

relates in his *De rebus gestis Francorum* [1] that 100,000 heretics were slain by Simon Corvitus,[2] who was at the head of only 8,000 Catholics. The Catholics, however, had all been fortified by Confession and Holy Communion before the engagement. Further, it is well known that your saintly ancestor, the Emperor Henry II, won many victories because he used to strengthen his army before battle with the Heavenly Sacraments.

But I must not be more diffuse. I beg the great, good God from my heart to direct and to protect your Serene Highness and the other Catholic Princes and to grant you a glorious victory over the enemies of the Faith.

Rome, 16 *July* 1620.[3]

Duke Maximilian was evidently deeply attached to the old Cardinal whom he had never seen, and answered his letter from the battlefield. In Bellarmine's next communication, we hear again about the Protestant John George of Saxony, a gallant soldier, and bluff, hearty person, whose famous potations were apparently unknown to Blessed Robert or there would certainly have been a little lecture about them :

Most Serene Prince and ever victorious General,

I was exceedingly delighted with the good news which your Highness deigned to write to me. I hear that the whole of a vast province has been subdued in so short a time that your Highness might well cry, *Veni, vidi, vici.* I am in good hopes that we shall soon be able to apply to Bohemia the words spoken by the holy and valiant King of Israel : ' I will pursue after my enemies and overtake them : and I will not turn again until they are consumed. I will break them, and they shall not be able to stand : they shall fall under my feet.' [4]

One great desire I cherish is to see the Duke of Saxony return to the true faith, now that he is leagued with so many Catholic and religious Princes, vigorously supporting the most Christian Emperor and fighting against the heretical and forsworn Bohemians. I hear on good authority that he does not hate the Sovereign Pontiff as do other Protestants, and that he is fond of the company of that excellent and most prudent man, the Bishop of Warzburg and Bamberg.[5] Would that in reward for his benevolence the Holy Ghost might bestow upon him the gift of the true faith ! . . .

[1] Published at Basel in 1569.

[2] Simon de Montfort. The reference is to the battle of Muret in 1213 between de Montfort and the Albigenses under Peter II of Aragon and Raymond of Toulouse.

[3] *Epistolae familiares*, clxviii, pp. 381–383.

[4] *Ps.* xvii, 38–39.

[5] John Godfrey von Aschhausen, one of Blessed Robert's dearest friends. *Vide infra*, pp. 299–301.

If I could but soon hear of these two things, the complete pacification of the Holy Roman Empire and the conversion of the Duke of Saxony, then would I, who am an old man of almost eighty years, gladly sing my *Nunc dimittis*. I must not trouble my Lord any longer, but I shall not cease imploring God to grant that he may gather a rich harvest from the heavy labours which he has so long borne for the Holy Empire.

Rome, 10 *September* 1620.[1]

On the octave of All Saints, 8 November 1620, Duke Maximilian won an overwhelming victory in the famous battle of the White Hill, Prague. Within a week Bellarmine was writing his congratulations :

Your Highness does me too great an honour by your frequent letters. Not only do they honour me, but they also afford keen pleasure to many to whom I show them. All are very solicitous about the issue of the War, and it is a great delight to them in their anxiety to hear read the letters of a great Prince whose news, they can be sure, is not rumour but the truth. Some people, I may say, write to tell us, not what had taken place, but what they would like to have taken place and which they seem to believe as if it were accurate in every detail.

But passing over such gossip, I must tell you that I have the greatest pity for the soldiers and pray for them every day. Though I was never a soldier myself I have very often seen war at close quarters and witnessed the hardships of those who do the fighting. As a boy in Italy, a young man in Belgium, and a grown-up man in France, I have seen the dying slaughtered in cold blood, and have myself tasted the torments of siege and starvation. I will not say anything about the many crimes and iniquities which I have either beheld committed with my own eyes, or have heard of from others, by men who died shortly after in battle and found themselves in Hell before they had begun to think of preparing for their judgment. It is such happenings as these that make me respect and venerate those religious generals and commanders who teach their men by word and example how to shed the blood of the enemy without offence to God, and who inspire them to lay down their own lives for the cause of justice and religion.

St. Bernard, writing to the Templars, praises such conduct marvellously in words as sweet as honey. ' Go forward, soldiers,' he says, ' go forward with intrepid courage and drive back the enemies of the Cross of Christ, certain that neither death nor life can separate you from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus, and repeating to yourselves in every danger : Whether we live or whether we die, we are the Lord's. How glorious is the conqueror's return

[1] *Epistolae familiares*, clxix, pp. 384–386.

from battle, how blessed are the martyrs who do not return! Rejoice, brave soldier, if you survive and conquer in the Lord, but rejoice and glory still more if you die and are joined to the Lord. Life, indeed, is fruitful and victory a splendid thing, but death by sacred right is to be preferred to both, for if blessed are those who die in the Lord, are not they to be accounted more blessed far who die for the Lord?'[1]

This and much more did St. Bernard write about the war of the Christians against the infidels, and it is all quite applicable to a war of Catholics against heretics. But I must not detain your Highness any longer with my talk as you have much weightier and more important things to think about. I sincerely hope that you are very well and that you may gloriously conquer the enemies of God's Majesty and the Emperor's.

Rome, 14 *November* 1620.[2]

7. Blessed Robert's correspondence was so multifarious that it is difficult to give an orderly impression of its contents. The weighty concerns of princes form only one department of it. He was, besides, in constant communication with learned men or men who wrote books, all over Europe. Baronius turned to him for advice in 1607 about the famous Donation of Constantine, as he apparently did not know what exactly to say about it in his *Annales*. He doubted the authenticity of the document, but was wondering whether it would be wise to give open expression to his doubts. Bellarmine encouraged him to hold out:

I am of opinion that your Lordship ought not to change anything and Cardinal du Perron, I am sure, will give you the same advice. When the Pope spoke to me in the consistory about the Donation . . . I told him that there were no grounds for believing it to be genuine. . . . His Holiness said that all the canonists held it to be authentic and consequently that he did not wish it to be treated as doubtful. Then Dom Constantine, the Benedictine, came to me bringing a small work written in favour of the Donation. When I had read it I told him that it did not prove anything at all. . . .

The Cardinal next informs Baronius that the Pope had afterwards studied his essay and had not shown himself displeased with it, the reason being, it would seem, because Bellarmine was at his Holiness's elbow to supply a judicious commentary and answer objections. Accordingly Baronius

[1] *De Laude novae militiae, ad milites Templi*, Migne, P. L., clxxxii col., 922.

[2] *Epistolae familiares*, clxxii, pp. 391–394.

might proceed confidently with his work without changing or omitting anything.[1]

In 1609 Père Coton, the confessor of Henry IV, was in communication with the Cardinal about his well-known book, the *Institution Catholique*. The idea of this work had been suggested by King Henry himself. It was in the nature of an appeal to the Huguenots, suggesting a '*voye d'accord*' by which they might be persuaded to come to terms with the Church. In his efforts to conciliate prejudice, Coton did not in the least minimize or gloss over the peremptory claims of Catholicism, but for all that his book was denounced in Rome as being neither Huguenot nor Catholic, but 'of a third kind of religion'. Paul V accordingly had it translated into Italian and submitted to the revisers of the Holy Office. In the midst of the trouble, it must have been a profound relief for its zealous author to receive the following words of encouragement from Bellarmine:

Your Reverence's letter dated the feast of SS. Simon and Jude [October 28] reached me on the octave of St. Stephen the Protomartyr. Consequently it was on pilgrimage for more than two months, and really it deserves to be pitied because it must needs have been over many a rough and snow-swept road. So elegant and polished a letter merited, instead of such treatment, to have been borne on the wings of the wind direct to the towers of Rome.

I wish I could have read the entire work in French, but I have had to content myself with only the earlier part, which has been translated into Italian. From this, however, I was enabled to form an estimate of the beauty and value of the rest. I have also seen what the censor had to say about the book. Father Richeome has been translating your complete text for myself and the Cardinal of Ascoli, and with the aid of his explanations we have been able to express our opinion about the censor's criticisms.

I hope that the book will prove of the greatest utility, especially as it is the work of one so single-minded as your Reverence, who has no other aim but to do the will of God; and I pray Him to grant that you may taste the fruit of such excellent labours in this life, and that in the next, He would give to both of us to put our lips to the fountain-head of wisdom and be for ever satiated with its joy.[2]

Blessed Robert's intervention settled for good the contro-

[1] Laemmer, *Meletematum Romanorum Mantissa*, Ratisbonne, 1875, p. 364.

[2] *Epistolae familiares*, lxii, pp. 143–144. An interesting letter from Bellarmine to Herbert Rosweyde, S.J., the founder of the Bollandists, about his great hagiographical project, maybe seen in the *Acta Sanctorum*, for October, t. VII, p. 1.

versy about Coton's book, but Coton was only one man out of a hundred who turned to him for help and advice. In 1610 Father Michael Walpole,[1] the brother of the martyred Father Henry, wrote to him about a work on the Apocalypse called *Antichrist Extant*, which he had composed in answer to Bishop Downham. Father Michael had ventured to disagree in a few points with Blessed Robert's opinions about 'The Beast' as set forth in the *Controversies*, and in his letter modestly excused himself for such presumption. The Cardinal soon set him at his ease on that score:

Very Reverend Father,

I do not think so much of myself as to wish that other writers should swear by my words, so your Reverence will not offend me in the least if you follow opinions which differ from mine. . . .

After this introduction, Blessed Robert sets off on a defence of his views in the friendliest and most humble spirit, and concludes his letter thus:

Summa est, utatur Reverentia vestra jure suo, et pugnet pro gloria Dei, et utilitate Ecclesiae. Ille mecum facit qui adversarios fidei refellit. Non quaero gloriam meam, sed Christi. Valeat Reverentia vestra, mei memor in sanctis precibus suis.[2]

Sometimes there is a distinct note of sadness in the letters, as in the following to a good German priest who had asked for the Cardinal's help about some parochial affair:

Your letter breathes the spirit of true piety. If there were many others informed with the same spirit both in Germany and here at home in Italy, it would be easy to effect needed reforms in the Church. . . . You and those of the same mind as you need have no fear but that God the just Judge will reward your holy desires. But I am afraid that you will not see them fulfilled in our day, for the evils which you deplore are rampant here in Italy also, and cause us to lament continually before God.

There is just a small ray of hope that some solid remedy may be applied, but up to the present I have not had a good opportunity of speaking with the Holy Father about the matter. I will get a chance soon, I think, but I have very little hope of seeing anything come of my efforts because the evil is too strongly rooted. Good-bye, dear and most deserving friend.'[3]

[1] English names were a great puzzle to James Fuligatti, the editor of the Cardinal's letters. Walpole in his index is transmogrified into *Voalpilus*!

[2] *Epistolae familiares*, lxxvii, pp. 173–176.

[3] *L.c.*, lxxviii, pp. 176–177.

Even people who were not sympathetic towards the Society of Jesus felt that Bellarmine's heart was wide enough to find a place for them in their troubles. Among such was the well-known English Catholic exile, William Gifford. In 1598 his name had headed the list of the English Catholics in Flanders who were opposed to the signing of a memorial in favour of the English Jesuits.[1] Eight years later Dr. William, who had become Dean of St. Peter's, Lille, was in difficulties with the Bishop of Tournai, his diocesan. The Bishop claimed the right of jurisdiction over St. Peter's, but the clergy of that parish under the leadership of Gifford, maintained that the right belonged exclusively to the Papal Nuncio at Brussels. Both parties appealed to the Holy See, and Gifford at the same time addressed himself to Bellarmine, whose pupil he had once been, to enlist his sympathies. The Cardinal answered him immediately :

Illustrious and very Reverend Sir,

I sincerely compassionate your Reverence, and as soon as ever I received your letter and the memorial directed to our Holy Father, Paul V, I sought out His Holiness and recommended you personally to him, leaving the paper in his hands. He replied that he had charged his Nuncio at the Court of the Archduke to make diligent inquiries into the whole affair.

I have been told that your Reverence is not very well affected towards the Fathers of our Society. It is no small trial that fellow-labourers in the Lord's vineyard should be so at odds in their mutual relations as to hinder each other's work. Perhaps the trouble in which your Reverence is now involved is a secret visitation of Divine Providence. I do not assert anything positively nor ought I to pass judgment on mere rumour, but I exhort you as once having been my child, and a very dear one too,[2] that if there has been any fault on your side, you hasten to make amends for it. Thus, by the grace of God, a way will be opened for bringing relief to you in your present misfortune. My best wishes to your Reverence, and do not forget me in your prayers.[3]

8. The class of men with whom Bellarmine had most frequent dealings were the Catholic bishops in various parts of the world. His high conception of their office and his thorough appreciation of the difficulties with which they were so frequently confronted had bred in his soul the warmest sympathy

[1] Cf. *Records of the English Catholics*, Douay Diaries, p. 408.
[2] 'Et quidem carissimum.'
[3] *Epistolae familiares*, I, pp. 110–111.

with them, and they, conscious of his regard, turned to him in their troubles without the slightest misgiving.

In the year 1610 the Bishop of Verdun, Prince Eric of Lorraine, whom Bellarmine greatly loved, resigned his See in order to enter a monastery. His nephew, Charles of Lorraine, was then nominated his successor, but as he was only eighteen years old, it was arranged that he should not be consecrated nor exercise episcopal functions until he was thirty. Charles does not seem to have been much impressed, at first, by the dignity for which he was destined, and went off to have a gay time in Paris. However, both Francis de Sales and Bellarmine were soon on his track, and their exhortations bore such fruit that like his uncle he became a model bishop, and after some years of zealous work in his diocese resigned in order to satisfy his hunger for self-effacement in a religious community.

Charles was a lovable young fellow, and Bellarmine, to whom he looked as to a father, reciprocated his affection. When he had to lecture him he did it with ever so gentle a pen, feeling all the time that he was dealing with a spirited character in which there were immense capacities for good. The following letter, dated 14 May 1611, must have made gay Charles thoughtful:

What your Lordship so holily promises me in your letter is just exactly what I myself promised the Pope a long time ago, sure as I was of your gifts and goodness. That we may not be put to shame when the Prince of Pastors appears to demand an account of the flocks committed to our care, it is necessary in the first place that your Lordship should apply yourself with all earnestness to the study of sacred theology. Then the next thing necessary is that you should teach others with tireless zeal all that you have learned, and feed and rule your people by example as well as by word.

As I quoted the example of St. Louis, Bishop of Toulouse, to the Holy Father in order to persuade him to confirm your appointment in spite of your being so young, it is only right that your Lordship should fix your eyes on this Saint and endeavour to imitate one whose youth was at once so thoroughly austere and so mature. Or if you prefer examples nearer our own time, look at Saint Charles Borromeo, who was made Archbishop of Milan at the age of twenty-two, and who, wise 'above old men', has glorified the whole Church with the marvellous splendour of his sanctity. Or again if you prefer to take a model nearer home, there is Blessed Peter of Luxemburg who, when he was named Bishop of Metz, though only a boy of fifteen, bore himself so well as to deserve that God should glorify him after his death by miracles

Your Lordship will forgive me if I seem overbold in my exhortations and admonitions, for I must confess to you that it was not without fear and trembling that I advised the Pope to place over a diocese one so young as yourself, though otherwise you are of such excellent character and ability. Many and great are the perils that hang over young men who are set in high positions of trust and honour. Your Lordship will then, I am sure, take in good part all that I have ventured to write to you, as it proceeds from the well-meaning heart of one most eagerly anxious for your salvation and eternal glory. If you think that I can be of service to you in any way, command me freely.[1]

Blessed Robert's zeal for the Catholic cause brought him in 1609 into close connection with the new Prince Bishop of Bamberg, Godfrey von Aschhausen. For many years previously, the See, which was counted one of the most important in Germany, had been held by a man entirely unworthy of his trust, for not only was his life a scandal but everybody knew that he had decided leanings to Lutheranism.[2] After his death in 1609, von Aschhausen, who was then Provost of the Cathedral of Wurzburg, was elected as his successor and wrote immediately to tell Bellarmine the news. The answer he received was as follows :

A Domino factum est istud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris. The news of your Lordship's election has given joy to the entire City of God. We had long wept over the oppression of the Diocese of Bamberg and begged God for the succour which we could not ourselves provide. Our merciful Lord has granted our desires in fuller measure than we had asked or could have hoped for, and it only remains now for Him who has begun the good work in you to perfect it, to give glory to the See of Bamberg through your labours in this present time that in the Day of the Lord you may receive from the Prince of Pastors a crown that will never fade.

As to the hastening of the business with which you have entrusted me and the remission or reduction of the expenses, I have treated very earnestly with our Holy Father, Paul V, and with the heads of the Sacred College about these matters. The Sovereign Pontiff promised me quick dispatch, and this very day he has fulfilled his promise in the consistory. What is to happen about the reduction or remission of the charges I am not quite certain, but this much I can assure you that I used every possible means of persuasion of which I could think in order to bring about a decision favourable to your

[1] *Epistolae familiares*, lxxxiv, pp. 188–190.

[2] Cf. *Zeitschrift für Baiern*, 1 Jan. 1816, pp. 19–35 : Berichtigung der Lebensgeschichte Johann Philipps Bischofs zu Bamberg, 1599–1609. Also Laemmer's *Meletematum Romanorum Mantissa*, p. 435.

Lordship. My very heartiest good wishes to you, and if you think there is anything else I can do for you I am entirely at your disposal.[1]

On the same day, 4 November 1609, on which he addressed the foregoing letter to the Bishop, Blessed Robert dispatched two commendatory letters to the Dukes of Bavaria, William and Maximilian. In the second, to Maximilian, the flame of his zeal is very evident:

What am I to say to you about the Bishop-elect of Bamberg? Truly I experienced an incredible joy in my heart, and returned my humblest thanks to God for so marked a favour of His goodness. I had been kept well informed by trustworthy friends about the calamities of the church of Bamberg, and the bad life and lame faith of its late pastor, and many a time have I warned the Holy Father. Just when we were considering what remedies to apply to such great evils, it pleased the Divine Goodness to anticipate our designs and to bring the whole trouble to the best possible conclusion.

I at once spoke to the Pope and to my illustrious colleagues in favour of the swift confirmation of the election, and the reduction of expenses. . . . In such a good cause, I think everything ought to be remitted, and I have left nothing unsaid which I considered might help to persuade his Holiness and the others in the matter. . . .[2]

The Cardinal took the new Bishop to his heart completely and did everything in his power to help him with the hard task of reform which had been given him. Letters passed between them constantly, the following being one which Bellarmine wrote shortly after Bishop Godfrey's appointment:

Most illustrious Prince and Right Reverend Lord,

What I did in the matter of the Provostship was a keen pleasure for me, but it was not of such importance as to call for a letter of thanks and so to give an excellent Bishop the labour of writing when he has much more weighty business to engage his attention. Still, as you have written, nothing could be more agreeable to me than to write in reply to one whom I regard as a man sent by God. I have never had the pleasure of meeting Godfrey, Prince Bishop of Bamberg, but as I know him well by his deeds, I love and revere him ardently, and I ever pray God who put you, at so opportune a moment, over a See that was fast falling into ruin, to keep you safe and sound for many years, to direct and protect you, and at last,

[1] *Epistolae familiares*, lxv, pp. 149–150.
[2] *L.c.*, lxvii, pp. 153–155.

when full of days and merits, to place upon your head an imperishable crown of glory.

It is not necessary for me to offer my services for they are already entirely and irrevocably at your Lordship's disposal. Good-bye and remember me in your prayers.[1]

Knowing the Cardinal's word to be his bond, Godfrey turned to him for advice and help again and again. He was never disappointed, and the most charming friendship developed between those two apostolic men who, as Blessed Robert lamented, had not yet had the joy of seeing each other face to face. Up to the day when he took to his bed never to rise again, Bellarmine was nearly always engaged transacting business for his innumerable episcopal friends in Germany, Poland, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Portugal, Italy, and various missionary countries. No task they could give him to do was ever found too long or too tedious. Indeed, he showed himself quite greedy of employment in their service and nearly all his letters to them ended with such sentences as : *Si quid in urbe possum, id, ut in obsequium tuum impendam, jure caritatis jube ; Ego vero diligenter curabo, si quid nomine vestro mihi commissum aut commendatum fuerit ; Si quid hic ego possum jubeat Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra per aliquem ex suis, vel per epistolam, et libentissime faciam.*[2] That was Blessed Robert's style, and even the little which we have been able to relate of his dealings with bishops shows how sincerely his words were intended. The dream of his life was to see holy bishops everywhere in the Church. To one such, Monseigneur de Villars, Archbishop of Vienne, he wrote on 20 November 1611 :

Your letter gladdened my soul, for I had long been wishing to hear some news of so worthy a Pastor whose zeal, piety, and excellent eloquence, have very often been the subject of my admiration. My religious brethren who came from France to Rome for the congregation of procurators told me that an ardent zeal for God's glory, and love for the neighbour are still strong in your heart, though your bodily frame is now nearly worn out with age. Had the Church many archbishops like you, things would soon improve.

[1] *Epistolae familiares*, lxxxii, pp. 184–185.

[2] *L.c.*, pp. 99, 263, 375. This collection of Bellarmine's letters represents only a small fraction of his correspondence between the years 1600 and 1621. As Fuligatti, the editor of the collection, expressed it : *Habes hoc volumine epistolas aliquot Cardinalis Bellarmini, hoc est, ex optimo et fecundissimo agro fruges paucas et fortuitas.* Some thousands of the Cardinal's letters have never been edited.

The same Fathers told me that the Society which bears the name of Jesus had few friends by whom it was better beloved than his Grace, the Archbishop of Vienne. All this is to me a subject of immense joy, and also of gratitude to God and to your Grace. If there was any little service I could do for you here in Rome, it would give me the greatest pleasure if you would let me know. I would do all in my power to prove how much I esteem and love you. . . .[1]

The Archbishop of Vienne's great friend, St. Francis de Sales, was Bellarmine's ideal of a pastor of souls, and St. Francis, on his side, had long since recognized in the Cardinal the greatest gift of God to His Church in that age. For the present we may content ourselves with referring to the famous letter that went from Annecy to Rome, 10 July 1616. That letter is singularly interesting for the light which it throws upon the early history of the Order of the Visitation, but it is much too long to give in full. It opens as follows :

To the Illustrious Cardinal Bellarmine.

Very Illustrious and most Reverend Lord most worthy to be honoured by me in Christ. Though unknown to the world and to Rome, I address myself confidently to a Cardinal well known and well loved by the world and by Rome.

Having thus introduced himself, the Saint goes on to tell how he had founded at Annecy and Lyons two congregations of unmarried ladies and widows, who, though they were not enclosed and did not take solemn vows, yet practised all the virtues of the religious life. The Archbishop of Lyons had considered that it would be advisable to give these ladies the standing of real nuns by providing them with a rule and introducing solemn vows and enclosure. St. Francis had taken the advice and was anxious to obtain the approbation of the Holy See for his plans. Continuing, he tells Bellarmine, after alluding to 'the wondrous, sweet readiness to obey' of his two communities, that the ladies had a few special customs which they did not want to surrender :

They have just three special practices of piety to which they are particularly attached. . . . These do not seem to my way of thinking to be incompatible with enclosure or the religious state, and according to those well acquainted with French affairs they seem to help on piety rather than to diminish it. The first [exemption which they hope for] is that they should not be bound to recite the clerical or Great Office, but merely the Little Office of the ever

[1] *Epistolae familiares*, lxxxviii, pp. 197–198.

Blessed Virgin. The reason of this wish on their part is because in their congregations grown-up women are very often received who scarcely ever or never could learn the Great Office with all its rubrics.

Besides, they are accustomed to say the short Office of the Blessed Virgin with great distinctness as to voice, accentuation, and pauses, a thing they could never do if they had to recite a longer office. This is the more deserving of consideration because of all the women in the world, there are none who pronounce Latin worse than do the French, so they would be utterly unable to observe the laws of accents, quantities, and right pronunciation, if the Lessons and Psalms were constantly to be changing. It is, indeed, lamentable to find in most convents such ignorance of pronunciation as sometimes causes even devout persons to smile, while it scandalizes and provokes to mirth people of irreligious minds and those tainted with heresy.

The next practice for which St. Francis wants Bellarmine to obtain the sanction of the Pope is that of allowing widows in secular dress to live within the convent walls. The Saint pleads very earnestly on behalf of this custom because, as he puts it, ' in this country men so worry even pious widows with their attentions that however much they may want to do so, it is almost impossible for them to live according to the spirit of true widowhood.' Finally, Francis would very much like to obtain the Pope's approval for the admission of married ladies to the convents that they might pass some days in retreat. Then the huge letter ends as follows :

Pour moi, éminentissime Cardinal, c'est à votre unique intercession que j'ai recours. Vous êtes, en effet, le seul membre de cet auguste Collège apostolique que j'aie l'honneur de connaître ; et étant à même d'apprécier parfaitement nos affaires de ce côté des Alpes, vous pouvez faire entendre aux autres que le progrès des choses divines doit être procuré, ici d'une manière, là d'une autre, selon les différences de moeurs et de pays. Enfin, comme garant de votre commisération à l'égard des âmes dévotes, j'ai votre dernier-né et tant aimable Benjamin ; ce qui ne me laisse aucun doute.[1]

Blessed Robert's ' last-born and lovable Benjamin ' was probably the little spiritual treatise which appeared in 1615 under the title, *De Ascensione Mentis ad Deum.* Its author appears to have been perplexed by the question of the ' virgins and widows ', as there were certain legal technicalities to be

[1] *Oeuvres de saint François de Sales,* Annecy éd., t. XVII, pp. 238 sqq.

observed in the transaction of such business, and St. Francis had not made the necessary arrangements :

VERY REVEREND AND HONOURED LORD,

Though perchance your Lordship is known to few in Rome your many and great virtues have been thoroughly well known by me for a very long time. And not to me only but to our Holy Father also is known your Reverend Lordship's pastoral zeal and charity towards your flock.

As to the business of the unmarried ladies and widows which you have entrusted to me, I am completely at a loss to know what to do, because, as far as I am aware, no official advocate has been appointed to undertake the legal part of the matter. Then again, I feel quite certain that you will never obtain the confirmation of the two communities as a true religious Order while the three conditions you mention remain. Nevertheless, I am most willing to further your Lordship's plan by every means in my power, if in compliance with the regulations someone will appear and register an official supplication on your behalf. I have not been visited by any one so far, and I am at a loss to know whom I may entrust with the present letter.

Meantime, however, I will tell your Lordship the kind of advice I would myself follow if the affair were mine. I would let well alone and keep these ladies in the state in which they now are ; for there were nuns in the Church, both in the East and the West, before the time of Boniface VIII, . . . who were not so enclosed in convents that they could not go out when necessary. Your Lordship knows that simple vows are just as binding before God and of just as much merit as solemn ones. It was Pope Boniface who introduced by an ecclesiastical law both solemn vows and enclosure. Even at the present day we have here in Rome a flourishing convent for ladies of noble birth, founded by St. Frances, in which there are neither solemn vows nor enclosure. If, then, in your country, unmarried persons and widows lead such holy lives without being enclosed or professed and at the same time can be of such service to people in the world, I do not see why this mode of life need be changed. Such is my opinion but I willingly submit it to better judgments.

While I was engaged writing to your Lordship, I received a second letter from you about the Avignon business. I will use my utmost endeavours on your behalf. Good-bye now, your Lordship, and remember me in your holy prayers.[1]

9. In 1607, Robert Ubaldini, the *Maestro di Camera* of Paul V, had been appointed to the See of Bellarmine's native town, Montepulciano. The two Roberts were great friends,

[1] *Epistolae familiares*, cxxxviii, pp. 314–317.

so when Ubaldini, who was a zealous and conscientious man, was ordered to France to act as Papal Nuncio at the Court of Henry IV, he begged Bellarmine to undertake the administration of his diocese in his absence. The Cardinal agreed willingly, as such work had far greater attractions for him than the official business, often of a secular nature, to which he had almost daily to devote his attention, but he stipulated that he was not to be put under an obligation of justice but only of charity, in the fulfilment of his new charge.

The reason why he laid down this condition and even insisted on its being mentioned in the Brief of his appointment was because he knew that he would not be permitted to reside permanently in the diocese. He firmly intended to go there as often as possible, and was looking forward to some of the apostolic joy of his Capuan days, but he reckoned without Pope Paul. When, after all had been arranged, he hinted to the Pope that Montepulciano ought to have an early visit from its administrator, he was met, to his dismay, with a polite but definite refusal. If he wished to go to his native town for rest or change, Paul told him, he was most welcome to do so, but he must not go there to work. Hearing these woods, the poor Cardinal began to lament that he had accepted the trust at all. However, it was too late to draw back, so he vowed that he would at least try to do through others what he was prevented from doing in person.

Then began a period of tremendous activity. The city on the hill which had given him birth and nurture was in the Cardinal's thoughts from morning to night. He hunted round Rome until he found a man whom he could thoroughly trust, and him he then dispatched to investigate and bring back with speed a full and careful account of the state of affairs in the diocese. After the report had been studied and prayed over most earnestly, a work of reformation and renovation was started in Montepulciano comparable to that which had been carried through so wonderfully in Capua. Each parish priest was sent a copy of the Cardinal's smaller Catechism and Explanation of the Creed, with strict injunctions to hold classes in Christian doctrine every Sunday. The clergy in general received constant, lovingly-worded exhortations to zeal and diligence in God's service, the discipline of the many religious houses was carefully regulated and strengthened, and the spiritual life of the diocese as a whole was stimulated into new fervour.

No man is a prophet in his own country. 'The Cardinal,' wrote his Vicar-General, 'met with opposition which was an exceedingly sore trial to his patience and goodness of heart. . . . Every wise scheme which he sought to put into operation was thwarted and criticized by malcontents, and he was kept in continual trouble during the whole four years of his administration.' His efforts to increase the slender endowments of the diocesan chapter were so much resented by a few meddlesome laymen that they lodged a charge against the Cardinal with the Nuncio in Florence, and enlisted the influence of the Grand Duke's ministers on their side. Bellarmine was then compelled to write to the Dowager Grand Duchess, Christina of Lorraine, to beg for her intercession.

That, however, was only one incident in the sad story. The clergy too caused the Cardinal much anxiety, for some fierce quarrelling went on among them. He had to write to their superior to beg him to moderate his language, as this good man was reported to have angrily told a colleague in the course of a heated argument that 'he had better shut up if he didn't want to burst'[1]. The other man thereupon so far forgot himself as to spit in the arch-priest's face. Bellarmine wrote to inform him that he had incurred excommunication by such an outrage, but his letter was treated with contempt by the culprit. A second letter followed, almost miraculously patient in view of the contumely with which its venerable writer had been used by a young cleric whose most striking gift appears to have been unlimited impudence. The last section of it runs as follows:

You say at the close of your letter that you will claim from God the reward of your good deeds, and leave your revenge in His hands. In the same place you protest your innocence and express a wish that God may take vengeance on me for having judged you wrongfully. I may say in answer that you need not wait so long for the vengeance you desire, for you can demand it from the Pope or from the Sacred Congregation of Bishops, by appealing to them against my sentence. I shall not take it ill if my sentence be reversed, though I must warn you that I believe it would only be confirmed to your still greater discomfiture.

As to what you write with regard to the evil deeds of the Archpriest, I answer that they have either not happened during my term of office or have not been made known to me. When they are proved to me juridically, I shall not fear to look any man in the face.

[1] 'Bisognava che tu ci stia o crepi.'

This is what occurs to me at present. As soon as you think well to write to me acknowledging your sin and asking for forgiveness, you will find me ready to grant you not that favour only but many others besides.[1]

Shortly after the dispatch of this letter, certain clerics came to Rome on a legitimate appeal about some matter that concerned the municipal authorities of Montepulciano. The civil courts of the town had then ordered the arrest of their relatives, and so drew upon themselves a strong expostulation from the much-tried Cardinal. He reminded the officials implicated that they had incurred the censures of the Church, but finding that he was unable to enforce his demands and feeling that it was his duty not to give way, he at last placed his resignation in the hands of the Pope on 14 October 1611.[2]

A little while earlier, his brother Thomas had pressed him to come and spend a month or two at his house, assuring him that his good work for the city made all the people want to 'put a crown upon his head'. The Cardinal's sad answer was that there was no need for him to go there to receive such an honour, for Montepulciano had crowned him already—with thorns.[3]

10. Montepulciano, then, the little city which he loved so well, supplied Blessed Robert's life-story with its biggest incident of failure. A much more famous city, the small but gallant Republic of Lucca, provided him with the opportunity for his greatest success in ecclesiastical diplomacy. It was an achievement which in the secular sphere would have made the fame of any ambassador, so we have no hesitation in giving it

[1] *Summarium additionale*, pp. 77–80.

[2] *Episcopal archives of Montepulciano*. This collection of documents contains an interesting and rather pathetic account of Bellarmine's later labours on behalf of the Cathedral chapter. They wanted new constitutions, and when Bellarmine was appointed by the Pope in 1613 to draw these up, they engaged solemnly to stand by whatever he should ordain. Blessed Robert took infinite pains over the matter, only to find his work set aside when completed, by the Pope himself. The reason for the Holy Father's action was somewhat curious. Bellarmine's constitutions differed a good deal from earlier ones that had been drawn up by his uncle, Marcello Cervini. Times had changed and Blessed Robert thought that new regulations were needed about many things, but Pope Paul was very conservative and did not wish anything altered that had been settled by one who had worn the tiara. When writing to inform the Chapter about the frustration of his labours, Bellarmine said simply: 'I cannot wish to pit my ideas against the ideas of so saintly and learned a Cardinal as was Cardinal Santa Croce [Marcello Cervini], nor do I want at all to oppose my views to those of his Holiness, who stands to us in the place of God.'

[3] Fuligatti, *Vita*, pp. 237 sqq.

the space that it deserves. The circumstances that led up to his intervention were as follows. Three members of the same family had ruled the See of Lucca for more than sixty years. In 1600 Monsignor Alexander Guidiccioni resigned his charge in favour of a nephew of the same name whose known goodness and generosity soon won for him the affection of his flock.

At first the *Signori* also were devoted to their new Bishop, for he was a close friend of the Farnese, the protectors of their little Republic. As time went on, however, a source of friction between Guidiccioni and the civil authorities was provided by a number of German silk-weavers, Lutherans in belief, who had settled down within the narrow but rich and fertile dominions of the State. The civil authorities were glad to have them for the sake of their industry, but the zealous Bishop was justifiably afraid lest his flock might suffer contamination from their errors in doctrine. Those were troublous times, as the storm which was then brewing in Venice has shown, so the good Bishop, considering that decisive measures were necessary, made strenuous endeavours to have the Inquisition established in Lucca. The State officials were violently opposed to any such plan, and eventually they and their Bishop became completely estranged.

In 1605 Guidiccioni repaired to Rome to defend his action before the Pope, whereupon the Senate declared him an enemy of the State and suspect of treason. Paul V did all in his power to calm the ruffled tempers of their Excellencies, but so far was he from succeeding that they passed fresh decrees against the Bishop, banished him from the State for ever, and began a cruel persecution of his friends and relatives. It seemed at times as if Lucca must inevitably be lost to the Church. Year after year went by, and, though every conceivable expedient was tried by the Pope to bring about a reconciliation, the result was dismal failure. In 1613 the Prince Bishop of Bamberg, who had come to Rome that year to greet his beloved Bellarmine 'face to face' at last, tried at the Cardinal's request to make peace, on his journey back to Germany, but though he was one of the imperial Electors, the petty grandees of Lucca refused to listen to him.[1]

The deadlock eventually became so serious that many people began to think that the Bishop ought for the sake of peace to play the part of Jonas and yield to the demands of the

[1] *Archivio storico Italiano*, vol. x, Florence, 1847 : Sommario di Storia Lucchese da Carlo Minutoli.

Republic by resigning the See. The Pope reluctantly gave his consent to this proposal, but only on condition that no external pressure should be brought to bear on the Bishop. Paul then offered him the See of Viterbo or the choice of other sees with revenues equal to those of Lucca, but the steadfast victim declined absolutely, protesting that he would not have it said of him that he had been forced to resign, or that he had loved his Church only for the sake of the money it brought him.

Fifteen years had gone by since the beginning of the trouble when, in 1618, a war broke out between Lucca and the Duke of Modena. Thinking that the attention of the Senators would now be diverted into other channels, the Pope allowed Guidiccioni to leave Rome and take up his residence in a portion of the diocese of Lucca which was subject to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. The senators, however, were wary gentlemen, and immediately dispatched to Rome Lorenzo Bonvisi, one of their most influential colleagues, to protest against the return of the Bishop even to that part of his diocese which lay outside their dominions.

In the course of his embassy, Bonvisi called upon Bellarmine to see whether he could enlist the Cardinal's support on the side of the Republic. Blessed Robert was perfectly frank with him. The removal of the Bishop, he urged, would only lead to worse troubles, and no question of mere punctilio ought to be allowed to stand in the way of the spiritual good of the diocese. Besides, the Pope would never order the Bishop to resign, for, though Paul knew that Guidiccioni would be only too pleased to purchase peace by resignation, he knew too that nothing would induce him to take such a step as long as there was any appearance of undue pressure being brought to bear upon him.

Taking everything into account then, Bellarmine continued, the only way in which the Senators could effect what they desired would be by allowing the Bishop to return peacefully to his diocese. If they were generous enough to do that, the Cardinal assured the ambassador that Guidiccioni would voluntarily resign, for his own love of peace would dictate such a course, and besides, there would not be wanting good friends to urge it upon him.

The Cardinal's proposal was at first received with very mixed feelings by the Senators, but the men of good will among them eventually so far prevailed as to bring about the annulment of the standing order which forbade any one even to

propose that the Bishop should be recalled. Some Senators wrote to Bellarmine of their own accord to beg him not to abandon his interest in the affair. He was hugely delighted at this unexpected show of good feeling and immediately sat down to write a long letter to the Government:

Most Illustrious and Excellent Signors,

You will already have learned from your Ambassador by letter and then by word of mouth, how with the leave and good pleasure of our Holy Father, Pope Paul V, I have intervened in an endeavour to bring about a reconciliation between your Republic and the Bishop, who is not only your Father and Pastor, but your fellow-citizen and countryman. I think it opportune to inform you that I posted a long letter to his Lordship, the Bishop, and have received from him a reply, at once very reasonable and very religious. His letter, indeed, proves him to be as well-disposed as I could have desired, and consequently I have no grounds for complaint against him. It only remains now for God to give me the grace to propose to your Excellencies what you should do on your side, and to give you the grace to take my proposals in good part, that so you may bid for what will be most to the advantage of your subjects, your State as a whole, your city, and the diocese.

To me it appears fitting, wise, and necessary that there should be as soon as possible a real reconciliation of the sons with their Father and of the Father with his sons. Though this idea of mine may seem difficult to some at first, I trust that when you weigh the reasons which lie behind it you will see it in another light. This only do I ask as a favour from you that you should not think me a mere partisan of the Bishop or ill-affected towards the Republic, for the truth is that I want to be a friend to all, nor have I any self-interested motives either with regard to the Bishop or others of your subjects. On the contrary, I have always been and am still on terms of friendship with many gentlemen of Lucca, though they are to be found on opposite sides in this dispute.

If, then, you will honour me by assuming that I bear a true and Christian affection towards both parties, I may proceed to put before you three reasons which induce me to recommend an agreement between the Republic and its Pastor. The first reason is because the Republic considers itself offended by the Bishop, on the ground of his having made certain serious charges against it to the Pope—charges which you hold to have been quite false. Now it is well known here in Rome that the Bishop has never uttered a single malicious word nor done a single malicious deed against you. To the truth of this the Pope himself can bear witness. . . . And even if it were true that you had received some injury from the Bishop, you should surely be willing now, after the lapse of so many years, to make it up with him, and this not merely out of Christian

piety but because of the moral excellence and nobility of your characters, which are well known to me. Another matter of which I have certain knowledge, which, I believe, is shared by the whole Court here, is the good will and great affection the Bishop bears towards his country, and his zeal for the honour of God and the salvation of souls. Indeed, it was for the sake of souls that he sacrificed all his worldly chances.

To heal the sad breach between him and the Republic, which has lasted so long and done such great harm to both clergy and people, the Republic's rulers ought to be the first to invite the Bishop to return to his See, nay, to go out to meet him and to receive his holy blessing. I am sure the entire population would follow you with the greatest joy, but if you do not take this generous step the grievous injury which the people of Lucca are suffering and have been suffering for so many long years, on account of the absence of their Pastor, will undoubtedly be laid to your charge by Almighty God, because you might so easily have remedied it.

The second reason is that Monsignor, the Bishop, however much he may wish to be freed from his office, and be willing to renounce it and retire to a life of quiet, yet will never bring himself to do this so long as it might be said that he had been forced to resign. It would not be to the glory of God and of His Church, nor would it be consonant with Monsignor's personal honour, and still less with that of the Republic, to push matters to such an extreme. This I know full well, for he has talked about it to me, and revealed to me his innermost feelings. And certain it is that people would say and believe he had been compelled to abandon his See, were he ever to renounce it at a time when he was not in peaceful possession.

As soon, however, as he has been recalled and given back all his previous rights, we should have good reason to hope that in this affair as well as in other matters, he would give full satisfaction to his country. And friends would not be wanting to urge him, and to pray God to inspire him with the desire to meet your wishes, if so be that it should result in greater service of His Divine Majesty and the spiritual good of the diocese, for this should be the aim and object of every true Christian.

The third reason which occurs to me why a speedy reconciliation should be brought about, is because the present state of affairs cannot go on much longer. A large and free Christian population like that of Lucca cannot remain without its Pastor, especially as the people now know that the Bishop, by the Pope's orders, is already exercising his pastoral office in a large part of his diocese. . . . Up to the present, they have been patient because they were under the impression that their Shepherd could not or would not return. Now that they see he has come back and is ruling his flock in that part of his diocese which is subject to another sovereign, what can they say but that their own rulers are hindering their spiritual good

and keeping away from them the guide appointed by God and the Sovereign Pontiff to lead them to Heaven? . . .

Now I feel quite sure that the city of Lucca and its magistrates will decide as soon as possible to carry out everything to which they are obliged by the laws of God and of His Church, but I feel it my duty to add one thing, which is that if you wish to effect a true reconciliation you must go about the work thoroughly by reverting to the condition of affairs which prevailed before the dispute began. All the decrees passed afterwards, either against the Bishop personally or his family or with regard to his property and his diocese, ought to be completely annulled. In the same way, the standing orders should be cancelled, so that in future your legislation may not be based on merely a handful of votes.[1] The Holy Ghost is not necessarily the monopoly of a small clique, and it would be a sad thing if your Republic were to degenerate into an oligarchy. . . .

I beg and pray Almighty God to grant your most noble Republic all the prosperity which you could desire in this life, and afterwards to make all its citizens sharers of His Eternal Kingdom.

Your Excellencies'
most affectionate servant,
CARDINAL BELLARMINE.[2]

ROME, 5 *July* 1619.

Blessed Robert did not send off this letter at once, as he discovered when it was written that fresh complications had arisen. It was dispatched on August 9 with a covering letter explaining the delay. In this, after alluding to his purpose in writing, he continued:

The Bishop has since informed me about a report that has gained currency in your State—a report which I believe to be the work of the devil—to the effect that his return has been agreed to on the express condition that he is to resign his See within a fixed and short period. As the result of this diabolical rumour seemed to be the frustration of our endeavours to procure a lasting peace for the honour of God and the good of souls, I thought it well not to send my letter at the moment but to wait for a more favourable opportunity. . . . Having now learned from another source that you are aware of the existence of this letter, I have decided to communicate it to you, and to let you know the reasons why it was not communicated earlier, that both sides may thus be assured of my good will and that I have not ceased nor do I intend to cease devoting

[1] One of the standing orders was to the effect that no resolution in favour of the Bishop should be considered binding unless voted for by seven-eighths of the senate.

[2] This and the other documents used in the present section are from the State Paper Office, Lucca, and may be seen in the collection entitled, *Uffizio sopra la Giurisdizione*, vol. LXXX.

myself to your service in so good a work, whenever I am given an opportunity. . . .

As the Senators were still reluctant to take the steps which he had indicated, the Cardinal addressed them on September 6 an enormous third letter, about twice the length of his first. In this he did not hesitate to warn the obstinate ones among them about the terrible judgments of God which would assuredly befall them if they any longer hindered the return of the Bishop to his flock. At the same time he pleaded with their hearts and put forward every inducement to charity and forgiveness which his own noble nature could suggest:

In writing to you I had nothing in view but the good of both parties. . . . As to the rest, I will not enter into a discussion about the wrongs which you say you have suffered at the hands of your Bishop. However true or false they may be, I declare positively that the more you have gone into details on this subject and the more temper you have displayed, the more was I in duty bound to tell you that God requires you to forgive . . . and be reconciled with your Bishop, especially after his long exile and all the troubles which he has endured. . . . He is your countryman, your Father, your Pastor, placed over you by the Pope, the common Father of us all, . . . and even if he had done you wrong, the injury coming from such a source could not have been very grievous to you or to his native land. . . . Read what Our Lord says about the duty of forgiveness in the eighteenth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel. . . . If Our Lord pardoned with such love even the miscreants who nailed Him to the Cross and then made a mockery of Him, if He prayed to His Eternal Father that He too should pardon them, how can He endure to see the Republic of Lucca, or rather its rulers, after the lapse of fifteen long years still nursing the petty grievances which they pretend to have against their Bishop? . . .

Accordingly, I beg and implore your noble Republic to open its heart to counsels of concord and peace. On the Bishop's side I engage that he will do what is right and show himself ready to give you all reasonable satisfaction in every matter within his power. When you need any permission or dispensation from Rome, my services will always be completely at your disposal. The Bishop himself has begged me to assist you. . . . One reason why he refused to accept the See of Viterbo when it was offered to him by the Pope . . . was because he loved and esteemed his first spouse above all others, and preferred to remain lonely, if he must needs leave her, rather than take another. . . .

I will not keep you longer, and I pray the Divine Majesty with all my heart to fill you with a great desire for peace. . . . May He

grant your Excellencies and the entire Council His every grace and blessing.

Your most affectionate servant,
CARDINAL BELLARMINE.

This letter so completely won over the authorities of Lucca that they placed the whole affair in the hands of Blessed Robert and his friend Cardinal Farnese, and guaranteed that they would abide by their decision. Though Cardinal Farnese's name was valuable because his powerful family were the protectors of Lucca, his intervention in the settlement of the dispute did not go very much beyond the mere loan of his name. The brunt of the difficult and delicate business fell entirely on Bellarmine, but in keeping with his character that gentle saint was scrupulously careful not to take any step without the sanction of his colleague. In his next letter to the *Anziani*, or chief magistrates, of Lucca, he first thanks them warmly for their trust in him and promises to do his very best to justify it. Then he goes on to tell them about the latest developments :

Before the arrival of your envoy, Signor Benassai, Cardinal Farnese and myself had an interview, as the arbitrators chosen by your Excellencies. . . . After discussing the matter for a little while we came to the conclusion that the Bishop ought to return to his diocese as soon as possible, seeing that he has been absent from it for so many years. That this step might be carried out with due circumspection we considered that it would be advisable to address letters to both parties, to the Bishop to tell him that he must write to your Excellencies, declaring his readiness to re-assume the government of his See if such action on his part should meet with your approval, . . . and to you to beg that you would answer him and invite him to come in the same courteous spirit. As Cardinal Farnese was just about to start for Parma, it was arranged that his Lordship should give me full powers in matters requiring prompt decision, but that in matters of grave importance which were not so urgent, I should write to him and wait for his opinion.

Cardinal Farnese and myself are all the more convinced that the Bishop should return to his diocese in the manner indicated above because the Holy Father has approved of this plan and wishes to honour it with a Brief. He has also declared his intention to grant any other favours that may be needed.

Accordingly, in fulfilment of our decision I am now writing to the Bishop in both our names to ask him if he would please address himself to your Excellencies in the form of which I have spoken, and even in terms of still greater courtesy and kindness. As we are

sure that he will not fail to do this and will write such a thoroughly friendly letter that you cannot but be pleased with it, and as we know that it will be accompanied by genuine and sincere good feeling on his part, Cardinal Farnese and myself earnestly beg you, on your side, to have the goodness to answer him in a similarly courteous spirit. It is only in accordance with the religious piety of your most noble Republic that you should wish and strive to procure that your Bishop and his See may always be treated with due honour and esteem.

Our confidence in your goodness and courtesy emboldens us to send you herewith a specimen draft of the kind of letter which we have in mind, not of course as if we wished to dictate to you, but to let you know more precisely what we think ought to be done, so that even out of your love for us you may not be content merely to avoid anything disrespectful or displeasing to the Bishop in your reply, but that on the contrary you may in a manner force yourselves to bring your feelings into harmony with your words. This is a thing which we have very much at heart in order that the reconciliation may not be a mere matter of external forms, but a true union of souls such as we have good reason to expect from your generosity. . . .

It is not only Cardinal Farnese and myself who are of this opinion but his Holiness also, for I have communicated to him every particular laid before me by Signor Benassai, and he, like ourselves, has weighed each of them most carefully. . . . We have confidence that God, through the Holy Sacrifices and prayers of the devout priests, religious, and lay people, in your dominions . . . will aid you with His divine grace to carry so holy a work to completion, and that when it is completed He will help still more to make the satisfaction universal and to produce all the good results for which we hope, to the greater glory of His Divine Majesty.

Him I heartily pray . . . to grant the Republic at large every other blessing and all prosperity in this world, and to each of its members in particular, eternal life in the next.

Your Excellencies' most affectionate servant,

CARDINAL BELLARMINE.

ROME, 18 *October* 1619.

The letter drafted by Blessed Robert to serve as a model for the Senators in their invitation to the Bishop ran as follows :

Very Illustrious and Right Reverend Monsignor,

The decision taken by our arbitrators, the illustrious Cardinals Farnese and Bellarmine, to instruct your Lordship to return and reside in Lucca, has been a source of great consolation to all of us, conformable as it is to our wishes and desires, and that it is at the same time a source of satisfaction and pleasure to your Reverence is plain from the kind letter which you have

addressed to us. Accordingly we now write to invite you to come as soon as possible . . . and to console by your presence this entire population which has been expecting you with such longing, firmly convinced that henceforth perfect harmony and good understanding will exist between us.

Be assured, meanwhile, that as we hold the person of your Lordship in the esteem and veneration which your pastoral office demands, so will you always find us ready to assist and aid you in furthering to the utmost the service and worship of God. . . . Come then, and as all long to see you, so all will give you hearty welcome. Meantime, may God grant your Lordship the continual aid of His holy grace.[1]

Three weeks after Blessed Robert had dispatched these letters, 8 November 1619, Monsignor Guidiccioni re-entered Lucca, amidst great pomp and public rejoicings. On the very day of his arrival, the Chancellor of the Republic called to do him homage, and on the following day the Bishop went in state to the Palace of the Signoria where he was received with every mark of esteem and affection by the whole Senate. Four years later, he expressed a longing to resign his office and go into retirement, but the authorities of the Republic would not hear of it, and he continued to rule his diocese in perfect peace until his death in 1637.

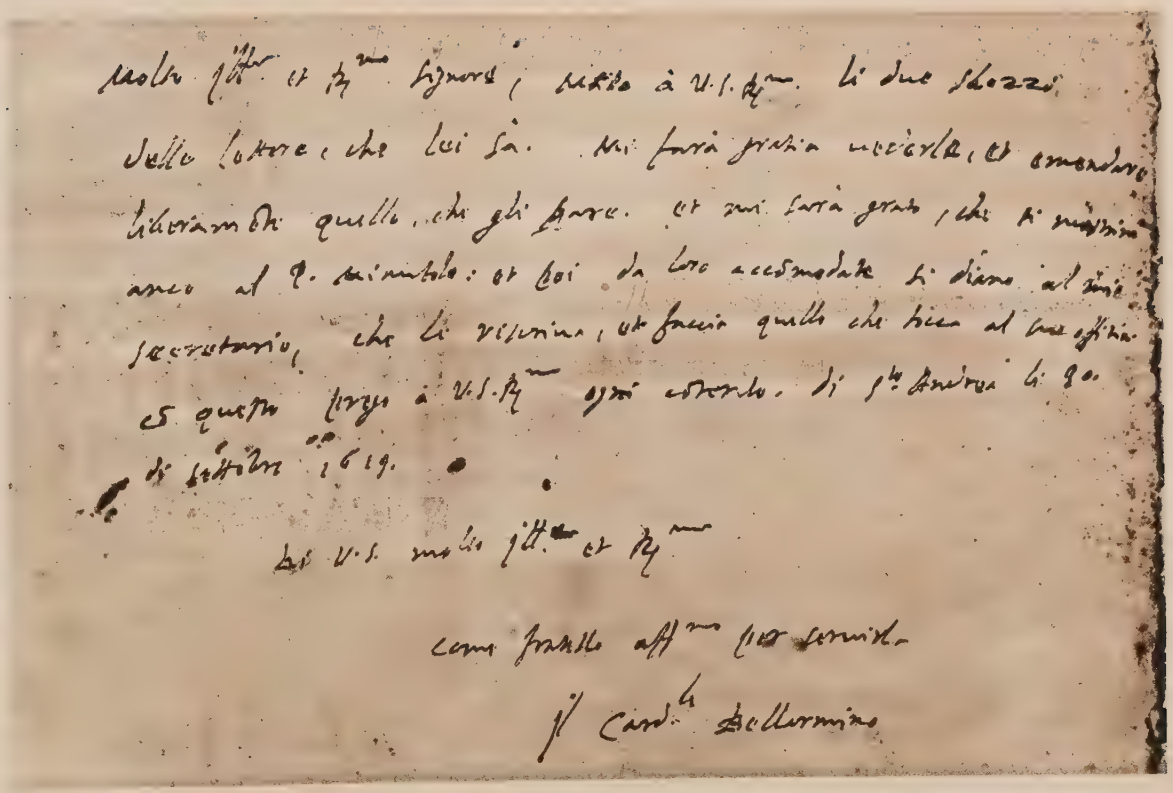
The man whose sympathy and heavenly tact had brought about such marvellous results did his best throughout the negotiations to make it appear as if the credit belonged to others. The following short note, of which we reproduce the autograph, was addressed by him to the Bishop of Ripatransone, Sebastiano Pozzi, who was a native of Lucca and a man of great holiness and learning.[2] It is about the two letters that were to be addressed to the Senate and the Bishop respectively, and provides one more illustration of Bellarmine's self-effacing humility :

Very Illustrious and most Reverend Lord,

I am sending you the drafts of the two letters which you know about. Would you please oblige me by looking over them and correcting freely whatever seems to need it. I should be glad if you would also show them to Father Minutolo, and, when you have

[1] *State Paper Office, Lucca.* This letter is on a separate sheet in the handwriting of Bellarmine's secretary.

[2] Cf. Moroni's *Dizionario di Erudizione*, vol. LVIII, p. 42. Pozzi, like Bellarmine's other friend, Prince Eric of Lorraine, endeavoured to obtain permission to resign his See that he might become a Jesuit. He is buried in the Gesù.



AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF CARDINAL BELLARMINE.

See note and translation on opposite page.

amended them, if you would give them to my secretary that he may write them out again and see to all else that appertains to his office. Wishing your Lordship all happiness. From S. Andrea, 30 September 1619.

Your very Illustrious and most Reverend Lordship's
affectionate brother and servant,
CARDINAL BELLARMINE.[1]

11. This chapter of Blessed Robert's history, long as it already is, cannot be closed without some reference to his relations with the bishops and priests who were labouring to spread the faith in such pagan lands as India and China. In December 1609 he addressed himself as follows to Mgr. Francis Roz, who eight years earlier had been taken from the Society of Jesus and placed over the archdiocese of Cranganore in the mission of Madura:

VERY ILLUSTRIOUS AND MOST REVEREND LORD AND BROTHER,

I thought I had answered your first letter, but as I received a second copy of it through another channel, I began to doubt whether I had really done so. I have so much and so many different things to do that, especially now in my old age, they easily lead me to forget what I have been about recently. However, whether I answered you or no, it could not be anything but an exquisite pleasure for me to converse through the post with a brother who for nearly forty years has borne the same yoke of obedience as myself, and who is now my yoke-fellow in the more difficult furrows of ecclesiastical preferment.

As soon as I learned from your letter the state of affairs in your diocese, I at once did all I could with the Pope and Cardinal San Giorgio to obtain the restitution of the name and dignity of an archbishopric for your See. As to the trouble which your Grace suffers from false brethren, though I have striven and still strive to the best of my ability to free you from it, still while it lasts you have the consolation of knowing that your patience will not be without a great reward. Accordingly I may at one and the same time offer you my sympathy in your present sorrows and my congratulations on the future joy that will be their crown.

[1] The transcription of the autograph letter facing this page is as follows:
Molto ill^o et R^mo Signore,

Mando a V.S. R^ma li due sbozzi delle lettere, che Lei sa. Mi farà grazia di rivederle et emendare liberamente quello che gli pare. et mi sarà grato che si mostrino anco al P. Minutolo; et poi da loro accomodate si diano al mio segretario, che le riscriva, et faccia quello che tocca al suo offizio. con questo prego a V.S. R^ma ogni contento. di S^to Andrea li 30 *di settẽbre* 1619.

di V.S. molto Ill et R^ma
come fratello aff^mo per servirla,
Il Card^le Bellarmino.

Your Grace is well aware that the life of the Apostles was just the same, and that the blessed Apostle Thomas, who was the first to preach the Kingdom of God in those parts, entered Heaven through many tribulations, bringing with him the first-fruits of the land in which you labour. There is no other way for us to enter, nor any other means by which to gather the later fruits of that land and offer them to Christ Our Lord. I am very sorry that our Holy Father does not oftener console his brethren who are toiling for the Church in such a distant country, but on the other hand I greatly pity the poor Pope on account of his endless occupations. In any case, I know that where human consolation is wanting there the Divine Consoler is wont to draw more near. In Him I bid your Lordship good-bye. Let us pray for one another that we may both reach Heaven safely.[1]

An earlier chapter of this book has shown how devotedly Bellarmine cherished the memory of his wonderful fellow-countryman, the young Cardinal Robert de Nobili. This Cardinal's nephew, also born in Montepulciano, was the celebrated Jesuit missionary of the same name. In May 1605 Robert de Nobili, the younger, reached Goa and the land of his heart's desire, after being tossed for twelve terrible months on half of the world's seas. If ever there was a man in whom the charity of Christ flamed into sublime heroism it was this young priest of twenty-eight. He was related to some of the greatest families in Italy, the Buoncompagni, the Sforzas, the Conti, but had surrendered all his prospects without a second thought in order to go, not to die the swift death of martyrdom, but to live a martyred life for half of a century.

Robert de Nobili's full story is one to stir the blood in any man's veins, but we can here do little more than give its bare chapter headings. On his arrival in India, he soon found that the caste system of the country was cutting off a whole section of the people, and it the finest, from all contact with Christianity. The very readiness with which the pariahs embraced the faith made its acceptance by the priestly order of brahmins a matter of the greatest difficulty, for by the iron customs of their order they could have no commerce with the missioners who served the pariahs. De Nobili saw that the only way to reach the brahmins would be by turning brahmin himself. His noble birth enabled him to swear to the requisite degree of gentle blood required in all who belonged to the highest caste of India, and so, sacrificing everything for the love of souls, with the full approval of his superior, Archbishop Roz, he cut

[1] *Epistolae familiares*, lxix, pp. 157–160.

himself off from all his friends and brethren in religion to live the austere, eremitical life of a brahmin.

The results of his sacrifice were marvellous, but the sacrifice itself by which he achieved them was too novel a missionary method to escape criticism. News reached Europe that he had abandoned his faith, or at all events was making a hideous amalgam of Christianity with pagan superstitions. Bellarmine was broken-hearted when he heard the rumour, and wrote imploring Father Robert to be mindful of the honour of God, of his Order, of his distinguished family, and to return to the truth. De Nobili fastened the Cardinal's letter to the foot of his crucifix and said nothing. Archbishop Roz who loved him dearly and who knew from his long familiarity with Indian customs that there was nothing dangerous or blameworthy in what he had done, discovered the grief which Bellarmine's letter had caused him, and wrote to tell Blessed Robert the true state of affairs. The letter was answered immediately :

Very Illustrious and most Reverend Lord,

I was exceedingly delighted to receive your letter dated July and the other of November last year [1613], for nothing in the world could have given me greater pleasure than to learn on the authority of one so eminent as yourself, the innocence of Father Robert de Nobili, whom I have always loved and still love as a son. It is quite enough for me that he did nothing without consulting his religious superiors, and without the sanction of an excellent and most learned Archbishop, who like myself is a Jesuit. Whether there is anything that will have to be changed in his manner of dealing with the brahmins is not as yet quite clear, as opinions are divided. . . .[1]

From this time on the Cardinal became de Nobili's stoutest champion against all his foes and detractors. Early in 1614 he wrote to console and encourage him in the glorious work he was doing for God and received the following answer, dated from Cochin, January 1615 :

Your Lordship's letter written in 1614 was delivered to me this month of January 1615. The joy with which it has filled me can be fully known only to Him who was witness of the sorrow that overwhelmed me three years ago when I learned that your Lordship had been told reports about me which were not a little wide of the truth. It was only natural that I should have been greatly distressed when I discovered that your Lordship, my most loving father and protector, had heard ill tidings of me. If the rumours had affected my honour alone I should have tried to hide the sorrow

[1] *Epistolae familiares*, cxvii, pp. 264–266.

of my heart in silence, but when I understood that they might turn to the detriment of souls by causing your Lordship to have doubts about the Madura mission, I tried as well as I could to justify myself in your eyes.

But whatever sadness I may have felt last year has been cancelled and compensated for, beyond measure, by your letter. Moreover, the consolation which your approval has given me is all the greater because I have full confidence that your Lordship, knowing as you now do the views of the Archbishop of Cranganore, of our provincial congregation, and of many experienced Fathers, will vindicate by your authority a method of evangelization which the witness of these men proves to be legitimate, and which experience shows to be absolutely necessary if the people of this country are to be converted.

I am writing this letter to you from the town of Cochin whither Father Provincial summoned me last month to discuss certain affairs. . . . My journey here was not without its measure of hardships and afflictions, but these our most loving Lord, and sometimes the pagans themselves, softened for me. Moved by pity they not only took me into their homes but also in the kindliest way supplied myself and the two Christian brahmins who were my companions with provisions, as they would poor men or pilgrim strangers. Whenever I was given an opportunity I did not fail to impart to them the counsels of salvation. On one occasion I was in such great danger that I felt a sure hope my last hour had come. Though up to then I had done nothing in the fight for the faith, I yet longed to hear the call of Christ to my crown. Only one thing damped the ardour of my desire, which was because I saw that this work begun for the glory of God had not yet been firmly established.

I will tell my most loving Father and Protector a true thing, and it is that I long with a great longing to tramp, staff in hand, all these vast spaces and win their numberless peoples for Christ my Lord. Until Christ is formed in them I do not know how His servants can ever be happy, for it is the way of His servants never to be satisfied until the glory of their Lord shines forth in the faith and grace of all those among whom they dwell.

I most earnestly beg your Lordship again and again to remember me, your son and servant, in your Holy Sacrifices and prayers, that I may not prove ungrateful for all the benefits which the Lord has showered upon me. Humbly, and far away as I am, upon my knees, I ask your Lordship when you have read this letter to give me, your son and servant, your blessing.[1]

During the years following the dispatch of this letter, the opposition to Father de Nobili's way of life increased tenfold.

[1] Translated from de Nobili's autograph reproduced on a folded sheet in J. Bertrand's *La Mission du Maduré*, Paris, 1848, t. II, facing p. 146.

He was summoned before ecclesiastical commissions in India, condemned, and delated to the Inquisition and the Holy See. Christopher da Sà, who became Archbishop of Goa and Primate of the Indies in 1611, nursed the strongest prejudices against him and endeavoured in 1619 to re-awaken Bellarmine's former suspicions. Blessed Robert, however, was not to be caught so easily a second time. 'I have received your very Reverend Lordship's letter,' he answered, 'in which Robert de Nobili is severely taken to task as if it were his intention to introduce a new religion into your country. . . . But I have also received several letters from other persons who think just the contrary and who praise him exceedingly. . . .' [1]

De Nobili had found a friend in John Francis de Almeida, the Inquisitor in India, who had written to assure the Cardinal that the heroic man against whom such terrible charges were being lodged had enlightened the entire East, and had clearly proved from the brahminical books that the customs and insignia which were suspected of being idolatrous, were mere tokens of ancient nobility, quite unconnected with religion. Blessed Robert was delighted to find such an ally and wrote at once to thank and encourage him:

Very Illustrious and Reverend Sir,

Your letter has reached me, and I offered my thanks to God for having inflamed your heart to embrace and defend the truth. . . . Though in the meeting of learned men held at Goa, more of them sided with the Archbishop of that city than with the Archbishop of Cranganore, I hear that several eminent persons who were not summoned to the discussion have put their views [in favour of Father Robert] on paper and dispatched them, supported by excellent arguments, to the Holy Father. On his side, the Archbishop of Goa has sent some documents by the shorter route, as well as an envoy who is now in Rome, and he has even written trying to persuade me that Robert de Nobili is too venturesome. However, the truth will prevail in the end. . . .

Truly I cannot but thank you with all my heart, learned and most worthy sir, and pray God to reward you eternally for having chosen to speak out your mind so freely and to write to me what you thought, in order that the Sovereign Pontiff may know the whole truth and decide that which he considers to be for the greater glory of God and the good of His Church. Good-bye and say a prayer for me that the Lord may soon take from this prison-house one with nearly eighty winters on his head, and bring him home to his sweet and blessed native land.[2]

[1] *Epistolae familiares*, clxxiii, p. 395. [2] *L.c.*, clxxiv, pp. 397–399.

A last letter of this series which we may give, was addressed by the Cardinal, less than four months before his death, to the Grand Inquisitor of Portugal:

Most Illustrious and Right Reverend Lord,

I received your letter in the middle of May [1621], but Pope Paul was then dead and a new Pontiff, Gregory XV, was seated on the throne of St. Peter. You must not be surprised, then, that your letter remained unanswered. I have laid it before Pope Gregory, as well as one which I received from the Archbishop of Goa condemning my fellow-citizen, Robert de Nobili.

The Pope has instructed me to tell your Lordship to send on all the other papers you may have on the subject, that by comparing them with those which are already in our possession, the question may at length be settled, as we all desire, for the salvation of the brahmins. I am amazed that the Archbishop of Goa should have waxed so violent against Father de Nobili, for one of the inquisitors of his diocese has written to tell me that the Father has brought light to the entire East, as from the books of the brahmins themselves he has clearly proved that the emblems which the Archbishop considers idolatrous are mere signs of ancient nobility, which have nothing in the least superstitious about them. I shall not write at greater length as all this is known to your Lordship. One favour I beg is that you would commend me, a very old man near the time of my departure, in your holy prayers to our common Lord.

Rome, 28 *May* 1621.[1]

Up to the end, the old Cardinal continued to do all in his power on behalf of one, as he wrote, *quem ego semper dilexi et diligo ut filium*. The controversy was not closed until two years after his death, but then it was closed in a way that must have brought new joy to him in Heaven, for Pope Gregory by the apostolic constitution, *Humanae infirmitatis miserando*, completely cleared de Nobili's good name and gave the Church's blessing to his heroic apostolate.

Blessed Robert's interest in the triumphs and vicissitudes of the nascent Christian communities in China was no less paternal and sympathetic than that which he showed in the efforts of Robert de Nobili and his brother missioners. In 1614, Father Nicholas Trigault of the Society of Jesus came to Rome as the deputy of his fellow-labourers in the Celestial Empire, and thrilled Bellarmine with his vivid account of what was being done for the faith by such men as Matteo Ricci and

[1] *Epistolae familiares*, clxxxi, pp. 409–411.

his first companions.[1] The Cardinal learned from him at the same time the great obstacles to the conversion of the cultured classes in the Empire, obstacles such as xenophobia or fear of the foreigner, pride in their native classics, ancestor-worship, dread of European penetration, etc., which still at the present day hamper the efforts of the missionaries. So interested was Blessed Robert that he determined to write to the Christian mandarins with his own hand. His letter, which was brought to China by Father Trigault on his return to the country, ran as follows :

Father Nicholas Trigault, our Reverend Brother, caused us great joy when, on his return to us after so long a journey from the remote East, he informed us that in the vast Empire of China a door has begun to open for the admission of the faith of Jesus Christ, in which alone can be found certainty of eternal salvation. The entire city of Rome, head of all the kingdoms of the West, exulted at the news. So too did the Sovereign Pontiff Paul V, who is the Father of all kings and Christian peoples that acknowledge the true God, King of Heaven and earth, and with him, we the Cardinals and Bishops, his assistants, greatly rejoiced, and also the whole Christian priesthood and people.

Long and sorely have we lamented that so great a multitude of men, endowed with such intelligence as are the people of the immense Empire of China, should have been all this time in ignorance of God, their Creator, and of His Son, Jesus Christ, who, according to the oracles of every prophet the world has known, gave Himself up to death for us in time that He might make us sharers of His glory throughout eternity. The devil, the perpetual enemy of the human race, who of old fell from Heaven and became the Prince of Darkness because of his pride, had, under pretence of preserving your Kingdom of China, closed the door of your salvation to the preachers of the Gospel.

Now, however, the grace of God has at last begun to dawn upon your country, and to convince you that the teaching of the Gospel does not take away earthly kingdoms but bestows a heavenly one. That is why I want to congratulate you, upon whom God has conferred so great a benefit, and that is why I am so glad at heart, knowing that I have now so many new brothers in Our Lord.

But as faith in God the Father and His Divine Son does not by itself suffice for salvation, unless we also live soberly, justly, and piously in this world, I exhort you to run in the way of God's commandments without offence, abstaining from all injustice, impurity, lying, and deceit, abounding in every good work, making

[1] 'Audivi et vidi libentissime P. Nicolaum, Procuratorem Sinarum, et saepe cum eo versor,' wrote the Cardinal on 22 December 1614. *Epistolae familiares*, p. 265.

progress in holy virtues and especially in trustful love of God and real charity towards one another. If for the love of God you have to suffer any trouble or persecution, be glad and rejoice for your reward is very great in Heaven. This is the will of God, our Father, that our faith, hope, and charity should be proved by patience as gold is tried in the furnace. It would not be difficult for Him to free us at once from all tribulation and sorrow, but instead He permits His friends to suffer much in this world that He may crown them all the more gloriously in Heaven, and make them more like His only begotten Son, who never ceased to do good and to suffer injury while He was on earth that He might teach us patience by His example.

Just as He humbled Himself, being made obedient even unto death, the death of the cross, and just as God the Father for that reason exalted Him to the throne of His glory, and gave Him a Name that is above all other names, . . . so, too, will the Son of God exalt us and make the body of our lowliness like to the body of His glory, if we bear persecutions and adversities with steadfast patience of soul.

I need not say any more to you, for I know that my brothers of the Society of Jesus who are with you do not fail to teach and spur you on continually in the way of holiness. May God keep you safely in the Name of Christ our Redeemer, and let us pray for one another that one day we may all be together in Heaven.

ROBERT CARDINAL BELLARMINE.[1]

ROME, 12 *May* 1616.

The Cardinal's letter was translated into Chinese, circulated among all the Christian communities in the Empire, and explained and commented on by the missionaries for the benefit of their neophytes, just as if it had been an Epistle of St. Paul. Several of the learned converts wrote affectionate answers to Blessed Robert, but it was deemed more prudent to hold these back, as the laws of the land strictly forbade all communication with strangers. Father Trigault, however, chose the most characteristic of the letters, translated it into Latin, and inserted it in his 'History of Events in China', an account of the mission written in Italian in 1621 for the use of Father Mutius Vitelleschi, the General of the Jesuits.

The author of the letter was one of the most distinguished of Father Ricci's converts, a man named Paul Siu Koang Ki, who came of a noble Shanghai family and owned vast estates

[1] The Latin text of this letter is to be found in two sources, in the *Litterae annuae Societatis Jesu*, Antwerp, 1625, pp. 65 sqq., and in the collection entitled *Rerum memorabilium in regno Sinae gestarum historia*, Antwerp, 1625, pp. 665 sqq.

near that city. As a literary man his reputation was second to none of that epoch in China, and his qualities as a man of affairs had been sufficiently attested by the long duration of his public service as a minister of the Crown.[1] A few extracts from his letter may fittingly bring this chapter to a close:

Most Illustrious Lord Cardinal,

Filled as I am with profound veneration, I cannot but express my esteem for your great piety which the vast ocean itself and ultimate bounds of the world are unable to contain. The splendour of its flame has penetrated even this far and set on fire our Kingdom of China, for your letter has been read by very many, and especially by learned men and mandarins who at present govern our State, or who having governed it in the past are now living in retirement. Some of them who were not Christians have now embraced the faith, moved by the generous charity of your Lordship, which has room for everybody in its compass.

We who counted it great honour to be the servants of Jesus Christ, have made more fervent vows than ever, and have firmly resolved to love one another with all our hearts. . . . Our learned men are astonished that such a wonderful bond should have come to exist between those who are sundered by a distance of half the world. . . . To say all in a word, we have every one of us been filled with joy by the knowledge that in lands so far away one great man was to be found who did not despise us nor look upon us as strangers. We wish most earnestly that we could take wings and fly to Rome to thank your Lordship, but as we cannot do this because the laws of our Kingdom forbid us to leave it . . . we here and now, with the greatest reverence and affection, thank your Lordship a thousand times for the great love which you have shown us, . . . and we beg you to pray for us, and to intercede for us with the Sovereign Pontiff, the Father of all the faithful, that he may use every endeavour to propagate the holy law of Jesus Christ in this our country. . . .[2]

[1] Cf. Bartoli, *Dell' istoria della compagnia di Gesù: La Cina.* Libro terzo, nn. 10, 108, 135.

[2] An ancient French translation of the complete letter, exquisitely phrased, is given with many other details about the Chinese mission in an article by J. de la Servière, published in *Gregorianum*, vol. II, 1921, pp. 614–621. An entire chapter of the present book might have been devoted, had there been room, to an account of Blessed Robert's efforts on behalf of the reunion with the Catholic Church of such schismatical groups as the Chaldeans of Mosul, the Ruthenians of Poland and Lithuania, the Serbians, and the Greek Orthodox Christians. A separate issue of the periodical, *Orientalia Christiana*, has recently been allotted to this matter under the title, *Il Beato Bellarmino e gli Orientali* (Number 33, March 1927). The article runs to forty-four highly interesting and extremely learned pages, its author being Father George Hoffman, S.J., professor at the Oriental Institute, Rome.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE FIRST TROUBLES OF GALILEO

1. A month or two before Bellarmine dispatched to the Celestial Empire the letter with which our last chapter concluded, he was busy and worried about things celestial of a very different kind, for the fascinating, provocative figure of Galileo Galilei had intruded into the peace of his declining years. Galileo possessed nearly every quality that appeals to the modern imagination, wit as mordant and subtle as Mr. Shaw's, a kind of crusading gallantry half Quixotic in its recklessness, the dash and daring of a Cyrano, the tenderheartedness of Madame de Sevigné.[1] Add to these qualities the pathos of a tragic fate and there results the formula of the great romances. It is to be remembered too, on a more prosaic plane, that the luxuries of modern life stand piled in a very true sense on the shoulders of this weary Atlas, for he it was who started the world on the experiments that have given it such things as wireless sets, motor cars, and aeroplanes. No wonder, then, that men go on pilgrimage to Santa Croce in Florence where his tired bones are at rest, and no wonder that they say hard things about the cardinals who are supposed to have persecuted him.

Among that sinister, red-robed group, one often stands out in the books more sinister than the rest. Even Catholic writers have emphasized what they considered to be his unhappy notoriety. 'If one theologian were more prominent than another in his opposition to Galileo it was Bellarmine,' wrote W. G. Ward in the *Dublin Review* more than sixty years ago.[2] A generation passes, and another Catholic concludes as follows, after a careful study of the whole question:

[1] His correspondence with his—be it said, illegitimate—daughter, the loving and lovable nun, Sister Maria Celeste, would be enough to make anybody sympathetic towards Galileo. This the sweetest and most attractive chapter in his stormy career is narrated in full by his great modern devotee, Professor Antonio Favaro, in *Galileo Galilei e Suor Maria Celeste*, Florence, 1891.

[2] *Dublin Review*, 1865, pp. 405–406.

One of the most important witnesses . . . is Cardinal Bellarmine, who was a very jealous anti-Copernican and had probably a great share (perhaps the principal share) in bringing about the practical condemnation of Galileo's opinions in 1616.[1]

When the writers are not Catholics a certain amount of venom is to be expected in their verdicts. Thus Domenico Berti, who was a real scholar whatever his prejudices, expressed himself in the following fashion :

Bellarmine represents for more than twenty years the very personification of the war against science. His principle seems to have been the abdication of reason. . . . The heresy which takes its name from Copernicus owes its existence almost entirely to the judgment of the theologian of Montepulciano.[2]

Such, then, is the charge against Blessed Robert, and it behoves us to investigate its validity with all possible candour and care. Perhaps the documents which we shall have occasion to quote in the following pages may, instead of damning Bellarmine, afford yet further evidence of the nobility of his character. It will be for the reader to judge, but it is necessary to state at the outset that this chapter is not a complete account of the ' case of Galileo '. It deals with only one episode in the case—Galileo's appearance before the Inquisition in 1616—because Bellarmine had nothing to do with the developments subsequent to that date, and was already twelve years in his grave when the final sentence against the great scientist was pronounced in 1633.

Before full justice could be done the men who condemned Galileo, justice that has never been done them, it would be necessary to recapture as far and as accurately as possible the intellectual ideals that guided them and the psychological atmosphere in which they moved. In the search after truth, it does not help much to make to-day the censor of all yester-

[1] F. R. Wegg-Prosser, *Galileo and his Judges*, London, 1889, p. 35.

[2] These passages are from two different works, the first from *Copernico e le vicende del sistema Copernicano* (Rome, 1876, p. 220), and the second from *Giordano Bruno da Nola* (Turin, 1889, p. 316). Berti, it may be remarked, was one of the first editors of the documents relating to the trials of Bruno and Galileo. His animus against Bellarmine was so strong that he endeavoured to fasten on the Cardinal the responsibility for the condemnation of both men, but as far at least as Bruno was concerned, entirely without success. Bellarmine was indeed a member of the Holy Office when that outlandish philosopher and very disreputable character came to grief, but the available documents do not point to his having had any special connection with the trial. Cf. X. M. Le Bachelet, *Bellarmin et Giordano Bruno*, in *Gregorianum*, vol. IV, pp. 193–210.

days and to-morrows. Each age has its own way of looking at things, and it is mere arrogance, as well as waste of energy, to denounce any age for not having looked at them as does *our* age. Without going into details which would be out of place in a book such as this, it may be well to say a few words on the astronomical ideas of the sixteenth century by way of providing something in the nature of a background for the story of Bellarmine's dealings with Galileo.

2. It would not be very wide of the truth to say that the men of the sixteenth century watched the heavens, when they watched them at all, with the eyes of Aristotle. That great man had admitted that the apparent daily motion of the stars might be explained on the supposition that the earth was revolving round the sun, but he had rejected this Pythagorean surmise for the excellent reason that if it were correct those small stellar displacements subsequently named parallaxes would be observable. The objection thus raised at the very beginning of astronomical history was to prove, in Kepler's words, 'a huge mouthful for the Copernicans to swallow', was to cast a gloom over Galileo's later years, and was to remain unanswered until Bessel, after infinite labour, succeeded in determining the parallax of the star 61 Cygni in December 1838.

Not everything in Aristotle's astronomy was as good as that piece of criticism, but its defects were largely remedied by two great men who came after him. He had taught on rather mystical grounds that the heavenly bodies must travel with a uniform, circular motion, and as the planets seemed to go about their erratic business in sublime indifference to that doctrine, their 'peripateticism' was a sore puzzle to loyal peripatetics until Hipparchus devised the extraordinarily ingenious theory of epicycles and eccentrics to account for it. Then it was shown that the motion of Venus or any other apparently lawless denizen of the skies could be explained by supposing it placed in the rim of an imaginary wheel which is turned edgeways to us, with its centre circling round in the heavens from west to east or *vice versa*, and its circumference, carrying the planet, moving round its own centre. The motion of the rim would in some positions counterbalance the general motion of the centre and so account for the planet's apparent retrogressions.

In the second century of the Christian era, the principles of Hipparchus were brought to perfection by his great disciple

Claudius Ptolemy, whose wonderful book, the *Almagest*, soon became the astronomical Bible of the western world. John Milton, who owed to Ptolemy the cosmography of *Paradise Lost*, was unable, all the same, to resist a passing gibe at the elaborate celestial machinery of the *Almagest*. In one place he pictures the Angel Raphael foretelling to Adam how men would

> Build, unbuild, contrive
> To save appearances! How gird the sphere
> With centric and eccentric scribbled o'er,
> Cycle in epicycle, orb in orb![1]

Still Ptolemy did 'save the appearances', and if the opinion of those most competent to decide, from Eudoxus to Einstein, is to be trusted, saving appearances is the main business of astronomy. Judged by this standard, Ptolemy's system must certainly be regarded as one of the supreme efforts of human genius. It embodied and consolidated perfectly all the most exact knowledge available at the time when it was devised; it provided means to make that knowledge ever more complete; and it was able to keep pace with, assimilate, and preserve all new discoveries until a greater theory arose to which it could safely bequeath its stored treasures and age-old commission. As for the objections which were to be levelled at its complexity, Ptolemy himself had his answer in advance:

> We must not be repelled by the intricacy of the hypotheses but explain the phenomena as best we can. If the hypotheses satisfy each apparent inequality separately, the combination of them will represent the truth; and why should it seem wonderful to anybody that such a complexity should exist in the heavens when we know nothing of their nature which entitles us to suppose that it is inconsistent with it?[2]

Although the Ptolemaic astronomy was such a vast improvement on the rather naïve theories of earlier ages, it would be a mistake to think that it enjoyed undisputed authority before the rise of Copernicanism. To many devout disciples of

[1] Milton during his Italian tour of 1638–39 had seen and conversed with Galileo, then old and blind, in his villa near Florence. Nevertheless, he came home unconverted, and taught his nephews and other pupils astronomy out of a book that was a favourite with Bellarmine, the ultra-Ptolemaic *De sphaera mundi* of the Yorkshireman John Holywood, or Joannes a Sacrobosco as he was known on the Continent. Cf. Masson's *Life of Milton*, vol. VI, p. 534.

[2] *Almagest*, XIII, 2.

Aristotle its epicycles and eccentrics did not seem to accord as perfectly as they should have done with the Master's doctrine of uniform, circular motions. The Islamic writers in particular, because they were far more enslaved to Aristotle than any other section of the civilized world, declared a kind of holy war on such things, their aim being, not to save the appearances of the heavens, but to save Aristotle's physics. Many Catholic doctors, too, joined forces with them in the attack,[1] and between the two battling schools the great medieval Scholastics appear to have found it difficult to choose. Ptolemy attracted them because of his obvious merits, but Aristotle was Aristotle whatever his shortcomings.

St. Thomas himself was perplexed, but even in perplexity his greatness shone through. He would stand by Aristotle if he could, though not at the expense of the truth.[2] He would give up Ptolemy if he could, but not without some good exchange for the surrender. Might a man hope for the discovery of some new system in which both Aristotle and the appearances would find a common salvation? In that hope Thomas seems to have rested, denying nothing that a wise man ought not to deny. His verdict on the dispute contains a world of wisdom:

> The suppositions which astronomers have imagined are not to be accounted necessarily true. Although these hypotheses seem to save the appearances, we must not say that they are thereby proved to be facts, because perhaps it would be possible to explain

[1] In justice to the rigid Aristotelians, it may be well to point out that they were by no means such fools as they are sometimes described. A single quotation from one of their books is sufficient proof of this: 'In a good demonstration, the effect necessarily follows from the supposed cause and this cause must necessarily be presupposed in view of the observed effect. Now the eccentrics and the epicycles being admitted, it is true that the appearances are saved. But the converse of this is not necessarily true, namely that given the appearances, the eccentrics and epicycles must exist. This is true only provisionally until a better explanation is discovered which both necessitates the phenomena and is necessitated by them. Accordingly those men are in error who, taking a natural phenomenon, the occurrence of which might flow from many causes, conclude in favour of one cause'—Agostino Niso, *Aristotelis Stagiritae de Coelo et Mundo*, Venice, 1559, lib. II, p. 82. This is as good as anything in Mill's *Logic*. On the question in general, an expert writer has said boldly: 'From the beginning of the fourteenth century to the beginning of the sixteenth, the University of Paris taught a method of physics that quite surpassed in precision and profundity anything that the world was to hear on the subject until the middle of the nineteenth century'—Pierre Duhem, *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, July 1908, p. 371.

[2] His system of philosophy though profoundly Aristotelian is very far from being merely 'Aristotle in a cassock'.

the apparent movements of the stars by some other method which men have not yet excogitated.[1]

Up to the beginning of the seventeenth century the method excogitated by Nicholas Copernicus had given nobody any trouble. The views of that great and devout priest had become known some years before the publication of his epoch-making book, '*De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium*', in the year of his death, 1543, and had been denounced in strong terms by Luther and Melanchthon as being opposed to the Bible.[2] Rome, on the other hand, had proved quite friendly. The work was dedicated to Pope Paul III, its author pointing out that he had been induced to write by the sad spectacle of internecine strife among geocentric astronomers, and expressing a hope that he would be accorded the same liberty as his predecessors 'to imagine whatever fictitious circles he liked with a view to saving the celestial phenomena'. Though it is almost certain that he regarded his theory as very much more than what we now call a scientific hypothesis, the famous preface which Andrew Osiander had surreptitiously added to the book, in order to ensure it a friendly reception, had lulled the suspicions of hostile critics. Until the middle of the nineteenth century everybody believed that this preface was from the pen of Copernicus himself. 'Another of those scientists' paradoxes' said the sixteenth-century Roman authorities as they turned their minds to more important business, but that they were quite willing in the spirit of the tolerant Emperor of old to give this new astronomical divinity a place of honour in the crowded pantheon of human guesses is made plain by the interesting fact that the Gregorian reform of the Calendar was carried out with the sole aid of the 'Prussian Tables' of Copernicus. The book of this genius made, it need scarcely be said, next to no impression on the world at large for the same reason that Einstein's books have made no impression on the present generation of ordinary men and women. It would have been unintelligible to all except mathematicians of considerable ability, but, even had it been easy to read, it would have made very little difference to the outlook of the plain man for it retained a great deal of the old Ptolemaic machinery and only

[1] *Expositio super Libro de Coelo et Mundo*, lib. II, lect. xvii. Cf. *Summa*, I, 32, 1, ad 2.

[2] Cf. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, Eng. tr., vol. XII, pp. 549–550.

dealt here and there incidentally with the question of the movement of the earth.

3. Returning now to Bellarmine, as it is with his part alone in the story that we are concerned, we may say at once that, though he always showed the greatest interest in astronomy, he was an extremely bad astronomer. Astronomical studies were something of a tradition in his family, his grandfather, Riccardo Cervini, and his uncle, Pope Marcellus, both having been distinguished writers on mathematics and the mechanism of the heavens,[1] while one of his aunts, a young lady named Piera Cervini, had gained for herself at the age of twenty-two an extraordinary reputation as a brilliant lecturer and disputant on the physics and metaphysics of Aristotle.[2]

Blessed Robert inherited the scientific interests of his relatives but he does not seem to have inherited their scientific ability. In his Autobiography he narrates that, after his three years with Aristotle at the Roman College, he was sent to Florence, and there in the summer of 1564, when he was twenty-one years old, had begun to teach 'the doctrine of the sphere and the fixed stars'.[3] His biographer Fuligatti says that his lectures were on such brave themes as 'the number and natural places of the elements, the motions of the heavens, the shapes and properties of the constellations, and the ultimate boundaries of the world'.[4] This was actually within a month or two of the birth of Galileo in neighbouring Pisa, a coincidence that provides a sad commentary on the value of human surmises. *Sic transit theoria mundi!*

When lecturing the following year at the College of Mondovì in Piedmont, Robert broke out again on the 'many philosophical and astrological questions' that were dear to his heart, and spoke about them with such enthusiasm as to attract the attention of several learned doctors of the city's University. That there was a certain amount of healthy independence in his intellectual attitude which did credit to his courage if not to his

[1] The following are some titles of treatises by Riccardo Cervini: *De correctione Kalendarii in 14 cap. distinctum opus; De sphera Jo. Bapt. Polito; De paschatis ratione ad Sanct. D. P. Clementem VII; De correctione anni ad Clementem VII; Calendarium novum cum lunazionibus; Quaedam de mathematica, ubi de horologiis; De ponderibus; De speculis; De motu trepidationis quod non detur; De erroribus in inveniendo Paschatis die.* Florence, Archivio di Stato, *MSS. Cerviniani*, vol. LII, f. 89v.

[2] G. Gigli, *Diario Senese*, Lucca, 1723, p. 141.

[3] *Autobiography*, n. viii.

[4] *Vita*, p. 32. Where Fuligatti found all these details about the lectures, he does not say.

judgment, may be seen from the following story. Piedmont possessed at this time a 'filosofo molto celebrato' named Francis Vimercati. Dr. Francis had studied at Bologna, Pavia, Padua, and Paris, and had been appointed in 1540 the first professor of Greek and Latin philosophy in the last named University, a post which he retained for more than twenty years. After this he had gone on to the University of Turin, to act as a kind of prefect of studies for Duke Charles Emmanuel of Savoy.

A very distinguished man, then, was Francis Vimercati, but his fame did not abash the young Jesuit professor at Mondovì. Off went Robert one morning to have a talk with Dr. Francis about things celestial. Writing at a later date, he gave the following account of his interview:

> Many years ago I had a discussion with Vimercati, the celebrated philosopher, about the number of the celestial spheres. Personally I was convinced that there were eight of them and no more, but I found it impossible to win over any of these astrologers to my opinion because they all persisted in clinging to the observations of Hipparchus and Ptolemy, as if they were articles of faith.[1]

Blessed Robert's next expression of opinion about the phenomena of the heavens is an interesting and instructive one from a sermon which he preached in Louvain in 1571, on the first Sunday in Advent. His text was from the Gospel of the day, *There shall be signs in the sun and in the moon and in the stars . . .*, and his commentary was as follows:

> It is a matter of the very greatest difficulty to decide what ought to be understood by the expression, the falling of the stars. Should we wish to interpret the word stars as meaning those igneous appearances which are commonly called falling stars . . . we ought to be careful lest we find ourselves in contradiction with the Gospel, for if the Gospel speaks of the real sun and the real moon, does it not follow that it also means real stars? On the other hand, if swayed by the authority of the Gospel we dare to affirm that the stars will really fall from heaven at the Last Day, we are immediately confronted by a mighty mob of mathematicians, out of whose hands there is no means of escape. They will vociferate and clamour in our ears, just as if they themselves had measured the size of the stars, that it is impossible for the stars to fall upon the earth, for even the least of the fixed stars is so much bigger than the earth, that the earth could not possibly receive it if it were to fall.

[1] Le Bachelet, *Bellarmin avant son Cardinalat*, p. 108.

To these asseverations of the mathematicians we might oppose the opinion of St. Basil the Great, St. John Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, the most learned St. Augustine, and very many others, who hold that, with the single exception of the sun, the moon is bigger than any of the stars, from which it follows that the earth must be much bigger than any of them, for even the mathematicians admit that the moon is much smaller than the earth.

Still, such an argument would not keep the mathematicians quiet, and, as we have no wish to be drawn into a dispute with them, we give as our opinion that the solution of this problem must be sought along one or other of the two following lines : (1) the stars must be taken as real stars which, however, will not literally fall from heaven but only in a metaphorical sense, inasmuch as being entirely darkened they will no longer be visible and so appear to have fallen from the skies. This solution, I find, meets with the approval of many learned theologians. But I must candidly confess that personally I feel much more inclined to adopt another attitude with regard to the matter, and to hold (2) that the problem cannot be solved until the signs actually appear. In this way the confession of our ignorance would be our answer to the difficulty. All that Our Lord said about the judgment to come, the end of the world, and the signs that would precede it, was said in prophecy, and it is a characteristic of the sayings of the Prophets that until what they have foretold comes to pass their speech remains almost completely enigmatic to us. . . . St. Hilary, St. Chrysostom, St. Augustine, all the Fathers and learned men of the Church, yea, all the angels of Heaven, confess their ignorance about the Last Day. What, then, if certain vain little nobodies do not blush in their conceit to tell us all about it ? My advice to you, dear brethren, is that when you come across the foolish imaginings of such dreamers, you should laugh them to scorn. Let us hold fast to our faith that all which Our Lord foretold about the end of the world will most surely come to pass, but in our faith let us imitate the wisdom and sobriety of our forefathers, leaving to God the knowledge of the time and manner of His visitation, and accepting with cheerful resignation the limits which He has chosen to impose upon our intellects. . . .[1]

A last passage which we may cite in illustration of the mingled wisdom and naïvety of Blessed Robert's views on astronomy is from the seventh ' gradus ' or step of his little spiritual book, *De Ascensione mentis in Deum*. An English translation of this work, which appeared in Latin in 1615, was issued at Douai in 1616, the year of Galileo's first condemnation, and from this we take the extract. Blessed Robert is

[1] *Conciones Lovanii habitae*, 1626 ed., pp. 17–19.

speaking about the wonders of the sun, as evidence of the power of God :

Afterward the same Prophet [the Psalmist] doth extol the course of the Sun, which also is very admirable. *He hath rejoiced* (saith he) *as a giant to run the way*. A giant truly if he extend his steps according to the greatness of his body and even as fast as his strength will afford, will in a short time pass a long way. And indeed the Prophet having compared the Sun unto a bridegroom thereby to declare the beauty thereof, also compareth it to a giant that by that resemblance he might in some sort shew the most speedy course thereof.

But albeit he had not compared it to a giant but to the flight of birds and arrows, or to the winds and lightning ; yet should it have been far from the thing indeed. For if that be true which with our eyes we see, to wit that the Sun in foure and twenty houres passeth about the whole compass of his orb ; and if the compass of the Sun's orb exceedeth almost without comparison the compass of the earth ; and if the compass of the earth containeth 20,000 miles ; all which is most true : it must then needs follow that the Sun every houre runneth many thousand miles.

But why say I every houre ? nay, every quarter of an houre ; yea, almost every minute. For whosoever shall observe the rising or setting of the Sun in an open horizon as at sea, or in a plain field, shall perceive the whole body of the Sun to ascend above the horizon in less space than the eighth part of an houre. And yet the diameter of the Sun's body is much greater than the diameter of the earth, which notwithstanding containeth 7,000 miles.

I myself being once desirous to know in what space of time the Sun set at sea, at the beginning thereof I began to recite the Psalm *Miserere*, and scarce had read it twice over before the Sun was wholly set. It must needs be, therefore, that the Sun in that short time in which the Psalm *Miserere* was read twice over, did run much more than the space of 7,000 miles. Who would believe this unless certain reason did demonstrate it ?

In view of such passages as these, there can be no doubt that Blessed Robert was absolutely convinced of the truth of Ptolemy's fundamental postulate that the sun and the other heavenly bodies were circling round a stationary earth. Indeed, it would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that that opinion was not so much a conviction among other convictions in his mind, as a part of his very nature, a great basal assumption which he would no more have dreamed of doubting than he would the fact of his own existence. There were a hundred reasons why any other attitude should have been well-nigh impossible for him. Like the vast majority of the men of his

age he had been brought up to regard the earth's immobility as a truism. All the great imaginative literature of the past, and especially Blessed Robert's favourite reading, Virgil and Dante, was saturated and coloured by that assumption. Until he was an old man of nearly seventy he had never heard it seriously called in question, and even had the book of Copernicus fallen into his hands he would not have been able to appreciate the value of its arguments owing to his lack of mathematics. The best mathematician he knew, the famous man whom he calls in his letters 'my great friend Father Clavius', was for long a determined opponent of Copernicanism on mathematical grounds, and had advanced subtle arguments to prove that if the earth rotated on its axis not a single tower would be left standing in Italy or anywhere else.[1]

Besides all this, or rather in confirmation of it, Blessed Robert was a profound student of the Scriptures, and what he read there was not merely one outstanding 'geocentric' text such as, *Move not, O sun, toward Gabaon nor thou, O moon, toward the valley of Ajalon. And the sun and the moon stood still.* There were scores of such texts, which, taken at their face value, implied that the earth was the pivot of the universe. The very first chapter of the Bible explained how *God made two great lights; a greater light to rule the day, and a lesser light to rule the night; and the stars. And He set them in the firmament of heaven to shine upon the earth.* With such persuasive passages before him, it was very natural for Bellarmine or any other devout man who meditated the Scriptures to take it for granted that this earth, where the Word was made Flesh, must be the centre of all creation, round which the tenantless stars moved in humble obeisance.

The ancient Fathers, and especially St. Augustine to whom Blessed Robert was so devoted, had also taken the matter for granted. In his commentary on the Book of Josue, Augustine did not say a single word in explanation of the famous text, *Sol ne movearis . . .* quoted above, for the simple reason that he saw no difficulty in it.[2] In later times, wise men, such as

[1] This was in his *Commentarius in Sphaeram Joannis de Sacro Bosco*, published in 1570. John Holywood of Yorkshire has much to answer for in the opposition to Copernicus!

[2] As this text is not a doctrinal one, the fact that the Fathers almost unanimously interpreted it according to the ideas of Ptolemy in no way constituted these ideas an article of Christian belief. Moreover, when speaking about such astronomical matters, the Fathers never give their view as if they considered it to be the interpretation of the Catholic Church.

St. Thomas Aquinas, were careful not to employ Scripture texts in support of their astronomical beliefs, but it would be too much to expect such wisdom from everybody. Still, though the Bible was freely used as a weapon by the disciples of Aristotle and Ptolemy in their conflict with the disciples of Copernicus, it is not quite fair to accuse the former set of warriors of having turned the Sacred Scriptures into a primer of astronomy. To them it seemed that the Bible merely confirmed the evidence of their senses and the immemorial conviction of the whole human race, and accordingly they considered themselves quite justified in appealing to its witness against men who wanted to turn the world upside down. It is time now for the protagonist of these revolutionaries to make his appearance.

4. During the course of his life Galileo visited Rome on five occasions. The first visit was in 1587 when he was a young man of twenty-three, still unknown to fame.[1] It was then that he made the acquaintance of Father Clavius, who was at the time professor of mathematics in the Roman College, an acquaintance that soon ripened into a real friendship which lasted without a break up to the Jesuit professor's death in 1612. After his return to his native city of Pisa, Galileo was appointed to the chair of mathematics in the University there, with an annual salary of £13. While a student at this University, his disputatious temperament had acquired for him the nickname of 'The Wrangler'.[2] As a professor he wrangled so vigorously that his colleagues eventually made life too uncomfortable for him, and he consequently migrated to Padua where the Venetian authorities welcomed him and gave him £18 a year as his salary. That was a rise of £5, so he was getting on in the world.

[1] However, he was already on the way to fame for four years earlier he had discovered the isochronism of the oscillations of the pendulum. While praying in the Duomo of Pisa, his eye had been attracted by the movement to and fro of the beautiful sanctuary lamp. Prayers were then forgotten, for it dawned on him that the oscillations, though gradually diminishing in size, were all performed in the same time. By using his pulse as a watch, he was able to prove the correctness of his surmise.

[2] *Galileo Galilei and the Roman Curia.* From authentic sources, by Karl von Gebler. Eng. tr. by Mrs. George Sturge, 1879, p. 10. This work by a young German Officer of Dragoons, who died at the age of twenty-eight, is by far the best account of Galileo available in the English language. Von Gebler was a Protestant and had the strongest dislike for Jesuits, but his book taken all in all is strikingly impartial, as well as being scholarly and interesting in the highest degree. Its author's early death was a real catastrophe for learning.

At Padua his genius flowered rapidly. In addition to constructing a number of mechanical devices for the service of the Republic he wrote works on the laws of motion, on fortification, on the making of sun-dials, on the celestial globe, and on the sins of his enemies. In 1597 he assured Kepler that he had already been ' for many years an adherent of the Copernican system ', and that he had ' collected many arguments for the purpose of refuting ' the disciples of Aristotle and Ptolemy.[1] It was not until 1604, however, that he made his first serious assault on the Aristotelian position. A new star suddenly flamed out in the October sky that year and as suddenly disappeared. To this phenomenon the dauntless professor devoted three lectures with the aim of showing that whatever Aristotle might have taught about the unchangeableness of the heavens, they *had* changed that year, and changed in dramatic fashion too.

A few years later Galileo, acting on a hint which he had received from Holland about a wonderful instrument that had been invented there by means of which distant objects could be seen very plainly, was devoting all his great mechanical talent to the construction of a similar instrument. Shortly afterwards, when his work was complete, he wrote as follows from Venice to his brother-in-law :

You must know, then, that about two months ago a report was spread here that in Flanders a spy-glass had been presented to Prince Maurice, so ingeniously constructed that it made the most distant objects appear quite near, so that a man could be seen quite plainly at a distance of two miles. This result seemed to me so extraordinary that it set me thinking ; and as it appeared to me that it depended upon the theory of perspective, I reflected upon the manner of constructing it, in which I was at length so entirely successful that I made a spy-glass which far surpasses the report of the Flanders one.

As the news had reached Venice that I had made such an instrument, six days ago I was summoned before their highnesses the signoria, and exhibited it to them, to the astonishment of the whole senate. Many noblemen and senators, although of a great age, mounted the steps of the highest church towers at Venice, in order to see sails and shipping that were so far off that it was two hours before they were seen steering full sail into the harbour without my spy-glass, for the effect of my instrument is such that

[1] Letter quoted by von Gebler, *Galileo Galilei and the Roman Curia*, p. 13.

it makes an object fifty miles off appear as large and as near as if it were only five.[1]

Possessed of the instrument which was soon to prove a deadly weapon of war in his hands, Galileo immediately began to explore the midnight skies. At first he concentrated his attention on the moon and discovered to his great satisfaction that it was by no means the spick and span aristocrat it was believed to be, but covered with all kinds of bumps and disfigurements. In the constellation of Orion, he found five hundred new stars, and instead of the traditional seven Pleiades he saw thirty-six. But the greatest thrill which he received during his nightly vigils was when in January 1610 the four moons of Jupiter revealed themselves, the first time that they had ever been seen by human eyes. Moreover they moved in a way similar to that which Copernicus had surmised for the whole solar system, and provided an illustration of Copernicanism in miniature, being as Galileo himself expressed it 'a little universe within our big one'. Never again could it be said that the earth was the centre round which all the heavenly bodies revolved, for Jupiter's moons revolved round him.

The moons were christened the 'Medicean planets' by their discoverer, in honour of Cosimo de Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, whom he had had for a pupil. Thereupon Galileo received a polite request from the French Court 'in case he discovered any other fine star, to call it after the great star of France, Henry IV, the most brilliant in the universe'. This notice taken of him in high places, pleased him mightily.

In March 1610 he published at Venice an account of all his discoveries up to date in a book entitled *Sidereus Nuncius*. He was cautious enough not to urge any conclusions from the facts which he presented, but the facts were sufficiently shattering to require no commentary. All that the more intransigent Aristotelians could do was to deny their existence, and they did not hesitate. Even the better type of scientists, such as Father Clavius and his associates at the Roman College, were sceptical, for they thought, not unreasonably, that some imperfection in Galileo's 'spy-glass', or the fatigue produced by his long observations, might be the real explanation of the alleged phenomena. Clavius is reported to have remarked jokingly, when informed of the discoveries, that to see Jupiter's

[1] Translation from von Gebler, *Galileo Galilei and the Roman Curia*, pp. 18–19.

moons one must first be provided with a telescope that could manufacture them.[1]

Shortly after this bit of sarcasm had passed from the Jesuit Professor's lips, the Roman College acquired possession of a fairly good ' spy-glass ', and Clavius then saw for himself that Jupiter's moons were not merely Galileo's imagination. He immediately wrote to that gentleman, expressing his delight at being able to confirm the discovery, and Galileo replied in the friendliest terms, giving the latest news about the moons. The Jesuits in Florence had already been shown these moons by their discoverer, and he told a friend in a very pleased fashion that the Fathers had introduced them into their sermons and lectures ' con concetti molto graziosi '.[2]

Meantime new discoveries were the order of the day in Padua. Saturn was found to have an extraordinary ring around him, Venus was seen to go through phases just like the moon, and, most unkindest cut of all for the rigid peripatetics, the spy-glass had revealed spots on the sun. In a letter of Galileo to Kepler, 19 August 1610, the excitement caused by the publication of these facts is described in a sarcastic vein :

You are the first and almost the only person who, even after but a cursory investigation, has, such is your openness of mind and lofty genius, given entire credit to my statements. . . . We will not trouble ourselves about the abuse of the multitude, for against Jupiter even giants, to say nothing of pigmies, fight in vain. Let

[1] *Le Opere di Galileo Galilei. Edizione Nazionale.* Direttore Antonio Favaro, Florence, 1890–1909 (20 vols.), vol. VIII, p. 109. This magnificent work of reference, which gives for the first time the complete documentary evidence bearing on the life and trial of Galileo, was carried out to a large extent, its distinguished editor tells us, ' grazie all' alta ed illuminata sapienza di Papa Leone XIII.' Favaro and the present Holy Father, Pius XI, became acquainted while working together in the great libraries of Italy, and the Pope sent the Professor's family a letter of affectionate sympathy at the time of his death in 1922. He does not appear to have been a Catholic, and he certainly was not sparing in his criticism of the seventeenth-century cardinals and other Roman officials who had opposed his hero in 1616 and 1633. Galileo might have been his own son, so jealous was he of his fame, and this partiality undoubtedly detracts from the value of the many separate volumes which he published about the great scientist or about his enemies. On the other hand, he was a supremely competent editor, and has provided the rest of us with ample means for checking his private views about the persons and problems involved, in the splendid *Edizione Nazionale* of Galileo's works. The Italian Government, for reasons best known to itself, would not permit the National Edition to be put on the book-market, but it may be consulted at the British Museum and other such institutions.

[2] *Opere* (Ediz. Naz.), n. 436. Letter of 17 December 1610.

Jupiter stand in the heavens, and let the sycophants bark at him as they will. . . . In Pisa, Florence, Bologna, Venice, and Padua, many have seen the planets [1]; but all are silent on the subject and undecided, for the greater number recognize neither Jupiter nor Mars and scarcely the moon as planets.

At Venice one man spoke against me, boasting that he knew for certain that my satellites of Jupiter, which he had several times observed, were not planets because they were always to be seen with Jupiter, and either all or some of them now followed and now preceded him. What is to be done? Shall we side with Democritus or Heraclitus? I think, my Kepler, we will laugh at the extraordinary stupidity of the multitude. What do you say to the leading philosophers of the faculty here, to whom I have offered a thousand times of my own accord to show my studies, but who with the lazy obstinacy of a serpent who has eaten his fill have never consented to look at planets, nor moon, nor telescope? Verily, just as serpents close their ears, so do these men close their eyes to the light of truth.

These are great matters; yet they do not occasion me any surprise. People of this sort think that philosophy is a sort of book like the Aeneid or the Odyssey, and that the truth is to be sought, not in the universe, not in nature, but (I use their own words) *by comparing texts*! How you would laugh if you heard what things the first philosopher of the faculty at Pisa brought against me in the presence of the Grand Duke, for he tried, now with logical arguments, now with magical adjurations, to tear down and argue the new planets out of heaven.[2]

5. In January 1611 Galileo decided to visit Rome again, and having obtained letters of introduction, and a free passage from the Tuscan government, set off like a crusader, on March 22, to rescue the College of Cardinals from the thraldom of Aristotle and Ptolemy. That this was his chief purpose in going was revealed both by his own avowal and by the collection of telescopes in his baggage. Whether the Cardinals wanted to or not they were going to hear all about the 'circumjovial' planets![3] He arrived in the Eternal City on Tuesday, March 29, and the following day turned his steps towards the Roman College. On April 1 he wrote as follows to his friend Belisario Vinta:

I have had a long discussion with Father Clavius and with two other most intelligent Fathers of the same Order. I found the

[1] Planets = the Medicean planets or moons of Jupiter.

[2] Translation from von Gebler, *Galileo Galilei and the Roman Curia*, p. 26.

[3] The adjective came from Kepler's pen.

pupils of these men occupied in reading, not without a great deal of laughter, the latest lucubrations which Signor Francesco Sizzi has written and published against me. . . . The Fathers being finally convinced that the Medicean planets are realities, have devoted the past two months to continuous observations of them, and these observations are still in progress. We have compared notes, and have found that our experiences tally in every respect.[1]

That was a very good beginning to the Paduan Professor's Roman campaign, but the sequel exceeded all his brightest expectations. 'He was received with the greatest honour,' writes von Gebler. 'His triumphs were really extraordinary, so great that they were sure to secure for him numerous personal enemies in addition to the opponents of his doctrines. . . . Attentions of all sorts were heaped upon the astronomer. Pope Paul V granted him a long audience and graciously assured him of his unalterable good will. . . . The highest dignitaries of the Church testified their admiration.'[2]

Many picturesque little incidents of that triumphal visit have come down to us. One shows us Galileo at a grand banquet given in his honour by Bellarmine's learned friend Federico Cesi, Duke of Acquasparta, who had founded some time earlier the famous *Accademia de' Lincei*, which was the Roman equivalent of our English Royal Society.[3] When the feasting and toasting were over, the great man of the hour produced his spy-glasses and showed the company of theologians, philosophers, and mathematicians the new planets and other celestial marvels. Next morning he told them to turn the glasses on the basilica of St. John Lateran, which was three miles from the villa where they were staying, and then he stood by enjoying their amazement when they found that they could read quite easily the inscription of Pope Sixtus V on the loggia of the church.

Cardinal Farnese also fêted him with a splendid banquet, and Cardinal Bellarmine, whose resources were too meagre

[1] *Opere* (Ediz. Naz.), n. 505.

[2] *Galileo Galilei and the Roman Curia*, pp. 35–36.

[3] The 'Academy of the Lynxes' still flourishes. In a letter to G. Faber, the mathematician, 1 June 1628, its noble founder, Prince Cesi, spoke of his friendship with Bellarmine in feeling terms—'la felice memoria del Sig. Cardinal Bellarmino, molto mio Signore, e chi mi portava particolar affetto.' *Opere di Galileo* (Ediz. Naz.), n. 1885, vol. XIII, pp. 429–430.

to permit of such displays, showed him in other ways every mark of friendship and esteem.[1] Blessed Robert, of course, was invited to look through the spy-glass, and that what he saw gave him food for thought is evident from the letter which he addressed to Clavius and his fellow-professors at the Roman College, 19 April 1611 :

Very Reverend Fathers,

I know that your Reverences have heard of these new astronomical discoveries which an eminent mathematician has made by means of an instrument called a *cannone* or spy-glass. I myself by means of the same instrument have seen some very wonderful things concerning the moon and Venus, and I would be grateful if you would favour me with your honest opinion on the following matters :

1°. Whether you confirm the report that there are multitudes of fixed stars invisible to the naked eye, and especially whether the Milky Way and the nebulae are to be regarded as collections of very small stars.

2°. Whether it is true that Saturn is not a simple star but three stars joined together.[2]

3°. Whether it is a fact that Venus changes its shape, increasing and diminishing like the moon.

4°. Whether the moon really has a rough and unequal surface.

5°. Whether it is true that four movable stars revolve round Jupiter, each with a different movement from that of the others, but all the movements being exceedingly swift.

I am anxious to have some definite information about these matters, because I hear conflicting opinions expressed with regard to them. As your Reverences are skilled in the science of mathematics you will easily be able to tell me whether these new discoveries are well-founded, or whether they may not be a mere illusion. If you like you can write your answer on this same sheet.

Your Reverences' brother in Christ,
Robert Cardinal Bellarmine.[3]

A fortnight later, after they had carefully considered the points put before them, the Fathers addressed the following letter to the Cardinal :

[1] This we know from a letter of one of Galileo's greatest friends, Piero Dini, addressed to Galileo himself, 7 March 1615.

[2] That was what Saturn and its ring looked like through Galileo's primitive telescopes.

[3] *Opere di Galileo* (Ediz. Naz.), n. 515, vol. XI, pp. 87–88.

Most Illustrious and Reverend Lord and Patron,

We give our answer on this sheet, as your Lordship bade us, with reference to the various phenomena seen in the sky by means of the glass, and we do so in the same order in which you proposed the questions.

1°. It is true that the telescope reveals a vast number of stars in the nebulae of Cancer and the Pleiades, but it is not so certain that the Milky Way consists entirely of small stars. It seems more probable that there are parts of it which are denser and more continuous, though the existence of the many small stars cannot be denied. In fact, from what is to be seen in the nebulae of Cancer and the Pleiades, it may be conjectured that in the Milky Way, also, there are probably stars in immense multitudes which cannot be discerned because they are too small.

2°. We have observed that Saturn is not spherical in shape, as we perceive Jupiter and Mars to be, but oval and oblong in this manner, O O O, though we have not seen the two stars at the sides detached from the centre one in such a way that we might call them separate stars.

3°. It is perfectly true that Venus diminishes and increases like the moon. During our observations of it when it was the evening star and almost full, we noticed that it grew less by gradual degrees on the illuminated side, which always faces towards the sun, and at the same time became ever more crescent-shaped. As the morning star, after conjunction with the sun, we perceived that it was horned and always presented its illuminated surface to the sun. This illumination continually increases while the apparent diameter of the planet gradually diminishes.

4°. With regard to the moon, the great irregularities and inequalities of its surface cannot be denied, but Father Clavius is of opinion that these inequalities are merely apparent, being due to the fact that the lunar mass is not uniformly dense but composed of more rarefied and more solidified sections, which are the ordinary spots one sees with the naked eye. Others think that the surface of the moon is really unequal, but so far there is not sufficient evidence on this point to enable us to give a positive answer.

5°. About Jupiter. Four stars may be seen revolving round him with great rapidity, now, all four moving towards the east, now, all towards the west, while at times some of them move in the one direction and some in the other, almost in a straight line. These objects cannot be fixed stars since their movements are far swifter than and altogether different from the movements of the fixed stars. Moreover, their distance from one another and from Jupiter varies continually.

This is what we have to say in reply to your Lordship's questions, and, in conclusion, we offer you our humble respects, and pray

CHRISTOPHER CLAVIUS, S.J.

God to grant you the fullest measure of happiness. From the Roman College, 24 April 1611.

Your Lordship's unworthy servants in Christ,

Cristoforo Clavio.
Cristoforo Grienberger.
Odo Malcotio.
Gio. Paolo Lembo.[1]

A week or so after the dispatch of this letter, its writers organized a public conference in honour of Galileo. Cardinals, princes, scientists, literary men, and scholars of every description, were invited to the Roman College. When the distinguished company had assembled and Galileo himself had been ensconced on a kind of throne, Father Odo van Maelcote of Brussels, one of the signatories of the letter, delivered an enthusiastic discourse on the new astronomical discoveries. Among the gathering was a young Belgian Jesuit, known as Gregory of St. Vincent, a name that was afterwards to become celebrated in the history of conic sections. Gregory wrote a glowing account of the proceedings to a friend in Bruges immediately after their close,[2] and so great was the impression they made on his mind that half a century later he described them once again in a letter to the famous Christian Huygen, as vividly as if they had occurred but yesterday. The students of Father Clavius—'gli accademici del P. Clavio'—of which he was one, had played a prominent part in the day's doings:

As soon as Galileo himself arrived, we described and expounded the new celestial phenomena, in his presence, to the whole University. And we proved clearly that Venus revolves round the sun, but not without plaintive muttering from the Philosophers. . . .[3]

Just before Galileo left Rome at the beginning of June, Cardinal del Monte addressed a note to the Grand Duke of

[1] *Opere di Galileo* (Ediz. Naz.), n. 520, vol. XI, pp. 92–93. The copy of this very interesting letter in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, bears the following autograph of Galileo: 'Attestazione de' PPi. Giesuiti al Rever^mo Card. Bellarmino.' The letter became widely known and the comments passed on it were amusingly diverse. One devoted peripatetic, Lodovico delle Colombi, wrote to thank Clavius most warmly for having gallantly defended the moon, while a gentleman named da Cigoli, who did not love Aristotle, told Galileo that the good Father Clavius 'must have no eyes in his head'. *L.c.*, p. 118, and pp. 167–168.

[2] This letter is n. 562 in the Edizione Nazionale, vol. XI, p. 162.

[3] Huygen's *Opera*, vol. II, p. 490. '. . . Et Venerem circa solem verti manifeste demonstravimus, non absque murmure Philosophorum . . .'

Tuscany which shows better than anything how warmly the visitor had been received :

> Galileo has during his stay at Rome given great satisfaction, and I think he must have felt it no less himself, for he had the opportunity of showing his discoveries so well that to all clever and learned men in this city they seemed no less true and well founded than astonishing. Were we still living under the ancient republic of Rome, I verily believe there would have been a column on the Capitol erected in his honour. . . .[1]

In the house where Bellarmine lived at this time, there was a sun-dial set in one of the outer walls. The gnomon or pin of the dial was twisted out of position, but that fact had not worried Blessed Robert until Galileo came to stimulate his scientific interests. If one is to study the movements of the sun with accuracy, one must have a reliable instrument with which to measure them, so the Cardinal decided to have his sun-dial mended, and asked Father Grienberger and a young Jesuit student named Horatio Grassi to come and see whether they could not do something with it. They told him that it would be possible to put it right at a cost of two *giulii*. When he heard this, his face fell and he remained silent for a little time. Then he said to the two men : ' I have not the heart to spend so much on my own convenience, for those two *giulii* are enough to support some poor wretch for two days.' And so Grienberger and Grassi went home, the sun-dial, in Bartoli's words, continued to be a *bugiardo* that never spoke the truth, and some poor wretch had two *giulii* in his pocket.[2]

[1] Translation from von Gebler, *Galileo Galilei and the Roman Curia*, p. 36. During his stay in Rome Galileo himself wrote : ' Everybody is most kind to me, especially the Jesuit Fathers.' *Opere* (Ediz. Naz.), vol. VI, p. 157. Cf. vol. VIII, p. 159.

[2] The story of the sun-dial is told by Eudaemon-Joannes, who had it from Grassi. *Summarium*, n. 29, p. 101, and cf. Fuligatti, *Vita*, p. 202 ; Bartoli, *Vita*, pp. 378–379. This Horatio Grassi has been given quite a leading position in the calendar of the world's greatest villains, all because he happened to disagree with Galileo on the nature of comets. Galileo held that comets were kind of atmospheric will-o'-the-wisps and defended that view in a book published under the name of one of his disciples. Grassi answered, under the *nom de guerre* of Lotario Sarsi, in a work entitled *Libra Astronomica*, maintaining that comets were more or less what everybody now knows them to be. According to Professor Favaro this book was ' such a direct, open, violent, malicious, and perfidious attack on Galileo that he could not keep silent under it and answered with that incomparable jewel of polemical literature, *Il Saggiatore* ' (*Galileo Galilei*, Profili, n. 10, Modena, 1910, p. 51). Now the truth is that Grassi's work does not contain a single bitter or injurious word against Galileo from beginning to end. Consequently, Favaro either cannot have read Grassi

On his return to Florence where, by the grace of Duke Cosimo, he now held a lucrative and very honourable post, Galileo devoted his spare moments to the composition of a treatise on floating bodies. In this work he once again joyfully took the field against the Aristotelians, and triumphantly refuted their master's theory that the floating or immersion of bodies in water was to be explained chiefly by their shape. As soon as his pioneer treatise on hydrostatics was completed, its author at once posted a presentation copy to Cardinal Bellarmine, and received from him the following acknowledgment, dated 23 June 1612 :

Illustrious Signore,

I have received your letter and the accompanying treatise on bodies that move about or remain still when placed in water. I shall read it with much pleasure, sure as I am that it is a work worthy of so eminent an author. While thanking you most heartily for your courtesy in sending it to me, I would like to assure you that the affection you have thus shown me is fully reciprocated on my part, and you will see that this is so, if ever I get an opportunity of doing you a service. With my kindest respects and a prayer that God may grant you every blessing.

Your servant,

Cardinal Bellarmine.[1]

6. While Galileo thus went from victory to victory, while he was being lionized by the Cardinals in Rome, while he talked and boasted about Jupiter and his moons almost as if he owned them, the many enemies whom his sarcastic tongue and pen had raised up against him were mustering their forces in Tuscany. Though some of Galileo's champions

at all, or else he allowed his adoration of his hero to prevail over his judgment as a historian. Fahie, in his extremely interesting study of Galileo (London, 1903), describes the *Libra Astronomica* as ' a violent pamphlet, full of abuse of Galileo and his school ' (p. 183), while von Gebler could not find words cutting enough in which to convey his contempt for its author. That is how legends are created.

[1] *Le Opere di Galileo* (Ediz. Naz.), n. 709, vol. xi, pp. 337–338. The full title of Galileo's work was : ' Discorso al Serenissimo D. Cosimo II, Gran-Duca di Toscana, intorno alle cose che stanno in su l'aqua o che in quella si muovano.' With reference to this question of floating bodies, it is of interest to know that Bellarmine's friend, Father Grienberger, wrote in 1614 to a close friend of Galileo to say that were it not for the deference which by the direction of his superiors he was obliged to show towards Aristotle, he would have spoken his mind clearly on the matter, in which Galileo was perfectly right. It was nothing wonderful, he continued, that Aristotle and Galileo should be found in disagreement, for it was as clear as the day that the Stagyrite had fallen into error again and again.

would like us to believe that it was Catholic priests or prelates who started the offensive, we have the evidence of his own letters to prove the contrary. The first famous, or, according to choice, infamous, attack on him came from a young German Lutheran named Martin Horky, who was studying in Italy in 1610. This counterblast, which was called *Peregrinatio contra Nuncium Sidereum*, was certainly written with vigour, but not any more vigorously than Galileo himself was accustomed to speak and write. 'I will never concede his four new planets to that Italian from Padua, though I die for it,' Horky told his patron, Kepler, at this time.

In the following year, 1611, a Florentine named Francis Sizzi came out with his *Dianoia Astronomica*, also against Jupiter's little family. Concerning its author, of whom he speaks as 'a young fanatic, the monk Sizy', von Gebler graciously informs us that he was 'the same who seven years later was broken on the wheel for political crimes at Paris', which is one way of showing what a very bad astronomer he must have been. Whatever his political crimes and his fate, Sizzi was an excellent mathematician, and he was *not* a monk, nor a friar, nor a cleric of any description, but a simple layman.[1] Sizzi's lucubration was full of nonsensical analogies, but one bit of the nonsense was significant enough as it heralded an approaching storm. Jupiter's moons could not exist, he argued, because there could not be more than seven planets in the skies, and that there could not be more than seven planets might be inferred from this fact among others that the candlestick in Solomon's temple had seven branches![2]

That first ridiculous attempt to bring the Scriptures to the relief of Aristotle was soon followed by another. Lodovico Colombi, who like Sizzi was a Florentine layman, published a small book in which numerous Biblical texts were marshalled for Galileo's confusion. The real trouble, however, did not begin until the end of 1613. On December 13 that year, the Grand Duke of Tuscany invited several learned men to a banquet at Pisa, where the Court was then staying. Among the guests was the professor of mathematics in the University of the city, a young Benedictine monk named Castelli, who for many years previously had been one of Galileo's closest

[1] For the proof of these two facts cf. *Opere di Galileo* (Ediz. Naz.), vol. XI, pp. 74 sqq.; Adolf Müller, *Galileo Galilei*, Rome, 1901, p. 140.
[2] Sizzi's work was reprinted by Favaro, *Opere di Galileo* (Ediz. Naz.), vol. VI, pp. 409 sqq.

friends.[1] The conversation at the banquet turned chiefly on the moons of Jupiter, and Castelli seized the opportunity to eulogize Galileo's discoveries in enthusiastic terms. The Grand Duke was naturally very pleased to hear the Medicean planets thus belauded, but his mother, the Dowager Grand Duchess Christina of Lorraine, was not so easy in her mind about them. Beside or near her at table was Dr. Cosimo Boscaglia, the professor of physics in the University and a very fervent peripatetic. This man was quite ready to admit the genuineness of Galileo's discoveries, but the deductions that were being drawn from them in favour of the motion of the earth seemed to him to be in contradiction with the Scriptures. These doubts he communicated to the Grand Duchess who, when the banquet was over, invited Castelli to discuss the question further in presence of the whole company. The debate lasted two hours, but neither the good lady nor Boscaglia were converted by the Benedictine's eloquence.

Castelli at once wrote a full account of the incident to Galileo and received back on December 21 an answer that was to make history. In this famous letter Galileo begins by remarking quite justly that though the Sacred Scriptures cannot lie or err, inasmuch as they are the absolute and inviolable truth, commentators on the Scriptures may quite easily go astray, especially should they wish to interpret every chapter and verse literally. Indeed such exegesis would involve them not only in various contradictions but in downright heresy, for they would be constrained to teach that God had hands and feet like men, and such human passions as anger and hatred :

> Consequently since the Scriptures contain many propositions that are not true if taken in a literal sense, and that were put in their present form in order to suit the limited intelligence of the generality of mankind, it is necessary for the sake of those better instructed that wise expositors should make clear the true sense of the sacred text. . . .
>
> Since, then, the Holy Scriptures not only admit but require in many places a different explanation from that which appears to be the obvious meaning of the words, it seems to me that they ought to be reserved for the last place in scientific discussions. They, like nature, proceed from the Divine Word, . . . but that the Scriptures might be accommodated to the understanding of

[1] Favaro, *Amici e Corrispondenti di Galileo Galilei. XXI, Benedetto Castelli.* Venice, 1908, p. 130.

the majority, many things had to be expressed in them in a manner that differed, in the obvious sense of the words, from the absolute truth. Nature, on the other hand, is inexorable and unchangeable, and cares not whether her hidden causes and modes of operation are intelligible or unintelligible to the understanding of man; nor does she on that account ever deviate from the laws that have been imposed upon her. This being so, it seems to me that no effect of nature which our sense experience places before our eyes or which is a necessary conclusion from our experience, ought to be called in question on the strength of Scripture texts which seem to imply the contrary, because not every saying of Scripture is bound by such rigid laws as is every effect of nature.

If the Bible, in order to accommodate itself to the capacity of the unlearned, has not refrained from expressing even its principal dogmas in a distorted manner by attributing qualities to God which are incompatible with and indeed totally opposed to His Divine Essence, who can assert with assurance that when it speaks incidentally of the earth, the sun, or any other natural object, it abandons this style and chooses to express its real meaning in the literal sense of the words it employs? . . .

Since it is plain that two truths can never contradict each other, it is the duty of wise interpreters to take the pains to find out the real meaning of the sacred texts, in accordance with those conclusions of natural science which the clear evidence of the senses, or apodictic demonstrations, have put beyond dispute. As therefore, the Bible, though divinely inspired, admits in many passages, for the reasons already given, an interpretation other than the literal one; and as we cannot be quite certain that all its commentators are similarly inspired by God, I think that it would be the part of prudence not to permit any one to seize upon texts of Scripture and, as it were, to constrain them to support as true, conclusions about nature which the evidence of our senses and necessary demonstrations may afterwards show to be false. . . .

Who will dare to assert that everything that can be known in the world is known already? It would therefore, perhaps, be the wisest course not to add without necessity to those articles of our salvation and institution in faith which are so firmly founded that there is no danger of any cogent and valid reasons ever being brought against them. This being so, the disorder would be all the greater if the addition were made at the request of men whose heavenly inspiration is not only not quite clear to us, but who are obviously entirely destitute of the gifts necessary, I will not say to refute, but even to understand, the proofs by which the conclusions of the subtler sciences are established.

I am inclined to think that the authority of the Sacred Scriptures has as its sole aim to convince men of those truths which are necessary for their salvation, and which, being far above human under-

standing, cannot be made credible by any learning or other means than the revelation of the Holy Spirit. But that the same God who has endowed us with senses, reason, and understanding, should not wish us to use them and should desire to impart to us by another means knowledge which we have it in our power to acquire by their use, this is a thing which I do not think I am bound to believe, especially as regards those sciences of which the Holy Scriptures contain only small fragments and varying conclusions. Such a science is astronomy, for the Bible says so little about it that we do not find even the names of the planets mentioned. If Moses had intended to instruct the people about the positions and movements of the heavenly bodies, he would not have confined himself to a few remarks that are almost nothing in comparison with the infinite number of deep and wonderful conclusions at which the science of astronomy has arrived. . . .[1]

Anyone who will compare this wonderful letter, of which we have given but a few extracts, with the Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* of Pope Leo XIII on the study of Holy Scripture, will see how near in many places Galileo came to the very words of the Holy Father. No one could say after studying it that the great scientist had brought his troubles upon his own head by intruding into a field in which he had no competence. But in dealing with this matter it is necessary in justice to all who were concerned to call attention to one great fallacy latent in the letter. Galileo gave it as his opinion that no effect of nature of which the senses afford evidence, or which is a necessary deduction from their evidence, should be considered doubtful because the Scriptures seemed to teach the contrary. In this opinion he was perfectly justified, but to imply, as he unquestionably did, that Copernicanism was a *necessary* deduction from the evidence of the senses, was to make his own genius, which had jumped to that conclusion, the standard for the rest of the world. He had nothing to offer in the way of strict proof that the earth went round the sun, and his one great argument for the rotation of the earth on its axis, which was drawn from the phenomenon of the tides, was entirely wrong. In view of all this, it is scarcely surprising, to say the least, that professional theologians should have resented his attempts to enlighten them, especially as the attempts were carried out with a certain sarcastic aggressiveness of which even this letter, one of the most moderate of his pronouncements, is not without traces.

[1] *Opere di Galileo* (Ediz. Naz.), vol. v, pp. 279 sqq. The letter is also given in Favaro's *Galileo e l'Inquisizione*, Florence, 1907, pp. 39–45.

7. The resentment of the theologians soon found dramatic expression, at least if we are to believe the story as told by Galileo's admirers. The following is von Gebler's picturesque account :

Meanwhile, the league formed in Florence against Galileo had found in Father Caccini, a Dominican monk, the right tool for setting on foot the long desired scandal. He had had some experience in misuse of the pulpit, for he had before this got up a scene in a church at Bologna. And as the favourable moment for action had now arrived, Caccini appeared as Galileo's first public accuser by thundering out a fierce sermon against the astronomer and his system on the fourth Sunday of Advent [December 21], 1614, in the church of Santa Maria Novella, at Florence. He showed his wit by selecting as the two texts for his philippic the tenth chapter of Joshua and the first chapter of Acts. He began with the words : *Viri Galilaei, quid statis aspicientes in coelum* : Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven ?

Astronomy was thus happily introduced into the pulpit. The furious preacher asserted that the doctrine taught by Galileo in Florence, of the earth's revolution round the sun, was quite irreconcilable with the Catholic religion. . . . He as good as denounced the doctrine as heretical. The sermon ended with a coarse attack on mathematicians in general, whose science he called an invention of the devil ; and with a wish that they should be banished from all Christian states, since all heresies proceeded from them.[1]

This account of what took place is substantially accurate but it needs a great number of foot-notes. There was no league against Galileo in Florence and Caccini was nobody's tool, but acted entirely on his own responsibility. It was the good custom in Florence in those days to read and expound the entire Bible in church. On that fourth Sunday in Advent, 1614, the tenth chapter of Josue had been reached at Santa Maria Novella, and when discussing the text, *Sol, ne movearis*, it was very natural indeed that Father Caccini should have spoken of the great controversy of the hour. It was what preachers have always done and always will do. Whether he used the text from the Acts of the Apostles is a matter which we may believe or doubt as we please, but the story rests on the slenderest evidence,[2] and bears a suspicious resemblance to the various *post factum* inventions with which literature teems. As for the allusion to the mathematicians,

[1] *Galileo Galilei and the Roman Curia*, p. 51. [2] It appeared for the first time in *Lettere inedite di uomini illustri*, Florence, 1783.

it has to be remembered that in olden times astrologers were often called by that name, and the custom of so calling them had not died out at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

In 1609, Nicholas Serarius, a famous Jesuit commentator on the Scriptures, had published a work on the Book of Josue entitled, *Josue explained from the womb to the tomb*. Therein he expressly condemned the doctrine of the movement of the earth as contrary to the Word of God, and to the opinion of philosophers, theologians, and the Fathers of the Church. Caccini read the Jesuit's strong words to his audience, and he tells us that the *viri Galilei*, as a counterblast, tried to get another Jesuit to preach Copernicanism in the Duomo the following Sunday ! [1]

The tirade against the theories of Galileo in the pulpit of Santa Maria Novella certainly seems to have been expressed in terms more eloquent than prudent, for the man responsible was taken to task by three distinguished members of his own Order. The Dominican Preacher-General, Father Luigi Maraffi, who resided in Rome, thought it his duty to present an apology to the ruffled Galileo :

I have been extremely annoyed at the scandal that has followed, and the more so as the author of it is a brother of my Order. It

[1] Caccini's relation is given in Favaro's *Galileo e l'Inquisizione*, pp. 47–48. All the signs point to Fra Tommaso (the Father's name in religion) having been a very good and honest, if somewhat hot-headed man. As we are asked to accept so much on the evidence of Galileo's friends, why should we not be allowed to believe one of his foes for a change ? Favaro tries to make out that Galileo's letter to Castelli was written as a kind of reply to Caccini's lecture (*Galileo e l'Inquisizione*, pp. 3 sqq.), but as the letter was dispatched 21 December 1613, and the lecture was not delivered until exactly a year later, 21 December 1614, it is rather difficult to see how this can be maintained, or even seriously argued. A short time before the date of Caccini's outburst, Cardinal Bellarmine gave his autograph to a Dutch worthy named Ernest Brinck, who was a great hunter after such things. The entry in his album, which is still extant, for November 5, 1614, runs thus :

Deum time et mandata
ejus observa ; hoc est enim
omnis homo. Eccles. 12.
Robertus Card.lis Bellar-
minus. Die 5. Novb. 1614.

After obtaining Bellarmine's signature, Brinck went to Florence in quest of his next prize, which follows immediately in the album :

Ann. 1614 D. 19 Novembris
ut nobili, ac generoso studio
D. Ernesti Brinckij rem gratā
facerem Galileus Galileius Flo-
rentinus manu propria scripsi
Florentie

is my misfortune to have to answer for all the stupidities (*le bestialità*) which thirty or forty thousand of my brothers in religion may and do actually commit.[1]

Another Dominican, Caccini's brother, both in religion and according to the flesh, wrote from Rome to the offender himself :

The extravagant outburst of which I hear you were guilty has amazed and disgusted me beyond measure. . . . What will the world and your Order think of you after this ? Was it not enough for you to get yourself into that previous scrape ? Brother Thomas, take it from me, reputation rules the world, and people who are responsible for such stupidity as yours lose their good names. . . . Don't go prancing about again in this unseemly fashion. . . . There are many other things I might say to you but this is enough for the present. . . . You have committed a gross blunder and made a dreadful fool of yourself. My best of wishes. Rome, 2 January 1615. Matteo Caccini.[2]

Finally, a Father of the famous convent of San Marco, Florence, where Fra Angelico and Savonarola had lived and toiled, expressed himself as very troubled that ' il buon Padre Tommaso ' should have let himself go in such an undignified fashion.[3] This was no less a person than Father Nicholas Lorini, whom all good ' Galileans ' hold in execration for the following reason. Galileo's letter to Castelli had soon become public property, as the Benedictine was so impressed by its wisdom that he had caused copies to be made and widely distributed. Father Lorini, having met with one of these, considered it his duty to bring it to the notice of the Holy Office at Rome, because, as he said in his communication, which was posted 7 February 1615 :

All our Fathers of this devout convent of St. Mark are of opinion that the letter contains many propositions which appear to be suspicious or presumptuous, as when it asserts that the language of Holy Scripture does not mean what it seems to mean ; that in discussions about natural phenomena the last and lowest place ought to be given to the authority of the sacred text ; that its commentators have very often erred in their interpretation ;

[1] *Opere di Galileo* (Ediz. Naz.), vol. XII, p. 127. It is quite a possibility that Father Maraffi was given a highly-coloured account of the incident by Galileo's friends.

[2] In Ricci Riccardi's *Galileo Galilei e Fra Tommaso Caccini*, Florence, 1902, p. 69.

[3] *Opere di Galileo* (Ediz. Naz.), vol. XIX, p. 123.

that the Holy Scriptures should not be mixed up with anything except matters of religion. . . .

When I saw that this document was in everybody's hands . . . ; that [the disciples of Galileo] were taking upon themselves to expound the Holy Scriptures according to their private lights and in a manner different from that of the common interpretation of the Fathers of the Church ; that they strove to defend an opinion which appeared to be quite contrary to the sacred text ; that they spoke in slighting terms of the ancient Fathers and of St. Thomas Aquinas ; that they were treading under foot the entire philosophy of Aristotle which has been of such service to scholastic theology ; and, in fine, that to show their cleverness they were airing and scattering broadcast in our steadfastly Catholic city a thousand saucy and irreverent surmises ; when, I say, I became aware of all this, I made up my mind to acquaint your Lordship [1] with the state of affairs, that you in your holy zeal for the faith may, in conjunction with your illustrious colleagues, provide such remedies as will appear advisable. . . .[2]

Von Gebler's comments on this document are amusing. It is ' couched in a most artful and miserable style ', and its author is a ' cowardly and cunning ' person, steeped in hypocrisy, etc., etc.[3] The fact is that Lorini was acting entirely within his rights, and, though von Gebler will have it that his letter was an official denunciation of Galileo, Father Nicholas himself told Cardinal Sfondrato that he did not wish it to be considered as such, but merely as a private piece of information for the guidance of the authorities in Rome.[4]

8. These various moves of his opponents threw Galileo into a state of intense excitement. To judge by the numerous, anxious letters which he hastily posted to friends at this time, he seemed to think that the whole world was in league against the moons of Jupiter, and the ideas of Copernicus. The truth was, had he only known, that the Roman Cardinals were not giving such questions a second thought, for they had much more important things to occupy them. In January 1615, before Lorini's letter had been dispatched at all, the irritated astronomer thought of appealing to Rome against the campaign of the Dominicans and others, but his great

[1] Cardinal Paolo Sfondrato, one of the Inquisitors-General.

[2] In Favaro's *Galileo e l'Inquisizione,* pp. 37–38.

[3] There are some serious mistranslations in the passages of the document which von Gebler cites.

[4] It is true that Lorini did not know much about astronomy. In a letter to Galileo himself, of an earlier date, he had spoken of Copernicus as ' that Ipernic, or whatever he calls himself '. *Opere* (Ediz. Naz.), n. 793.

friend Prince Cesi, who knew a good deal more about the ways of this world than the 'starry amorist' whom he was addressing, advised him most earnestly to proceed with caution and not to stir up the question in Rome 'in consideration of the multitude of peripatetics who here hold the field'.

A month later, 16 February 1615, Galileo addressed the following note to Mgr. Dini, one of his most trusted counsellors:

. . . As these Fathers [the Dominicans] and especially the man who spoke against me [at Santa Maria Novella] have, as I am told, made another move with regard to my letter [to Father Castelli], I thought it would be well to send your Reverence an accurate copy of the letter. You would oblige me very much by reading it to Father Grienberger, that excellent mathematician and my very dear friend and patron. If you consider it advisable, you might also find some opportunity of bringing it to the notice of Cardinal Bellarmine, as I am given to understand that these Dominican Fathers are proposing to apply to his Lordship, in the hopes of securing at least the condemnation of the book and teaching of Copernicus. . . .

Dini's answer was not posted until March 7, but the intervening weeks had not been wasted:

Piero Dini to Galileo in Florence, Rome, 7 March 1615.

The thousand spectacles and other celebrations during these days of carnival have prevented me from finding the persons with whom I desired to have audience. However, I made up for the delay by having several copies of your letter to Father Castelli transcribed. One of these I afterwards presented to Father Grienberger, and at the same time read to him the letter which you had addressed to myself. Several other people have had copies presented to them also, and I had a long conversation with Cardinal Bellarmine about the matters you mentioned.

He assured me that since you and he had discussed the astronomical question together, he had never once heard it ventilated in any way. As to Copernicus, his Lordship said that he could not believe that his work would be forbidden, and that the worst that could happen to it would, in his opinion, be the insertion of a note stating that the theory was introduced to save the celestial appearances, or some similar expression, in the same way as epicycles had been introduced. With this reservation, he continued, you would be at liberty to speak on these matters whenever you had occasion to do so. Concerning the matters themselves, it seemed to him that the passage of Holy Scripture most opposed to the new

interpretation of the celestial phenomena was the Psalmist's text, *Exultavit ut gigas ad currendam viam*, together with the words that follow, as all commentators up to the present time have understood it to imply that the sun is in motion.

I answered that the Holy Scriptures might be considered in this place as simply employing our usual form of speech, but the Cardinal said that in dealing with such a question we must not be too hasty, just as it would not be right to rush into condemnation of any one for holding the views which I had put before him. He added that if you had given any cogent reasons in your letter for those views, he would be very pleased to study them. . . . Then he told me that he intended to invite Father Grienberger to his house that he might discuss the question with him, and this very morning I have been to visit the Father, to see if there was any further news. I found that there was nothing fresh except that Father Grienberger would have been better pleased if you had first given your proofs before beginning to speak about the Holy Scriptures. I answered him that if you had done this, you would have been taken to task for giving your own facts preference, in the discussion, to the Word of God. As for the arguments which I put forward on behalf of your views, the Father said that he doubted whether they were not more plausible than true. . . .[1]

Galileo had another great friend in Rome at this time, a young priest named Ciampoli, who addressed two very interesting letters to him from which a few passages may be given. The first letter was dated 28 February 1615:

The Lord Cardinal Barberini who, as you know by experience, has always admired your genius, told me only yesterday evening that he thought it would be the more prudent course in dealing with these matters not to go beyond the reasons given by Ptolemy or Copernicus, nor to employ any other except physical and mathematical arguments. The theologians consider that it is their province to expound the Sacred Scriptures, and besides, when a new idea is brought to the fore, even though this be done with admirable skill, not everyone has a heart so free from prejudice as to be ready to accept the arguments for what they are worth. They become so exaggerated and distorted in their passage from mouth to mouth that the man who first uttered them would eventually be unable to recognize them as his own.

I know this right well. Your views on the phenomena of the moon attribute to that globe a certain similarity with our earth. This point is seized on and exaggerated by somebody. Soon you are supposed to have taught that there are men on the moon. Now another man comes along and wants to know how these lunar

[1] *Opere di Galileo* (Ediz. Naz.), vol. VIII, pp. 354–355.

people can be shown to have descended from Adam or to have issued from the Ark of Noe. . . .

You will pardon me in your kindness for the seeming impertinence of these hints which I give you, as you know that they proceed from the very deep affection which I bear you. . . .

Three weeks later Ciampoli reported that Dini and himself had had an interview with Cardinal del Monte :

Cardinal del Monte told us that he had discussed the question of Copernicanism at great length with Cardinal Bellarmine, and that they had concluded as follows. If you treat of the system of Copernicus and set forth its proofs without bringing in the Scriptures, the interpretation of which is the business of qualified theologians, then you should not be opposed in any way whatever. . . .

A book has recently been published at Naples with the object of showing that the doctrine of the motion of the earth and the immobility of the sun is not opposed to the Sacred Scriptures or to the Catholic faith. This book is in great danger of falling under the suspicion of the Congregation of the Holy Office for the reason I mentioned above, namely that it drags the Scriptures into the discussion. I will do my best to obtain a copy for you before anything happens. . . .[1]

The book referred to by Ciampoli was entitled *A Letter of the Reverend Father Master Paul Anthony Foscarini, Carmelite, concerning the opinion of Pythagoras and Copernicus on the motion of the earth and the immobility of the sun.* Foscarini presented Bellarmine with a copy of his work and received in acknowledgment the following long but profoundly interesting letter :

My Very Reverend Father,

It has been a pleasure to me to read the Italian letter and the Latin paper you sent me. I thank you for both the one and the other and I may tell you that I found them replete with skill and learning. As you ask for my opinion I will give it as briefly as possible because, at the moment, you have very little time for reading and I have very little time for writing.

1°. It seems to me that your Reverence and Signor Galileo would act prudently were you to content yourselves with speaking hypothetically and not absolutely, as I have always believed that Copernicus spoke.[2] To say that on the supposition of the earth's

[1] *Opere di Galileo* (Ediz. Naz.), vol. XII, pp. 159–160.

[2] It was the preface to the book of Copernicus that had given rise to this belief. In 1858 Charles Frisch published for the first time a treatise written by Kepler in 1600 in which the real author of the preface is proved beyond question to have been Andrew Osiander.

movement and the sun's quiescence all the celestial appearances are explained better than by the theory of eccentrics and epicycles, is to speak with excellent good sense and to run no risk whatever. Such a manner of speaking is enough for a mathematician. But to want to affirm that the sun, in very truth, is at the centre of the universe and only rotates on its axis without going from east to west, is a very dangerous attitude and one calculated not only to annoy all scholastic philosophers and theologians but also to injure our holy faith by contradicting the Scriptures. Your Reverence has clearly shown that there are several ways of interpreting the Word of God, but you have not applied these methods to any particular passage, and, had you wished to expound by the method of your choice all the texts which you have cited, I feel certain that you would have met with the very greatest difficulties.

2°. As you are aware, the Council of Trent forbids the interpretation of the Scriptures in a way contrary to the common opinion of the holy Fathers. Now if your Reverence will read, not merely the Fathers, but modern commentators on Genesis, the Psalms, Ecclesiastes, and Josue, you will discover that all agree in interpreting them literally as teaching that the sun is in the heavens and revolves round the earth with immense speed, and that the earth is very distant from the heavens, at the centre of the universe, and motionless. Consider, then, in your prudence, whether the Church can tolerate that the Scriptures should be interpreted in a manner contrary to that of the holy Fathers and of all modern commentators, both Latin and Greek. It will not do to say that this is not a matter of faith, because though it may not be a matter of faith *ex parte objecti* or as regards the subject treated, yet it is a matter of faith *ex parte dicentis*, or as regards Him who enounces it. Thus he who should deny that Abraham had two sons and Jacob twelve would be just as much a heretic as a man who should deny the Virgin Birth of Christ, because it is the Holy Spirit who makes known both truths by the mouth of the Prophets and Apostles.

3°. If there were a real proof that the sun is in the centre of the universe, that the earth is in the third heaven, and that the sun does not go round the earth but the earth round the sun, then we should have to proceed with great circumspection in explaining passages of Scripture which appear to teach the contrary, and rather admit that we did not understand them than declare an opinion to be false which is proved to be true. But as for myself, I shall not believe that there are such proofs until they are shown to me. Nor is a proof that, if the sun be supposed at the centre of the universe and the earth in the third heaven, the celestial appearances are thereby explained, equivalent to a proof that the sun actually is in the centre and the earth in the third heaven. The first kind of proof might, I believe, be found, but as for the second kind, I have

the very gravest doubts, and in case of doubt we ought not to abandon the interpretation of the sacred text as given by the holy Fathers.

I may add that the man who wrote : *The sun rises and sets and returns to its place*, etc., was Solomon, who not only spoke by divine inspiration but was wise and learned, above all others, in human sciences and in the knowledge of created things. As he had all this wisdom from God Himself, it is not likely that he would have made a statement contrary to a truth, either proven or capable of proof. If you tell me that Solomon speaks according to appearances, inasmuch as though the sun seems to us to revolve, it is really the earth that does so, just as when a man is leaving the shore it looks to him as if the shore were receding from the ship, I answer that though it may appear to a voyager as if the shore were receding from the vessel on which he stands rather than the vessel from the shore, yet he knows this to be an illusion and is able to correct it because he sees clearly that it is the ship and not the shore that is in movement. But as to the sun and the earth, a wise man has no need to correct his judgment, for his experience tells him plainly that the earth is standing still and that his eyes are not deceived when they report that the sun, moon, and stars are in motion.

With this I salute your Paternity affectionately and pray God to grant you all happiness.

From my house, 12 April 1615.

Your very Reverend Paternity's brother,

CARDINAL BELLARMINE.[1]

Any one who has read with a little attention Galileo's letter to Castelli and Bellarmine's letter to Foscarini must be aware of a very curious and almost paradoxical circumstance in connection with them. It is that as a piece of Scriptural exegesis Galileo's letter is much superior to Bellarmine's, while as an essay on scientific method Bellarmine's letter is far sounder and more modern in its views than Galileo's. That is certainly an interesting and strange reversal of rôles. There can be no doubt that Galileo approached much closer to the teaching of the Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* than did Bellarmine, but it is equally clear, on the other hand, that Bellarmine was much more in accord than Galileo with the teachings of such great modern exponents of scientific method as Henri Poincaré and Pierre Duhem. Duhem himself, whose reputation as a scientific theorist was second to none in recent years, bears witness to the fact. Speaking first of Galileo's views on the methods of science, he says :

[1] *Opere di Galileo* (Ediz. Naz.), n. 1110, vol. XII, pp. 171–172.

Galilée a, de la valeur de la méthode expérimentale et de l'art d'en user, à peu près l'opinion que va formuler François Bacon ; il conçoit la preuve d'une hypothèse à l'imitation de la démonstration par l'absurde usitée en Géométrie ; l'expérience, en convainquant d'erreur un système, confère la certitude au système opposé ; la Science positive progresse par une suite de dilemmes dont chacun est résolu à l'aide d'un *experimentum crucis*.

Cette manière de concevoir la méthode expérimentale était appelée à avoir une grande vogue, parce qu'elle est très simple ; mais elle est entièrement fausse parce qu'elle est trop simple. Que les phénomènes cessent d'être sauvés par le système de Ptolémée ; le système de Ptolémée devra être reconnu certainement faux. Il n'en résultera aucunement que le système de Copernic soit vrai, parce que le système de Copernic n'est pas purement et simplement la contradictoire du système de Ptolémée. Que les hypothèses de Copernic réussissent à sauver toutes les apparences connues ; on en conclura que ces hypothèses peuvent être vraies ; on n'en conclura pas qu'elles sont certainement vraies ; pour légitimer cette conclusion, il faudrait prouver auparavant qu'aucun autre ensemble d'hypothèses ne saurait être imaginé, qui permît de sauver tout aussi bien les apparences ; et cette dernière démonstration n'a jamais été donnée. Au temps même de Galilée, toutes les observations que l'on pouvait invoquer en faveur du système de Copernic ne se laissaient-elles pas tout aussi bien sauver par le système de Tycho Brahé ? [1]

The preface inserted by Osiander in the book of Copernicus receives from Duhem the praise it deserves as a document conceived in the true spirit of science.[2] He has similar commendation for the wise attitude adopted in the Galileo controversy by Cardinal Barberini, who was the astronomer's warm friend and admirer, though it was under him, as Pope Urban VIII, that the final sentence was pronounced against Copernicanism and its great champion in 1633. With the names of Osiander and Barberini he links that of the man whom Domenico Berti described as being for twenty years 'the personification of the war against science':

[1] *Essai sur la notion de Théorie physique de Platon à Galilée*, Sect. viii. *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, Septembre 1908, pp. 584–585. This celebrated series of articles was reprinted under the Greek title, ΣΩΖΕΙΝ ΤΑ ΦΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΑ,—'To save the appearances.' Tycho Brahé, one of the greatest astronomical observers of all time, was like Bellarmine, though not a Catholic, deterred from embracing Copernicanism by its apparent opposition to the Scriptures, and worked out his own ingenious system with the aim of saving both the appearances of the heavens and the literal sense of the Bible.

[2] Von Gebler (*Galileo Galilei and the Roman Curia*, p. 15) speaks of it as an 'unprincipled introduction . . . Osiander's sacrilegious act'!

Bien des philosophes, depuis Giordano Bruno, ont durement reproché à André Osiander la préface qu'il avait mise en tête du livre de Copernic. Les avis donnés à Galilée par Bellarmin et par Urbain VIII n'ont guère été traités avec moins de sévérité, depuis le jour où ils ont été publiés. Les physiciens de notre temps ont pesé plus minutieusement que leurs prédécesseurs l'exacte valeur des hypothèses employées en Astronomie et en Physique ; ils ont vu se dissiper bien des illusions qui, naguère encore, passaient pour certitudes ; force leur est de reconnaître et de déclarer aujourd'hui que la logique était du parti d'Osiander, de Bellarmin et d'Urbain VIII, et non pas du parti de Képler et de Galilée ; que ceux-là avaient compris l'exacte portée de la méthode expérimentale et qu'à cet égard, ceux-ci s'étaient mépris.

L'histoire des sciences, cependant, célèbre Képler et Galilée, qu'elle place au rang des grands réformateurs de la méthode expérimentale, tandis qu'elle ne prononce pas les noms d'Osiander, de Bellarmin ou d'Urbain VIII. Est-ce, de sa part, souveraine justice ? . . . Les Copernicains se sont entêtés dans un réalisme illogique, alors que tout les portait à quitter cette erreur, alors qu'en attribuant aux hypothèses astronomiques la juste valeur que tant d'hommes autorisés avaient determinéé, il leur était facile d'éviter à la fois les querelles des philosophes et les censures des théologiens. . . .

En dépit de Képler et de Galilée, nous croyons aujourd'hui, avec Osiander et Bellarmin, que les hypothèses de la Physique ne sont que des artifices mathématiques destinés à *sauver les phénomènes*. . . .[1]

9. Galileo's letter to Castelli, which Father Lorini had brought to the notice of Sfondrato, was submitted by that Cardinal to a theological consultor of the Holy Office. This man's judgment is very interesting. There were only three passages in it, he said, to which exception might be taken, and even these three were capable of a thoroughly orthodox interpretation.[2] Why then, we might ask, did the matter not end

[1] *Essai sur la notion de Théorie physique de Platon à Galilée*, Sect. viii. *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, Septembre 1908, pp. 587–588, 592. To appreciate the strength of Duhem's reasoning, it is necessary to read this last section of his book in full. The following passage from a letter of no less a person than Thomas Henry Huxley to Mivart, 12 November 1885, would seem to have been an anticipation of Duhem's conclusions : ' In your paper about scientific freedom which I read some time ago with much interest, you alluded to a book or article by Father Roberts on the Galileo business. Will you kindly send me a post-card to say where and when it was published. I looked into the matter when I was in Italy and I arrived at the conclusion that the Pope and the College of Cardinals had rather the best of it.' *Life and Letters of T. H. Huxley*, vol. II, p. 113.

[2] In Favaro's *Galileo e l'Inquisizione*, p. 45. The report concludes : *In caeteris autem, et si quandoque impropriis acutatur verbis, a semitis tamen catholicae loquutionis non deviat.*

there? The answer is twofold, Galileo's own hotheadedness and imprudence, and the enmity of the Aristotelians, who, as Prince Cesi had warned the astronomer, were very numerous and powerful in the Eternal City. In spite of the friendly counsel so often given to him by such Roman friends as Dini, Ciampoli, Barberini, and Grienberger, Galileo was determined to show the world how easily the Bible might be made to square with the doctrines of Copernicus.

Accordingly, in the early summer of 1615 he took his pen in hand to elaborate the letter to Castelli into a magnificent apologetic treatise for the faith that was in him. Thus was written his 'Letter to the Grand Duchess Christina of Lorraine', one of the very finest of his works if considered in itself, but one of the most foolish and disastrous if the circumstances under which it was composed are remembered. His friends in Rome, who were nearly all priests, and devout priests too, never tired of telling him to leave the Scriptures alone and to confine himself to strictly scientific reasoning. But he knew better. He would teach those detestable *Frati* of Santa Maria Novella and San Marco a lesson in theology better than they could find in their musty old text-books. He would explain St. Augustine to their limited intelligences and give them a *bon-mot* of Baronius to ponder in the peace of their green cloisters: *The Holy Spirit intended to teach us how to go to Heaven, and not how the heavens go.* All through his great treatise, the argument is about the Scriptures and St. Augustine, St. Augustine and the Scriptures. It concludes with a disquisition on the tenth chapter of the Book of Josue, but before concluding, its author addressed himself as follows to his Dominican and other opponents:

> Try first to refute the arguments of Copernicus and his followers, and leave the task of condemning them to those to whom it belongs; but do not hope to find among the Fathers, who were as discreet as they were far-seeing, or in the wisdom of Him who cannot err, those hasty conclusions to which you are led by personal interests and passions. It is doubtless true that concerning these and similar statements which are not strictly *de fide*, his Holiness the Pope has absolute authority to approve or condemn. But it is not in the power of any human being to make them true or false or other than they *de facto* are.[1]

Meantime Father Caccini had formally denounced Galileo to the Holy Office, and the astronomer, having information of

[1] Translation from von Gebler, *Galileo Galilei and the Roman Curia*, p. 70.

this move, decided that the best way to meet it would be to appear personally in Rome. He arrived there on 7 December 1615, fortified with commendatory letters from the Grand Duke, and five days later wrote to his Florentine friend Curzio Picchena, the Grand Duke's secretary: 'As I find the way clear for me to maintain and increase my reputation, I feel so satisfied that my health is improving not a little in consequence.' [1]

The Tuscan Ambassador in Rome, Piero Guicciardini, was not so satisfied. As soon as he had heard about Galileo's proposal to visit the city, he had written to Picchena:

I am told that Galileo is coming here. . . . His views on science and some other matters are not to the taste of the consultors and cardinals of the Holy Office. Bellarmine, among others, has told me that all respect is due to whatever arrangements have the sanction of His Serene Highness, but that if [Galileo] stays here any length of time he is certain to come out with some defence or justification of his opinions. . . . I do not know whether he has changed those opinions or whether his temper is any better, but this I know for certain that some Dominicans and others [*alcuni frati di San Domenico e altri*], who are very influential in the Holy Office, bear him no good-will. This is not the place to come to, to dispute about the moon, nor is this the age in which to propound and defend novelties. . . .[2]

All the warnings were lost on Galileo. Immediately after his arrival in Rome he began a set campaign in favour of Copernicanism, using as his two great argumentative weapons the phenomenon of the tides and the inability of the rival theory of Ptolemy to account for the celestial appearances. From the point of view of science and logic both arguments were as bad as they could be, but their use was not Galileo's greatest blunder. He seemed to take an unholy delight in baiting and pouring ridicule on the Aristotelians. One of his many priest friends, Antonio Querengo, wrote to Cardinal d'Este at Modena, 20 January 1616:

Your Lordship would enjoy Galileo's discourses immensely. . . . He turns the laugh against all his opponents . . . and answers their objections in such a manner as to make them look perfectly ridiculous. . . .[3]

[1] *Opere* (Ediz. Naz.), n. 1152.

[2] Letter of 5 December 1615. *Opere* (Ediz. Naz.), n. 1149.

[3] *L.c.*, n. 1170. As a specimen of Galileo's sarcasm we may quote a little from a famous passage in *Il Saggiatore*, his answer to the Jesuit Father Grassi, mentioned above. Grassi who, it will be remembered, had written

The Tuscan ambassador's next letter from Rome to his sovereign, dated 4 March 1616, sums up the situation :

Galileo sets more store by his own opinion than by the advice of his friends. Cardinal del Monte and myself (though my influence with the man is small), as well as other Cardinals of the Holy Office, have endeavoured to pacify him and to persuade him not to stir up this affair, but, if he wished to hold his opinion, to hold it quietly, without using so much violence in his attempts to force others into holding it. We all doubt very much whether his coming here is not going to prove prejudicial and dangerous for him. As we did not appear to him to be sufficiently enthusiastic about his plans and wishes, after having bothered and tired several Cardinals with his story, he concentrated on Cardinal Orsini . . , and on Wednesday last Orsini spoke to the Pope in a consistory on his behalf. The Pope told the Cardinal that it would be a good thing if he could persuade Galileo to abandon his opinion. Orsini made some answer or other . . , whereupon the Pope told him that the question had been referred to the Cardinals of the Holy Office. . . .

I do not think that there is any possibility of Galileo suffering in person, because as a good and prudent man he will be ready to submit to the decision of the Church. But he gets hotly excited about these views of his, and has an extremely passionate temper, with little patience and prudence to keep it in control. It is this irritability that makes the skies of Rome very dangerous for him. . . .[1]

under the pseudonym of Sarsi, had, in his love for the ancient poets and historians, often brought them into his argument. Among other things, he mentioned a story which he had found in the eleventh century writer, Suidas. This is Galileo's delightful comment on it : ' If Sarsi wants me to believe on Suidas's authority [Sarsi didn't, as a matter of fact] that the Babylonians used to cook eggs by whirling them round swiftly in a sling, I will let him have his way. But I must say that the alleged cause of such an effect is very remote from that to which it is attributed. To find the true cause I shall argue in the following manner : If an effect does not follow with us which followed with other men at another time, it must be because something is wanting in our experiment which was present on the former occasion. And if one thing alone is wanting to us, that one thing must be the true cause. Now we have eggs and slings and strong men to whirl them, and yet they will not boil for us. . . . And since nothing is wanting to us except to be Babylonians, it follows that being Babylonians was the true cause why the eggs boiled. . . .' (*Il Saggiatore*, Bologna ed., 1655, p. 142). Arguing more seriously, he pointed out that whirling things through the air is the way to cool them rather than to make them hot, a fact that showed he was himself talking in the air just as much as Grassi, for if the eggs were whirled fast enough they would certainly boil and even turn into meteorites. Besides, we nowhere read that, in accordance with his grand principles of experimentation, urged so often in *Il Saggiatore*, he took a sling and whirled eggs about to see what effect that would have on them.

[1] *Opere di Galileo* (Ediz. Naz.), vol. XII, p. 242. Guicciardini was the fellow-countryman and friend of Galileo, so his judgment on the astronomer's conduct ought to count for something in the story of the trial. Galileo's modern devotees either omit it altogether or endeavour to deprive it of value by insinuating that the ambassador was a bit of a fool.

10. As the question had now been referred to the Holy Office, largely through Galileo's own folly, the Cardinals of the Congregation had no choice but to pursue the usual course. On February 19 all the eleven theological consultors were instructed to give their opinion on the two following propositions extracted from Galileo's work on sun-spots :

1°. The sun is the centre of the world and altogether devoid of local motion.

2°. The earth is not the centre of the world nor immovable, but moves as a whole, and also with a diurnal motion.

On February 24 the report of the consultors was put before the Cardinals. It ran as follows :

First proposition : The sun is the centre of the world and altogether devoid of local motion.

Decision : All were agreed that this proposition was foolish and absurd philosophically, and formally heretical, inasmuch as it expressly contradicts the doctrines of Holy Scripture in many places, both according to their literal meaning, and according to the common exposition and meaning of the holy Fathers and learned theologians.

Second proposition : The earth is not the centre of the world nor immovable, but moves as a whole, and also with a diurnal motion.

Decision : All were agreed that this proposition merited the same censure in philosophy, and that, from a theological standpoint, it was at least erroneous in the faith.[1]

These verdicts of the theologians have been covered with enough derision since the day of their issue to satisfy anybody's appetite, so there is no need for us to add to it. It will be less tedious and hackneyed to say a word or two in their favour. Of the eleven consultors six were 'Frati di San Domenico', and the Dominicans certainly had no reason to love or to be tender towards Galileo. Their Order had in a special way the sacred duty of guarding the integrity of the faith, and it may very well have seemed to them that Galileo, with his private interpretation of the Scriptures, was just such a menace as had ruined the Church in Germany and England. It is quite true that he was not the first to bring the Bible into the dispute, but it is equally true that, once introduced, he had shown himself more determined than anybody to wrest

[1] In Favaro's *Galileo e l'Inquisizione*, p. 61. Among the eleven censors there was one Jesuit, Father Benedict Giustiniani. Peter Lombard, Archbishop of Armagh, Thomas de Lemos, O.P., and Gregory Coronel, who had each played a strenuous part in the fight against Molina, were also on the board of censors.

the sacred text into conformity with his scientific opinions. To men who had imbibed Aristotle and Ptolemy almost from their cradles, those opinions must have seemed as impossible as to an early Victorian Englishman would have seemed the idea that before a century had passed men would be flying daily through the air like birds, and sending one another their photographs through four thousand miles of the ether.

When they declared that the immobility of the sun was foolish and absurd as a philosophical proposition, they were simply giving expression to their sincere belief that it was bad astronomy, for astronomy was regarded as part of philosophy in those days.[1] Their belief was wrong, but, considering the circumstances, it is difficult to see what else they could have believed. When they went on to declare that the proposition was not only philosophically absurd but formally heretical, they laid themselves open to much more justifiable censure,[2] but even here there is something to be said for them. They were not pronouncing a sentence against Galileo. It was their duty to state their collective conviction on the questions submitted to them, and they stated it. That was all. As theologians they were certainly not unaware of the validity of Galileo's reasoning when he pointed out that should the evidence of the senses, or a necessary deduction from such evidence, show some natural phenomenon to be other than it is described in the Scriptures, if interpreted literally, then the literal interpretation must be abandoned. That was straight out of St. Augustine, but what was not to be found in Augustine or in any other doctor or theologian, was the suggestion that the senses afforded evidence of the sun's immobility or the earth's motion. The plain evidence was, and still is, entirely the other way.

[1] On this point the Abbé Vacandard makes some remarks, which are by no means without foundation : ' C'est au nom de la science (d'une fausse science, si l'on veut, mais d'une science estimée incontestablement vraie) que les partisans d'Aristote et de Ptolémée demandaient la censure des théories Coperniciennes. Le grand tort des juges de Galilée n'est donc pas d'avoir pas cru à la science, mais d'y avoir accordé au contraire une trop grande confiance. Qu'on leur reproche d'avoir inféodé la doctrine catholique à un système scientifique, à la bonne heure ! Mais il serait souverainement injuste de prétendre qu'ils aient par là voulu arrêter le progrès de la science.' *Études de critique et d'histoire religieuse*, éd. 2, Paris, 1906, p. 376.

[2] As to whether the Infallibility of the Pope could have been in any way involved, the reader may judge for himself by studying what Bellarmine taught on the subject of infallibility thirty years before the trouble with Galileo arose. See vol. I of the present work, p. 304. The whole question is lucidly treated in Choupin's *Valeur des décisions du Saint Siège*, Paris, 1907, pp. 124–149.

As for these conclusions being a *necessary* deduction from such evidence, all writers on astronomy are agreed that they were not, at least in Galileo's time. Being a great mathematician and a genius of the first order, he had jumped to them by a process of analogical reasoning, but other men who were neither mathematicians nor geniuses could hardly be expected to climb after him when he provided no ladder of logic for their feet. All that he did was to point to the moons of Jupiter, the phases of Venus, the spots on the sun, the ebb and flow of the tides, saying equivalently and not too courteously: 'Stupids,[1] cannot you see that these things spell Copernicanism, and that you must revise all your text-books on Scripture accordingly?'

The rest of the story is soon told, as far as Bellarmine was concerned with it. A Vatican manuscript reproduced by Favaro gives the following information:

Thursday, 25 February 1616. The Lord Cardinal Mellini notified the Reverend Fathers, the Assessor and the Commissary of the Holy Office, that the censure of the theological consultors on the propositions of Galileo, the Mathematician, to the effect that the sun is in the centre of the universe and devoid of local motion and that the earth moves, also with a diurnal motion, had been reported; and that his Holiness has directed his Lordship, Cardinal Bellarmine, to summon before him the said Galileo and admonish him to abandon the said opinion. Should he refuse to obey, [the Pope gave instructions] that the Father Commissary is to order him, before a notary and witnesses, to abstain altogether from teaching, defending, or discussing this opinion and doctrine, and that he is to be imprisoned if he remains obstinate.[2]

The next document in the process has given rise to an infinite amount of discussion. It looks as if it had been intended for a report of the proceedings before Cardinal Bellarmine, and a reader would naturally expect to find in it either that Galileo had refused to abandon his opinion when admonished by Bellarmine and had consequently been ordered by the Commissary not to teach, defend or discuss it any more, or that he had accepted the Cardinal's admonition, and consequently was spared the Commissary's strict injunctions. Instead, this is what we read:

Friday, 26 *February* 1616.

At the Palace, the usual residence of the afore-named Lord Cardinal Bellarmine, the said Galileo, having been summoned and

[1] A favourite term of address with Galileo.
[2] *Galileo e l'Inquisizione*, p. 61.

standing before his Lordship, was, in presence of the very Reverend Father Michael Angelo Seghiti de Lauda, of the Order of Preachers, Commissary-General of the Holy Office, admonished by the Cardinal of the error of the aforesaid opinion and that he should abandon it ; and immediately thereafter [*successive ac incontinenti*], in presence of myself, other witnesses, and the Lord Cardinal, who was still in the room, the said Commissary did enjoin upon the said Galileo, there present, and did order him [in his own name],[1] the name of his Holiness the Pope, and the names of all the Cardinals of the Congregation of the Holy Office, to relinquish altogether the opinion in question, namely that the sun is the centre of the universe and immovable and that the earth moves ; nor henceforth to hold, teach, or defend it in any way, either orally or in writing. Otherwise proceedings would be taken against him in the Holy Office. The said Galileo acquiesced in this ruling and promised to obey it.

Done at Rome, in the place aforementioned, in presence of the Reverend Badino Nores from Nicosia in the Kingdom of Cyprus, and Augustino Mongardo, of the diocese of Montepulciano, both witnesses belonging to the said Lord Cardinal's household.[2]

If, as this document says, the Commissary intervened *successive ac incontinenti*, it is difficult to see what chance poor Galileo had of expressing his willingness or unwillingness to accept Bellarmine's admonition. A controversy on the matter raged during a good part of the nineteenth century, the champions of the Inquisition maintaining that of course Galileo had refused to accept the Cardinal's admonition, while the others asserted with heat that in all likelihood the passage referring to the intervention of the Commissary had been forged and intruded into the text long after 1616, with the object of incriminating the unfortunate astronomer in the last stages of his stormy career. Then suddenly, in 1870, the following extract from the protocol of the meeting of the Holy Office on 3 March 1616 was published for the first time, in the *Rivista Europea* :

Thursday, 3 *March* 1616.

The Lord Cardinal Bellarmine having reported that Galileo Galilei, the Mathematician, had, according to the instructions of the Sacred Congregation, been admonished to abandon the opinion he has hitherto held, to the effect that the sun is the centre of the spheres and immovable, and that the earth moves, and had

[1] The MS. is defaced at this point, but *proprio nomine* is a commonly accepted reconstruction.

[2] Favaro, *Galileo e l'Inquisizione*, p. 62.

acquiesced therein ; and the Decree of the Congregation having been registered, by which were prohibited and suspended respectively the writings of Nicholas Copernicus *De revolutionibus orbium caelestium*, of Diego de Zuñiga on the Book of Job, and of Paolo Antonio Foscarini, Carmelite Friar—His Holiness ordered this edict of suspension and prohibition respectively, to be published by the Master of the Sacred Palace.[1]

Von Gebler's remarks on the discrepancies in the two documents are an excellent illustration of his genuine honesty of purpose and of his inability to surmount his prejudices :

Wohlwill, Gherardi, Cantor, and we ourselves, have long been of opinion that this note [the reference to the Commissary's intervention, in the document of February 26] originated, not in 1616, but in 1632, in order to legalize the trial of Galileo. But after having repeatedly and very carefully examined the original acts of the trial, preserved among the papal secret archives, we were compelled to acknowledge that the material nature of the document entirely excludes the suspicion of a subsequent falsification. The note was not falsified in 1632 ; no, in 1616 probably, with subtle and perfidious calculation, a lie was entered which was to have the most momentous consequences to the great astronomer.[2]

After twenty-five years of devoted and loving study of the documents relating to Galileo, Professor Favaro came to the conclusion that there was no falsification at all, either in 1616 or 1632. The report of February 26 was a true account of what had actually taken place at Bellarmine's house, with no sort of *arrière-pensée* in it. If it be asked how, on this supposition, the apparent discrepancy between the two documents is to be explained, the right answer probably is that Galileo took Bellarmine's admonition in good part, and that then the commissary, either through fussiness or excess of zeal, delivered his own message, being so full of it that he forgot he was to speak only if Galileo proved obstinate. In his official report, Bellarmine naturally ignored the good man's interference, as it had not been in accordance with the legal forms and consequently had no bearing on the matter with which the Cardinal dealt. The writer of the other report, and the purpose for which it was intended, are not known.

In accordance with the instructions of Pope Paul, the Congregation of the Index issued a decree on March 5 prohibiting

[1] Reprinted in Favaro's *Galileo e l'Inquisizione*, p. 16.
[2] *Galileo Galilei and the Roman Curia*, p. 90.

the work of Copernicus *De Revolutionibus orbium caelestium*, and the disquisition of Diego de Zuñiga on the Book of Job, *donec corrigantur*.[1] All that this meant was that the few passages in Copernicus where he asserted the motion of the earth in an absolute manner had to be put into a hypothetical form before his book might be read by Catholics. At the same time, Foscarini's work was unconditionally forbidden. Galileo's name was not mentioned in the decree nor did his writings receive the slightest censure. When Bellarmine admonished him that he was to ' renounce ' his opinion, the renunciation was intended to mean exactly what the decree of the Index intended with regard to the book of Copernicus. Galileo must not maintain that the motion of the earth was an established fact, but he and anybody else who liked might hold and teach that doctrine as a scientific hypothesis.

Accordingly, the astronomer was not in the least depressed by all that had taken place. Indeed, he seems to have considered that he had done remarkably well, and even told friends that he had won a signal victory. One of these, a man named Sagredo, answered him shortly after the publication of the decree of the Index :

> Now that I have learned from your valued letters the particulars of the spiteful, devilish attacks on and accusations against you, and the issue of them, which entirely frustrates the purposes of your ignorant and malicious foes, I, and all the friends to whom I have communicated your letters and messages, are quite set at rest.[2]

Galileo remained in Rome for three months after the decision of the Holy Office was made known. On March 11 he was closeted for three-quarters of an hour with the Pope, ' con benignissima audienza,' and wrote joyfully about the event to Picchena the following day :

> I told his Holiness the reason for my coming to Rome . . . and made known to him the malice of my persecutors and some of their calumnies against me. He answered that he was well aware of my uprightness and sincerity of mind, and when I gave evidence of being still somewhat anxious about the future, owing to my fear of being pursued with implacable hate by my enemies, he consoled me and said that I might put away all care, because I was held in such esteem both by himself and by the whole congregation of Cardinals that they would not lightly lend their ears to calumnious reports. During his life-time, he continued, I might feel quite

[1] The decree is given by Favaro, *Galileo e l'Inquisizione*, p. 63.

[2] Translation from von Gebler, *Galileo Galilei and the Roman Curia*, p. 87.

secure, and before I took my departure he assured me several times that he bore me the greatest good-will and was ready to show his affection and favour towards me on all occasions.[1]

One thing the peripatetics did was to spread a report through Rome that their great enemy had been obliged to recant and absolutely abjure his opinion. Galileo was rightly indignant when this rumour was brought to his notice, and remembering the kindness and fairmindedness of Cardinal Bellarmine determined to seek a remedy at his hands. Would his Lordship please give him a written certificate that the rumour was a lie? Blessed Robert was only too pleased and at once drew up the following testimonial:

We, Robert Cardinal Bellarmine, having heard that Signor Galileo Galilei has been calumniously reported to have abjured in our hand, and moreover to have been punished with a salutary penance, and having been asked to make known the truth as to this, declare that the said Signor Galileo has not abjured in our hand, nor in the hand of anybody else here in Rome, nor, so far as we are aware, in any place whatever, any opinion or doctrine held by him; neither has any penance, salutary or otherwise, been imposed upon him. All that happened was this. The declaration made by the Holy Father and published by the Sacred Congregation of the Index was intimated to him, wherein it is declared that the doctrine attributed to Copernicus that the earth moves round the sun and that the sun is in the centre of the universe and does not move from east to west, is contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and therefore cannot be defended nor held.

In witness whereof we have written and subscribed these presents with our own hand this 26th day of May 1616.

As above, ROBERT CARDINAL BELLARMINE.[2]

That document brings Blessed Robert's relations with Galileo to a close. Up to the year 1624, the great scientist remained on the most cordial terms with the Jesuits.[3] From that year onwards to the tragedy of 1633 there was estrangement, but any one who studies the evidence with an open mind will admit that the fault was not wholly on the side of Grassi, Scheiner, and the others, who came into conflict with

[1] *Opere di Galileo* (Ediz. Naz.), n. 1189.

[2] This autograph is in the secret archives of the Vatican. It is copied in Favaro's *Galileo e l'Inquisizione*, p. 68.

[3] Proof: *Opere di Galileo* (Ediz. Naz.), vol. X, pp. 23, 24, 27, 29, 120, 158, 431, 442, 445, 479, 484, 505; vol. XI, pp. 14, 31, 45, 46, 56, 67, 79, 119, 125, 127, 150, 151, 162, 173, 178, 203, 242, 246, 268, 273, 274, 281, 314, 337, 395, 477, 479, 512, 612; vol. XII, pp. 181, 263, 466; vol. XIX, pp. 489, 592–593, 611.

Galileo, just as during the earlier struggle the fault was not wholly on the side of the Dominicans. Bellarmine died in 1621, so there is no occasion for us to pursue the matter further, beyond recalling the pathetic insistence with which the poor defendant invoked his name during the trial, as if, even from his grave, the gentle, large-hearted saint who had helped him in 1616 might come again to his rescue.[1]

[1] Cf. Von Gebler, *Galileo Galilei and the Roman Curia*, pp. 202–205. In this work there is a chapter entitled ' Current Myths ' (pp. 249–263). Von Gebler there disposes with scorn of the stories about Galileo's torture and imprisonment. The famous motto, *Eppur si muove*, also receives rough handling. Though Professor Favaro knew better than anybody that the saying was an invention of later times, he could not find it in his heart to throw it overboard altogether, and so made this delightful comment on it : ' Against violence so contrary to human dignity and to the absolute claims of truth, the popular conscience protested in the following century, judging and condemning the theologians in their turn with that sublime motto *Eppur si muove* ' (*Galileo Galilei e Suor Maria Celeste*, p. 185). The popular conscience, we may remark, was a certain gossiping French Abbé named Irailh, who gave the story for the first time in his *Querelles Littéraires* (Paris, 1761), on the strength of a mocking ' assure-t-on ' !

CHAPTER XXVII

A FINAL SURVEY

1. After his return from Capua in 1605, Cardinal Bellarmine was permitted by the Pope to choose any part of Rome that he liked for his abode. Up to the beginning of the year 1608 he lived in a house near the venerable church of Santa Maria in Trastevere. Then he changed to the Piazza Colonna on which was situated his own titular church of Santa Maria in Via. In 1611 he moved out once again and installed himself in a quarter designated by the curious name, *Alla Guglia di San Mauto*, meaning ' near the obelisk of St. Malo '. The reason why the Cardinal wanted to be near the obelisk of the Breton Saint was because that object was within a stone's throw of the Roman College. One who was a witness of the old man's wanderings gives a very touching explanation of his restlessness.

It may be worth while [this priest wrote] to say something about Cardinal Bellarmine's intentions in coming to live near the Roman College, a house to which he was extremely attached. His idea was to be close enough to hear the community bell that so he might regulate the principal actions of his day according to the routine of the College. Moreover, he at first cherished a plan of establishing direct communication with the College either by an underground tunnel or by a bridge that he might thus be able to have recourse to the books in the library and to spend the hour of recreation with the Fathers, for such converse with his brothers in religion was one of the things which he enjoyed most and felt the loss of most keenly. He soon learned, however, that the project would involve considerable difficulties, so he abandoned it entirely, preferring to renounce his own inclinations rather than be troublesome to anybody. So delicate was his tact in this respect that he never ventured to ask or even to hint that he would like an invitation to assist at the solemn functions and

THE HOUSES OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN ROME WITH WHICH BELLARMINE WAS CONNECTED.

A, Professed House (The Gesù). *B*, Roman College. *C*, College of Confessors at St. Peter's. *D*, Novitiate.

festivities which took place at the Roman College, the house of the professed Fathers, or elsewhere.[1]

All the time that he was a cardinal and the most famous of cardinals, Blessed Robert never ceased to hanker after the life of lowliness and brotherly communion to which he had dedicated himself when a boy. On one occasion he even said : ' During all the long years which I spent in religion I never once knew what it was to be sad, but now that I bear the purple I never know what it is to be truly glad or gay.' [2] According to those who knew him, the only times when he seemed to be really pleased with himself were when he was among his religious brethren for a day or a few days. ' It was a joy to him on such occasions,' the evidence runs, ' to put on again the black habit that Jesuits wear.' [3]

Joseph Finali, the lay-brother who nursed the Cardinal through his last illness, first set eyes on his future patient in September 1606, and afterwards wrote a long and most interesting account of his dealings with him from that date until the day of his death, fifteen years later.[4] Finali, then a youth of seventeen, came to Rome in September 1606 to look for work. One day, when walking the streets, a cardinal drove past and Joseph stopped like the rest of the world to salute him.[5] He was struck by the cardinal's humble and modest appearance, the plainness of his coach, and the quiet livery of his servants, who were dressed in black and bore no rapiers, as did the gorgeously attired lackeys of other cardinals. When Finali asked a stander-by who the cardinal

[1] Letter of Father Jerome Nappi to Father Anthony Marchesi, superior of the Roman province of the Society of Jesus, 19 January 1622. Cited by Le Bachelet, *Gregorianum*, vol. v, p. 514.

[2] Cepari's manuscript *Vita del Cardinale Roberto Bellarmino*, cap. viii.

[3] *Summarium*, n. 7, p. 8.

[4] Finali's manuscript has never been printed, but portions of it have been incorporated in the acts of Bellarmine's beatification. The quotations given in the following pages are from the manuscript itself which bears the following long, explanatory title : *Esame fatto da me Giuseppe Finali, Religioso in grado di Coadjutore temporale della Comp.ª di Giesù, avanti l'Ill.mi e Rev.mi Monsig.ri Acquaviva Arcivescovo Tebano, Paravicino Ves.º d'Alez.ª, Durante Ves.º di Monte Feltro, per grazia del Creatore nostro deputati dalla Sacra Congreg.ne de' Sacri Riti, intorno alla vita et morte della Sta. memoria dell' Ill.mo et Rev.mo Sig.r Car.le Roberto Bellarmino. . . . A dì 14 Giugno 1627 nell' Oratorio della Confraternita della Morte in strada Giulia dove citato due volte a dare il giuramento, l'ho dato a dire la Verità.*

[5] ' If any man being on foot in the street meet a great man either in a coach or on foot he must not salute him in going on his way, as we do in England and France without stopping, but he must stand still while the other passes and bend respectfully to him as he goes by.' Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy*, Part 1, p. 19.

might be, the man showed great astonishment. He looked me up and down, but seeing that I was a stranger to Rome said to me in a friendly fashion: "That is Cardinal Bellarmine, the hammer of heretics, who has written a book that is the wonder of the world. . . . Moreover, he is a saint." Such was the information I was given on that day when I first set eyes on the Cardinal.'

Some years later Finali, who was employed at the Vatican, had his first interview with Blessed Robert. This is how he describes the event:

> One day a religious asked me to make inquiries about an affair on which Cardinal Bellarmine had promised to speak to Paul V. In order to ascertain the answer which his Lordship had received from the Pope, I gladly undertook to seek a personal interview with him. It was the regular custom of his attendants not to keep anyone waiting for an audience, thanks to the great courtesy of the Cardinal, who never excused himself on the plea of having something else to do when anything was asked of him. When I entered his room he came and sat close to me and began to give me an account of what he had said to the Pope and the answer that he had received, so gravely and with such attention that it seemed as if it were much more important for him to tell me the story than for me to listen. And after satisfying himself that I had understood, he gave me a message for the religious in such a way that it seemed as if his Lordship was more indebted to the petitioner than the petitioner was to him. All the time he spoke so simply that it was perfectly clear he really meant every word he said.

According to a decree passed by the authorities of the Order in 1607, each member of the Society of Jesus was to make an annual spiritual retreat of eight or ten days. From that time on, Blessed Robert made it his custom to go every September or October to the Jesuit novitiate of S. Andrea on the Quirinal, there to give himself up to prayer and meditation. At first his retreats lasted only the prescribed time of about ten days, but afterwards he devoted an entire month to them and made annually the 'long retreat' which other Jesuits are obliged to go through only twice during their religious lives. That stay among the novices each year was the only summer holiday the Cardinal allowed himself. Joseph Finali, who joined the novitiate in 1616, gives the following details about Blessed Robert's behaviour:

> On entering the house, he begged Father Nicholas Berzetti, the new Rector and Master of Novices, not to provide anything

exceptional for him during his stay, in the way of either food or accommodation. Whenever the bell rang he used to come down dressed in one of our *soprane* [1] just like any novice. . . . He was asked by the superior to give the ordinary Friday exhortations which in that novitiate are called the common exhortations to distinguish them from those given every day in private to the novices. Even the veterans of the house are present on these occasions, the subject of the addresses being the observance of rule.

The Cardinal, having mounted the pulpit in the hall, began his discourse with a digression, saying that he wished to reply to an objection that might be raised against him : ' The Fathers and my brothers the novices might say to me that it is all very well to talk about the virtue of obedience when one always does just as one likes ; that it is easy enough to praise poverty when one is robed in costly purple ; and that one may be very severe in recommending the observance of the rule of silence who himself is engaged in perpetual conversation. But I assure you, dear Fathers and Brothers, that these robes are on me just as though they were hanging on a peg, and that I am under the same obligations as one of yourselves to observe the special prescriptions of our Institute. Like you, I am bound by each of our rules, and if I do not observe them I shall have to render a very strict account to God, an account, owing to the position in which I am placed, much stricter than you would have to give. St. Thomas, the Angelic Doctor, says so clearly, and I as clearly understand him in that sense.'

After these preliminary remarks, the Cardinal began to speak about the virtues of the religious life with such profound wisdom and understanding that many of the novices, by order of their director, committed his words to writing, and for several days, part of the recreation hour was spent in repeating this wonderful exhortation.

His Lordship came to us with only one attendant. He used to say the Hours of his Office, kneeling on the bare floor, at the exact canonical times, and often, as we noticed, with tears in his eyes. When, in order to say Matins towards dawn, he required a light, though the lamp was on a staircase a long way from his room he would not waken his attendant or anybody else but would go and return himself as quietly as a mouse. If he wanted any book from the library, he used to fetch it with his own hands, though he had to walk the length of three corridors to do so. The Master of Novices told him that he had only to mention what volumes he required and they would all be taken to his room, but he would not accept this offer because he feared that other people might need the books in the meantime.

[1] A loose gown with hanging sleeves, the indoor habit of Roman Jesuits in those days.

It was suggested to him that a walk in the garden each evening would do him good. 'I would like it very much,' he said, 'but I am afraid my presence in the garden would frighten off the novices and consequently it would not be right for me to go there.' Instead, he used to walk up and down a corridor. . . .

2. The direct result of Blessed Robert's retreats at S. Andrea was a series of devotional books that became immensely popular with both Catholics and Protestants. Before speaking of the five which he composed entirely during his stay among the Jesuit novices, it may be well to say a little about their big predecessor, his still widely-used *Commentary on the Psalms*.[1] He had begun this work shortly after his elevation to the purple in 1599, but it did not appear until twelve years later. Friends who knew about the undertaking became impatient at the slow progress that was being made and worried the author with their inquiries. To one of these he wrote, 22 January 1609:

Dearest Friend,

I am afraid I have to repeat in writing what I have already told yourself and many others in conversation. As a rule I am unable to devote any time to the commentary on the Psalms except the odd hours that may remain when public business is concluded. This business is so extensive as often to take up whole days at a time, and the result is that I am left with very little leisure for writing. Sometimes, there is not a minute over. For this reason it is impossible for me to say when the work will be finished, nor am I at all sure that the end of my life will not come before the end of my book. . . .[2]

Four months later, however, the Cardinal was able to tell his devoted correspondent, the Bishop of Bruges, that the Commentary was finished and in the hands of Roman printers.[3] He must have had infinite trouble in seeing it through the press, as that exasperating stage of a book's progress dragged on for two years. When the work eventually appeared in 1611 it bore a dedication to Pope Paul V because, as Blessed Robert expressed himself, 'I thought it but right, Most Holy Father, to present it to your Holiness, for the purpose of giving an account to you, my Father and my Lord, of the

[1] The Commentary, or, to give it its Latin title, *In omnes Psalmos Explanatio*, occupies two entire volumes numbering close on a thousand double-column pages of Fèvre's edition of the Cardinal's works (Paris, 1874, vols. x and xi).

[2] *Epistolae familiares*, lxiii, pp. 144–145.

[3] Letter in the archives of the Bishop of Bruges.

manner in which not only my public and official duties were discharged but also how my time was occupied in private; and, moreover, that you who as judge and Vicar of Christ rule the whole Church may kindly correct any error that may have crept into this, as I expect, my last publication.'

In the same dedication the Cardinal explained that his main object had been to defend the Vulgate as far as he was able, and 'to provide for the spiritual refection and devotion of the reader'. The Commentary, he continued, had been written for the most part in the quiet of the night—*nocturnae quietis tempora*—and had often to be interrupted for whole months at a time on account of the press of other duties.

It had not been his aim to write a very learned or critical work. Judged by modern standards his interpretation of the Hebrew and Greek words and phrases which he so frequently quotes leaves a good deal to be desired, but for his own age and in view of the difficulties under which he laboured, his book, even as a piece of pure exegesis, was a very remarkable achievement. He had no wish to enter into competition with previous commentators, to borrow from them or to try to improve on them. 'This Commentary of mine,' he wrote, 'has come more from my own meditations than from the study of many books.' Some people, he fears, will not be pleased with him for having treated the Psalms so unequally, devoting much space to certain ones and very little to others. There was no help for it, he explains. *Non eadem semper adfuit spiritualis devotio, non eadem semper mentis alacritas.* We can picture him, an old man verging on his seventieth year, bending over his book late on into the night, heavy and weary after the exacting business of a crowded day. No wonder his mind was not always as fresh nor his heart as responsive as he desired them to be.

The Cardinal was encouraged to return to his task after every interruption and to go on with it devotedly, year in and year out for nearly a decade, by the hope that the book would help priests to say the Divine Office more devoutly, a hope that was to be wonderfully fulfilled. The Commentary has had thirty-three editions and has been translated into several languages, including English.[1] Even at the present day it is widely read and highly valued, and in the past three

[1] *A Commentary on the Book of Psalms.* Translated from the Latin of Cardinal Bellarmine by the Ven. John O'Sullivan, D.D., Archdeacon of Kerry. Dublin, 1866.

centuries it has aided innumerable souls in their progress to holiness. The following lines from a letter to the Bishop of Würzburg reveal something of Blessed Robert's own views about it:

> The *Commentary on the Psalms* which I published a short while ago was not a laborious but a most delightful task. What sweeter fortune could have been mine, especially in these my last years, than to find a quiet little space at nights in which to be alone with God and ponder the great truth, *quoniam Dominus ipse est Deus*? That is what attentive meditation of the Psalms most assuredly brings home to us.
>
> But thanks be to God that this book, for all its dullness and lack of substance, should not only have been a source of consolation to myself while I was writing it, but also that it should have found some favour in the eyes of eminent men among whom I count your Lordship as one of the first. . . .[1]

The Latin words from Holy Writ quoted in Blessed Robert's letter express one of the fundamental ideas of his spiritual teaching, an idea stressed beyond all others in the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius. The majesty and sovereign claims of Almighty God had taken hold of the heart of Ignatius in a way that amounted almost to an obsession. The praise, the reverence, and the service of God became the one and only end of his existence, the rule of his least actions, the kind of heavenly *cliché* into which his thoughts about all things inevitably ran. *Majus Dei obsequium semper intuendo* was the watchword which he bequeathed to his sons as the test and standard for their every decision. To it he appealed 259 times in the Constitutions which he drew up for his Society, or about once on every page, and his letters and *Spiritual Exercises* re-echo the same sublime thought from beginning to end. It was, of course, a thought which he held in common with all the Saints but, as a careful writer remarks, ' chez bien peu, la hantise s'est affirmée aussi formelle, aussi explicite, aussi universelle, aussi directement transformée en règle de vie.' [2]

There has been a certain amount of Catholic criticism of

[1] *Epistolae familiares*, xcviii, p. 217.

[2] A. Brou, *La Spiritualité de Saint Ignace*, Paris, 1914, p. 9. This is a little book well worth study by any one who would like to have the clue to the mighty work which St. Ignatius did in the world. It supplies what is lacking in such well-known non-Catholic biographies of the Saint as those of Sedgwick and Van Dyke, honest and excellent efforts though these are in many ways to understand one of the greatest men in history.

the *Spiritual Exercises* in recent years, some writers blaming its teaching for being too individualistic and others censuring the piety it fosters as being 'anti-liturgical'. Into such questions it is hardly necessary for us to enter.[1] Blessed Robert Bellarmine's piety was certainly neither individualistic nor anti-liturgical and yet it was entirely Ignatian. His chief object in publishing the *Commentary on the Psalms* was to help priests to perform their liturgical duties devoutly and intelligently. A close study of this book reveals constant affinities with the *Spiritual Exercises*. For Blessed Robert as for the Founder of his Order, the greatness, the majesty, the paramount claims of Almighty God, were truths to be tirelessly emphasized. Every verse of the Psalms that declares the wonder of the visible world is drawn out and used as an incentive to the praise, the reverence, and the service of its Maker:

Day to day uttereth speech, and night to night showeth knowledge. Wonderful, indeed, is the sermon of the sun and stars declaring the glory of God. . . . This verse shows us how they declare it incessantly, for the heavens announce His glory in the day by the splendour of the sun and at night by the beauty of the stars; but as the days and nights do not endure and are succeeded by others, the Psalmist finely and poetically imagines one day at its close, when its sermon is over, passing on the text of God's glory to the following dawn, and so with each night, which, having sung its hymn of praise, passes on the music to its successor. . . . And thus, without ever a break, day and night hymn, as it were in a perpetual round, the praises of their Creator. . . .[2]

3. The first and best-known of Blessed Robert's professedly spiritual books was written during his retreat at S. Andrea in September 1614. On March 19 of the following year he told a German friend that his little work had been 'snapped up at once for publication by the widow of Christopher Plantin of Antwerp' and that immediately after its appearance, a Roman, who was not the noblest of them all, had sent it in hot haste 'to some printer or other in Cologne'.[3] That was the unblushing way of publishers in those days. The title of the book was, *De Ascensione Mentis in Deum per Scalas Rerum Creatarum*—the ascent of the

[1] The alleged opposition between the method of St. Ignatius and the claims of the Church's liturgy has been discussed by Ferdinand Cavallera in the *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* of Toulouse, February and March 1914. His articles entitled *Ascétisme et Liturgie* lay bare a good number of misunderstandings, to say the least about them.

[2] *Opera omnia*, t. x, p. 104. [3] *Epistolae familiares*, p. 270.

mind to God by the ladder of created things,—but the Cardinal's manuscript shows that the naming of his ' Benjamin ', as he liked to term the little work because he ' wrote it in his old age ', had been a matter of some difficulty. The following are a few lines of the dedication to Cardinal Peter Aldobrandini, the once all-powerful minister of Pope Clement VIII :

Though I had written this little book for my own private use, I have been urged and persuaded by friends to let it see the light, and I very much wanted it to appear under the ægis of your name. If it has any value at all, this will be best appreciated by men who are immersed in public business, such as the Princes of the Church . . . of whom your Lordship is one of the chief. But there is another reason also why this book should bear your name, and it is that it might stand as a small memorial to posterity of your many great kindnesses to me and of my deep gratitude. . . .

Blessed Robert had pointed out that the chief object of his book on the Psalms was to help his readers to meditate upon and to realize the great and simple truth conveyed in the inspired phrase, *quoniam Dominus ipse est Deus*. The dedication of his *De Ascensione Mentis* ends with the same words—' for the Lord He is God '—and it too is a commentary upon scripture, the scripture written across the skies and over everything strong or beautiful in the world. In his preface to the reader, the Cardinal, after urging the necessity of frequent prayer and contemplation, particularly for those prelates of the Church who had much external business to transact, proceeded to explain the origin and purpose of his book :

If our bodies have a rightful claim to refection and rest, with how much greater reason do not our souls demand their food and sleep ? Indeed, it is not possible for them at all to fulfil their office rightly while encumbered with a heavy load of worldly cares, if they are not given their due refection. Now the food of the soul is prayer and her rest is contemplation by which, as the Psalmist says, *disponuntur ascensiones in corde, ut videatur Deus deorum in Sion.*

But for us mortal men there would seem to be no other ladder by which to ascend to God, than the works of God. If, through a singular privilege of Divine grace, some have been admitted to the secrets of Heaven by another way, they did not ascend but were caught up to hear the words which it is not given to man to speak. This is what St. Paul plainly confesses when he says : *Raptus sum in paradisum, et audivi arcana verba quae non licet*

homini loqui. But that it is in every man's power by means of God's work in creation to rise to the knowledge and love of the Creator, is the teaching of the Book of Wisdom and of St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans. Reason itself sufficiently confirms this truth, since a cause may be known by its effects and an original pattern from its copies. Now all created things are effects of God's causation, and the Scriptures teach us that men and angels are not only the works of His hands but also His images.

Moved by these reasons and having a little time to spare from public business, I have attempted, following the example of St. Bonaventure who in similar circumstances wrote his *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, to make a ladder out of the consideration of created things by which it may in some sort be possible to climb to God. And I have divided it into fifteen steps corresponding to the fifteen by which worshippers mounted to the Temple of Solomon, and to the fifteen psalms which are called Gradual.[1]

Blessed Robert's fifteen steps are not all as evenly disposed, one above another, as the steps of a good ladder ought to be. He found his metaphor too difficult to maintain after he had mounted a little way, and that was probably the reason why he had tried to find another title for the book. His favourite analogy of life as a pilgrimage would, perhaps, have led him to put *The Itinerary of the Mind to God* on his title-page had not St. Bonaventure already a 'copyright' of the words. But though the scheme goes awry, the spiritual lessons conveyed lose little or nothing of their force. Each step is in itself a compendium of holy wisdom.

The consideration of man is naturally the starting point, 'for we are all of us both the creatures and the images of God and nothing is nearer to us than ourselves.' Man is a microcosm, an epitome of the universe. Blessed Robert studies this world within the world according to its causes, the four causes of Aristotle and scholasticism :

[1] Blessed Robert was particularly fond of the Gradual Psalms. In his Commentary he gave two well-known explanations of the title 'gradual', first that of the Greek writers Theodoretus and Euthymius, who held that the name was an allusion to the 'ascent' of the Jews from Babylon to Jerusalem after the Captivity, and the other, the explanation favoured by St. Augustine, that these psalms were composed to be sung by pilgrims to Jerusalem as they mounted the fifteen steps of the Temple. 'Whatever is to be thought about these opinions,' Bellarmine continues, 'it is quite certain that, whether the *ascensiones* originally referred to the return of the Jews from Babylon to Jerusalem or to the progress of pilgrims up the steps of Solomon's Temple, they were meant to typify the progress of elect souls who by the steps on the ladder of perfection, and especially the step of charity, ascend from this valley of tears to the heavenly Jerusalem.' *Opera omnia*, t. XI, p. 336.

If I look for my Maker, I shall find Him to be God alone ; if I seek for the substance whereof He made me, I shall find nothing though I search for ever, because all that is in me is from Him. Should I desire to know the form which He has given me, I shall learn that He has made me in the likeness of Himself, and should I ask about the end and purpose of my being, I shall discover that the selfsame God who fashioned me in His own image out of nothing is my supreme and only good. And so I am brought to understand that my closeness to God and my need of Him is such that He alone is my Creator, the source of my existence, my Father, the pattern according to which I was made, my beatitude, my all. Knowing this, how could I fail to seek Him with all the eager love I possess, to think of Him, to sigh and yearn for Him, to long for the day when I may see and hold Him to my heart ? . . .[1]

This introduction leads on to an eloquent and finely reasoned development in five chapters of the words, *homo creatus est*, which stand at the beginning of the ' First Principle and Foundation ' of St. Ignatius. When speaking in the fourth chapter of man as the image of God, Blessed Robert introduces a theme of which echoes are to be found in nearly all his writings. True wisdom, the first gift of the Holy Ghost, was an endowment that he never tired of glorifying :

Thy pattern, O my soul, is God Himself, the infinite beauty, the light in which there is no darkness and at whose loveliness the sun and moon stand in amaze. . . . This beauty of God, thine exemplar, doth consist in wisdom and holiness, for as corporeal beauty doth result from the just proportion of the body's members and the soft, sweet colouring of the same, so in a spiritual being the light of wisdom corresponds to every hue that fascinates the eye, and the attribute of justice or righteousness, which is not any particular virtue but the substance of them all, corresponds to the fair proportion of the bodily members. Most beautiful, then, must a spirit be whose mind shines with the light of wisdom and whose will is ennobled with the fulness of perfect justice. Now God, thy pattern, O my soul, is not merely wise and just and consequently beautiful, but He is wisdom and justice itself, and consequently the very essence of all beauty. Therefore, if thou dost desire to become His true image, it behoves thee to love wisdom and justice above everything else on earth. True wisdom is to judge of all things according to their highest cause, and that cause is the Divine will, or the law which makes the Divine will known to men. As a lover of wisdom, then, the will of the Lord thy God must be thy only concern. In whatever circumstances

[1] *De Ascensione Mentis in Deum.* First ed., Antwerp, 1615, pp. 1–2.

thou art placed thou must be deaf to what the law of the flesh may command, to what the senses may approve, to what the world may favour, to what kinsmen may urge, to what flatterers may propose; and thou must judge that to be most profitable, glorious, desirable and good in every respect, which is in conformity with the will and law of God. This is the wisdom of the saints concerning which the Wise Man wrote: *Super salutem et speciem dilexi illam, et proposui pro luce habere illam, quoniam inextinguibile est lumen illius. Venerunt autem mihi omnia bona pariter cum illa.*[1]

Having considered the microcosm, the Cardinal turns his thoughts to the macrocosm or great world of inanimate nature, and expatiates in five chapters on the vastness, multitude, variety, power, and beauty of created things. This second step concludes as follows:

Therefore, O soul of mine, if, even when on thy pilgrimage and absent from thy Beloved, thou dost long to be found pleasing in His eyes, thou must not merely wish but, as the Apostle says, strive might and main to please Him, that is, thou must use all thy diligence to avoid whatever might render thee unsightly, and if any stains should appear upon thee, thou must labour with no less anxious care to wipe them away. Dost thou not see how young wives who desire to please their husbands spend hour after hour in arranging their hair, in adorning their faces, and in removing every speck from their dress, that thus they may catch the eye of a mortal man who must soon be turned to dust and ashes? What great pains, then, shouldst not thou take to please the eyes of thine immortal Spouse, who is always looking upon thee, and longing to find thee without spot or wrinkle? Assuredly it is necessary for thee to strive with all thy might to walk 'in holiness and justice before Him', and with valiant decision to remove or cut off every hindrance to true sanctity of heart, paying no heed to the clamour of flesh and blood or to the words and judgments of men.[2]

With the third step the metaphor of the ladder becomes blurred. Instead of 'going up higher' Blessed Robert stops to examine separately the mysteries and marvels of the universe. He first directs his attention to the earth itself and finds in its stability and fruitfulness symbols of the relation of man to his Maker:

Just as the human body cannot rest in the air however widely diffused, nor in water however deep, because its centre is not air or water but earth; so the human soul cannot rest in honours

[1] *De Ascensione Mentis in Deum.* First ed., Antwerp, 1615, pp. 11–12. The Latin words at the end of the passage are now read annually in the Mass for Blessed Robert's feast on May 13. [2] *L.c.*, pp. 38–39.

as transient as a puff of the wind, nor in riches as unstable as a morass, nor in soft pleasures that pass like a ripple on a sheet of water, nor in the glow of human knowledge as deceitful as a will-o'-the-wisp. In God alone, the centre of souls and their only true place of rest, can it find its rest. . . . Therefore, if thou art wise, my soul, treat as of no account all things that pass away lest they carry thee away with them, and cling and cleave in the bond of love to Him who abideth for ever.

The fruitfulness of the earth, which ' like a good nurse continually produces herbs and fruits for the sustenance of men and beasts ', is another point on which the Cardinal dwells with predilection :

With what great affection oughtest not thou, my soul, to bless and praise God for all these benefits which thou enjoyest continually from His bounty, recognizing in them His hidden hand bestowing them all, and His love, not hidden but most plainly confessed, showing itself infinitely generous and paternal, never ceasing to do thee good from Heaven and to provide for thy every need. But this is only a small thing in the eyes of the Lord, thy God. For He it is who in thee, as in His own spiritual field, causes love to bring forth its glorious flowers. Love, we know, is not of this world, but of God, as the beloved disciple says in his Epistle. From love, as from a divine and heavenly tree, come the white and sweet-scented flowers of holy thoughts, the green leaves of words to win souls for Heaven, and the fruit of good works whereby God is glorified, our fellow-men are assisted, and merits are acquired and stored up for all eternity.[1]

The assistance of his fellow-men was too dear a concern of Blessed Robert's heart for him to let pass any opportunity of enforcing the duties of the rich. This is a matter to which he constantly returns in his spiritual books. What he says in the *De Ascensione Mentis* is as follows :

There remains the last boast of the earth, namely that it holds within itself gold, silver, and precious stones. But sure it is that the earth does not of its own power produce things held in such esteem. No, it is He who produces them that says by the lips of Aggaeus : *Meum est argentum et meum est aurum.* O Lover of men, did this also seem good to Thy sweet charity that Thou shouldst provide for Thy loved ones not only stones and wood and iron and brass and lead and other such things necessary for building houses and ships and for making various instruments, but also gold and silver and jewels for Thy children's adornment ? And if Thou bestowest such objects of worth and beauty upon

[1] *De Ascensione Mentis in Deum.* First ed., Antwerp, 1615, pp. 48–49.

pilgrims here on earth, and often even upon enemies who blaspheme Thy Name, what wilt Thou not give to Thy lovers blessing Thee and reigning with Thee in Heaven? Yea, Thou wilt give them, not a parcel of gold or silver or a few paltry gems, but that city of which St. John speaks in the Apocalypse, saying: *And the building of the wall thereof was of jasper stone but the city itself was of pure gold. And the foundations of the wall of the city were adorned with all manner of precious stones; and the twelve gates are twelve pearls.*

We are not to think, however, that the city above, the Heavenly Jerusalem, is built or adorned with gold and gems and pearls such as come from the earth. We know that the Holy Spirit uses these terms because He is addressing men who have experience of nothing better or more beautiful. But there can be no doubt at all that that city, which is the home of God's chosen ones, will excel in loveliness all the cities of our earthly pilgrimage far more than a city made of gold and jewels would surpass the mud and straw villages of a rustic population. . . . Moreover, the gold, silver, and pearls which are so esteemed on earth are perishable things, but the gold and silver that gleam in the City of God are fadeless and everlasting. But if by the hands of the poor, my soul, thou wilt store up in Heaven the corruptible gold and silver that are thine, which if thou art wise thou wilt surely do, then they will become incorruptible and remain in thy possession for ever. For He says who is Truth and cannot deceive: *Vende quae habes, et da pauperibus, et habebis thesaurum in coelo.*

O incredulity of the sons of men! A tongue that can lie promises ten for every hundred and the repayment of the whole sum borrowed, and the lender believes. God, who cannot lie, promises to him who gives alms a hundredfold in Heaven and life eternal, but men cling in distrust to their gold and cannot easily be persuaded to believe Him. . . . O unhappy man, to whom will belong those things which thou hast gathered and stored with so much labour, supposing that thieves do not steal nor the moth or rust consume them? Thine, for certain, they will not be, though they might have been thine if thou hadst transferred them by the hands of the poor to the treasury of Heaven. . . . Listen to St. James in the last chapter of his Epistle: *Go to, now, ye rich men; weep and howl in your miseries, which shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted; and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be for a testimony against you and shall eat your flesh like fire.* Because you are rich, says the holy Apostle, you are held to be happy men and such you are called; but in truth you are wretched, and more wretched than the poorest of the poor, and you have great cause to weep and lament on account of the terrible calamities that will assuredly come upon you. For the superfluous riches

which you hoarded and suffered to become rotten when you should have given them in alms to the poor, the superfluous garments which you possessed and preferred to see eaten by moths rather than clothing the poor, and the gold and silver which you chose to see rust and rot in idleness rather than spent on food for the poor, all these things, I say, will bear testimony against you in the day of judgment. The moths and the rust of your riches shall be changed into burning fire which shall devour your flesh for ever and never consume it, the fire not dying down through eternity and the anguish having no end. Therefore let us conclude with the Royal Prophet: fools *have called the people happy that hath these things*, namely riches in abundance; but in truth, *happy is that people whose God is the Lord*.[1]

After considering the earth, Blessed Robert devotes three steps of his ladder to the other elements of the famous four, water, air, and fire, and then, in the seventh step, voyages out into space to muse on the sun, moon, and stars.[2] That done, he returns to study the human soul in the ten profound chapters of his eighth step. The ninth step is on the Angels, and the remaining six are turned into a new ladder up which he climbs to explore the very essence and attributes of Almighty God. This concluding part is not a ladder of 'created things' at all, so it is easy to understand why the Cardinal was dissatisfied with the title of his book. Any inclination to criticize him, however, soon vanishes in admiration of the spiritual wisdom and eloquent but simple sincerity of his whole discourse.

It had immediate and amazing success. The first translation, made but a few months after the appearance of the original Latin, was into English. Within four years, it had gone into several editions, and was being read in Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and French. Then there followed Bohemian, Chinese, Greek, German, Russian, Polish, Illyrian, and other versions. It has been translated into German nine different times, and into French as often. Fuligatti asserts that an English Protestant divine had made a widely popular adaptation of the work for his own country, prior to 1644. This has not been traced, but the British Museum possesses a version of 1684 entitled, *Devout Meditations of Cardinal*

[1] *De Ascensione Mentis in Deum.* First ed., Antwerp, 1615, pp. 50–55.

[2] The fourth step, *ex consideratione aquarum ac praecipue fontium*, ends thus: 'Whatever good thou seest in creatures, know that it flows from God, the fountain-head of all good things, and so with St. Francis learn to taste the primal source of goodness in each created object, as in a little stream that has it for its origin.'

Bellarmine made English, the translator being Anthony Walker, D.D. In 1844 Father John Dalton published his excellent rendering under the title, *Gradual whereby to ascend unto God*, but by far the best translation that has yet appeared in English was issued in 1925 by the firm of Mowbrays, from the pen of an anonymous Anglican nun. Real love and the highest competence went to the making of this admirable piece of work. Unlike other non-Catholic versions, it presents us with the Cardinal's complete and unadulterated text. He is even given his new title of 'Blessed' on the cover, and his book is described as having been for more than three centuries 'one of the classics of the spiritual life'. In an extremely sympathetic preface to the translation, Dr. P. N. Waggett says: 'Certainly those who follow for a few days the instructions of Bellarmin (*sic*) will find that he does not give them crutches they might dispense with, but a secret of escape from all worldliness and all despondency. He does not naturalize our prayer. He spiritualizes our daily walk.'

These words sum up excellently the significance of Blessed Robert's treatise. It has the hall-mark of St. Ignatius on it from beginning to end, the ever busy, ever prayerful Ignatius, who was described by his intimate friend, Father Nadal, as being 'an active contemplative'—*in actione contemplativus*.[1] It would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that Blessed Robert's book is but an elaborate commentary on the 'First Principle and Foundation' of the *Spiritual Exercises* and on their great climax, the 'Contemplation for obtaining Love'. Like his Father in God, the Cardinal was an active contemplative and the dearest ambition of his heart was to make other men the same. In one of his exhortations, he pointed out that in themselves contemplative Religious Orders are more perfect than active ones.

> Nevertheless [he continued], there are certain active Orders which, according to the teaching of St. Thomas, are more perfect than contemplative ones, namely those engaged in work for which contemplation is a prerequisite, such as preaching, administering the Sacraments, and, in general, the converting and sanctifying of souls. . . .
>
> Now, that our Society is an Order of this kind needs no proof. And so we begin to see why we are not perfect, for we either do not know or we do not carry out the end of our Institute. If our Order is a mixed one, we ought to be well versed in the life

[1] *Monumenta Historica S.J.* Epistolae P. Nadal, t. IV, p. 651.

of contemplation, as was our Divine Master, who, in the words of the Evangelist, *used to spend all the night in prayer*, and as were the Apostles who said : *We will give ourselves continually to prayer and to the ministry of the word.*

Blessed Robert was speaking on the feast of St. Francis of Assisi, so he could not resist a digression on the prayer of his beloved patron. In the manuscript of the Exhortations the following note is scribbled at this point : *Hic dicas de oratione S. Francisci*—here you must say something about the prayer of St. Francis. Having said it, he continues with his general discourse :

How many of us, I wonder, have a right to the name contemplative ? Certainly a single hour of distracted meditation does not make a contemplative. You will tell me that an hour is what our rules prescribe, and I will answer you that that hour is prescribed as a minimum and not as a maximum, except, perhaps, for those who are engaged in their studies. They, like the lay-brothers, are not bound to be contemplatives except in the measure prescribed by our rule, for their work does not require contemplation. But priests who have taken their final vows . . . need it greatly, and that was why St. Ignatius, in the fourth part of the Constitutions, prescribed an hour of prayer, including the Office of the Blessed Virgin and the two examinations of conscience, for students, but, in the seventh part, laid down no fixed time of prayer for the priests of our Society, so certain was he, as he said himself, that they would already be spiritual men, eager to run in the way of the Lord. Indeed, his fear was that they might injure themselves by excessive prayer, and so he wished them to take advice from their confessors and, in case of doubt, to seek counsel from their superiors.

Now assuredly a man cannot be said to run in the way of the Lord who does no more than is prescribed for those who lead a purely active life, such as students and lay-brothers. What, then, shall be said about priests who scarcely do even as little as this ? Perhaps some one will object that there is no time for longer prayer or spiritual reading. My answer is that there is plenty of time if we would only use it aright. In one of his letters, Seneca reprehends people who are always talking about their lack of time, and shows that their complaints are without foundation because they waste so many hours of the day in useless occupations.

There are three things which we as religious have to do daily : to take care of our own souls, to take care of the souls of our neighbours, and to take care of our bodies. On account of the dignity of the soul the larger part of our time ought surely to be spent in caring for it, but it is the contrary that we see happen. The body

monopolizes, at the very least, eleven hours of our twenty-four, seven in sleeping, one in eating, two in recreation, and another one in such items as dressing, undressing, washing, and siesta. If we devote seven hours a day to ministerial work for the souls of other men, it is certainly a good average. Therefore there remain six hours. Of these, one goes to the morning meditation, one to Holy Mass, one and a half to the Divine Office, and a half hour to the two examinations of conscience. That leaves us with two hours, which might be spent in prayer or spiritual reading for the good of our own souls. The reason why many of us complain that we have no time is because, not content with our fixed recreations, we waste so much of it walking about, gossiping, paying visits, reading useless books, and doing other foolish things.

If, then, any one desires to be what he ought to be, namely a spiritual, contemplative, and perfect labourer in God's vineyard, he must first conquer all idle curiosity, be a miser of his minutes, and not permit a single one of them to be stolen by flesh and blood, which already have much more than their rightful share. . . . Secondly, he must divest himself of all affection for created things and raise himself above them, since, as Thomas a Kempis says so well, *ideo pauci sunt contemplativi, quia pauci sciunt se ab omnibus creaturis sequestrare.* Unless a man raises himself above created things, he cannot realize the difference between God and the creature, which is the first step in the life of contemplation. . . . God, who in Himself contains all things, reveals His secrets to those alone who have truly renounced all things. . . .

Thirdly, he must cultivate in his heart an intense desire and longing for perfection. A really earnest and eager will finds nothing difficult. *Blessed*, said Our Lord, *are they that hunger and thirst after justice, for they shall have their fill.*[1]

4. Bellarmine, it will be remembered, thought that his commentary on the Psalms, published in 1611, would be his last book. When the *De Ascensione Mentis* appeared in 1615 he felt sure that it marked the end of his literary labours. He was much preoccupied with the thought of death during these years. Each birthday that came and passed and found him still in the world, caused him increasing astonishment. Was he never going to die? The conception of life as a pilgrimage, a journey, a going home, took an ever stronger hold on his imagination. His retreat at S. Andrea in the summer of 1615 was all on this theme and the result of it was his beautiful and inspiring little treatise on Heaven, which was published in 1616 under the title, *De Aeterna*

[1] *Exhortationes domesticae*, pp. 215–218.

Felicitate Sanctorum. 'Benjamin's brother' he styled it, in letters to his friends—*quasi Benjamini fratrem*[1]—and the description was apt for it forms an excellent sequel to the earlier book, picturing, as it does, the beauty and joy of the House not made with hands which awaits those who climb to God up the ladder of created things. Blessed Robert dedicated it to Cardinal Farnese in the following terms:

Your kindness to our Order has been so great, my dear Cardinal, that each and every member of the Society of Jesus is bound to you by the strongest ties of gratitude. . . . I myself had planned a long time ago to dedicate to you a large work that I meditated writing, namely a literal, moral, and dogmatic commentary on all the Epistles of St. Paul. But the length of time that would be needed for such a work, the fewness of the years now left to me, and the daily occupations which engross so much of my attention that there is scarcely a moment over for literary labours, have made me completely despair of ever carrying through the project. Consequently, I am venturing to offer you this little book instead . . . knowing that in the goodness of your heart you will accept the big and eager desire of the giver as a compensation for the smallness of his gift. . . .

It is interesting to know that St. Francis de Sales was not entirely satisfied with Blessed Robert's excuses. In the introduction to his great *Treatise on the Love of God*, that holy Doctor of the Church and master of the spiritual life had referred in terms of enthusiastic praise to the *De Ascensione Mentis*. Writing to its author, from Annecy, 12 September 1617, he said:

Availing myself of this opportunity, I congratulate you most heartily on your last two books, whose sweet and admirable piety has refreshed the minds of the faithful and stirred them up to a better life. But there is still another word which I must speak to my Lord. Dear God, how I wish, and how a multitude of wise and holy men wish, that we had, if not all, at least one or two even of the shortest of St. Paul's Epistles explained in the three senses to which your Lordship alludes, namely the historical, dogmatical, and mystical, as a specimen and example of how the others should be expounded. It would be something if we were given the exposition of the short Epistle to Titus or even that to Philemon, or if we had merely a chapter or two from the others so interpreted. To ask or to expect a commentary upon all the Epistles from your Lordship's hands would be neither fair nor

[1] *Epistolae familiares*, p. 302.

just. At your age and after all the labours which you have borne almost from your boyhood for the cause of the Church, one may easily guess that your bodily strength is no longer equal to such a task, though, thanks be to God, your mind is as vigorous as ever. Still, it would be a great thing if you were even to initiate us into this method and so to prepare the way for other less skilful workers. Meantime, while most earnestly begging this favour from you, I pray God with all my heart long to preserve your Lordship in perfect health and happiness.

Your Lordship's most attached, obedient, and humble servant,
FRANCIS, Bishop of Geneva.[1]

In the little book about the happiness of Heaven, Blessed Robert first discourses on it as a kingdom. His monarchical preferences at once come into play, but he soon passes on to the more practical consideration, how the kingdom is to be attained. Here we notice another fundamental trait of his spiritual teaching, insistence on the necessity of effort and self-conquest. Heaven is not an open garden to which idlers may stray at will, but a fortress to be won with a sword. There is no gate of good luck or unconcern to its peace. If we would reach it, we must hunger and thirst after justice all the days of our lives. That was the beginning of his book and the end of it was this :

Let us now consider the nature of the contest in which we are engaged, and what we must do in order to gain the victory. The contest is certainly most terrible and the struggle full of peril, especially if it be compared with the earthly contests in which men strive for a corruptible crown. The combatants in the circus-games, to which St. Paul alluded, fought with men like themselves, and were exposed equally to the danger of popular derision or ignominy. But Christians have to fight with enemies who see them but who are invisible, and who are also exceedingly numerous, powerful, and crafty. Neither are the weapons in this contest alike, and it is fought in the presence of God and His angels, for a crown of eternal life and at the risk of eternal destruction. It is not, then, an easy or faked encounter, but a real and most dreadful battle. Our antagonists are demons whom the Scriptures in one place call lions, and in another, dragons and basilisks.

Moreover, we have traitors in our own houses, the concupiscence of the flesh which wars against the spirit. As St. Peter says : *Dearly beloved, I beseech you as strangers and pilgrims to refrain from carnal desires which war against the soul.* Again, and hardest circumstance of all, this contest takes place at the same time that

[1] *Summarium additionale*, n. 6, p. 53 .

we run the race. Therefore the Apostle joins these two things together that we may know how, whilst running for the prize, we are obstructed in our whole course by these enemies and hence must both run and fight simultaneously.

Oh, if Christians did but ponder these truths and realize how they are placed, assuredly they would not so easily squander away their time in temporal trifles, in jesting, playing, banqueting, in accumulating money and pursuing honours, as if their chief happiness consisted in these things. Rather would they give ear to the Apostle crying out to them: *Take unto you the armour of God, that you may be able to resist in the evil day. Stand, therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of justice. And in all things taking the shield of faith, wherewith you may be able to extinguish all the fiery darts of the most wicked one. And take unto you the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit (which is the word of God); by all prayer and supplication praying at all times in the Spirit.* Dear God! how full of terror and awe-inspiring earnestness is this exhortation, especially if we ponder on its last words, 'By all prayer and supplication, praying at all times.'

And now I ask, what is to be done that we may prove victorious in so dreadful a contest? St. Paul tells us when he says: *Every one that striveth for the mastery refraineth himself from all things; and they, indeed, that they may receive a corruptible crown, but we, an incorruptible one.* The meaning of these words is this. In order that they might receive a corruptible crown, the combatants in the games abstained from everything which might weaken their bodies and render them unfit to engage in the fictitious contest, from excessive eating and drinking, from carnal delights, from domestic cares, and from all other things, however pleasant or useful, which might retard or hinder victory. We, therefore, who labour for an incorruptible crown ought much more to refrain from everything that may weaken our souls and render them less fitted for the real and terrible fight in which they must willy-nilly engage, and for the race which they must run. And what things weaken the soul? Excessive eating, over-indulgence in sleep, too frequent visiting, hunting, boisterous laughter and singing, neglecting to read good books, to pray, to meditate, to bewail our sins, and to bring forth worthy fruits of penance. . . . On the other hand, the food of the soul, which makes it strong, is fasting; the refreshment of the soul is prayer; the sleep of the soul, holy contemplation; the medicine of the soul, a humble confession of our sins; the joy and delight of the soul, tears of compunction; and the triumph of the soul, the crucifixion of the flesh with its concupiscences. . . .

Twist and turn and try to escape as you will, the crown of everlasting bliss can never be yours unless you sweat and strive

to win it with all the power and energy of your body and soul. . . . *Per multas tribulationes oportet nos intrare in Regnum Dei.*[1]

In this as in his other spiritual books, Blessed Robert insists again and again on the obligations of those who are endowed with the good things of life :

The desire of money is the root of all evils, says the Apostle, but the root of all good is charity, and these two can never remain together. Wherefore, unless a man becomes truly and perfectly poor in spirit, so that, whether his possessions be small or great, his heart is not in them and he is always ready to give something to those in need, . . . he cannot obtain the Kingdom of God. . . . Charity commands that we love our neighbour as we love ourselves, and that what we should wish to be done to ourselves, we do to him. Now who is there who being much in need would not wish the rich to give him something out of their superabundance ? . . . On this point I beseech the reader to consult St. Basil in his Sermon to the Rich, and also St. Bernard in his Homily on the words, *Ecce nos reliquimus omnia*. There he will see and be terrified at the danger which men run who forget that they will have to render to God an account of their riches. . . . If we shall have to give an account of every idle word we speak, much more shall we of the money we mis-spend.

Let us hear the Apostle St. John, and from him learn how extensive is the duty of charity. His words are : *In this we have known the charity of God, because He hath laid down His life for us ; and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren.* Christ laid down His life for His servants, and can it, then, be a great thing if we lay down our lives for our brothers ? The Apostle does not say that we may if we choose lay down our lives for them, but that it is our duty and that we *ought* to do so. . . . And if we ought to give our very lives, how much more are we bound to give of our riches ?

Another class of men whose duties and responsibilities were always in Blessed Robert's thoughts were the bishops and priests of the Church. The connection of such matters with a disquisition on the joys of Heaven might not appear very obvious, but they were so dear to the Cardinal that he was determined to give them a place in his scheme whether they fitted or whether they did not. Speaking of the various ways in which the Parable of the Talents had been interpreted, he says :

All agree in this that the multiplication of the talents consists in labouring diligently for our own salvation as well as the salvation

[1] *De Aeterna Felicitate Sanctorum*, Parisiis, 1616, pp. 368–372, 379–380

of other men. But another explanation occurs to me, which is not inconsistent with the ones mentioned and which appears to agree perfectly with what Our Lord says concerning the talents. And first, the talents are called *the goods of the Lord*; then the servants are commanded to multiply the talents; and thirdly it is said, *He gave to every one according to his proper ability*. . . . I, therefore, understand the talents to mean the souls of the faithful, entrusted to the care and fidelity of bishops. These are truly the goods of the Lord, which are not given to us but only entrusted to our care to be multiplied. Our Lord did not say to Peter, 'Feed thy sheep,' but, 'Feed *My* sheep.' Other things are our own goods, although bestowed by God, as genius, judgment, the Holy Scriptures, etc. But the souls of the faithful He calls *His* goods, *His* vineyard, *His* family, *His* spouse. For these He came into the world, for their redemption He poured out His blood, to win them He sent His apostles, saying, *I will make you to be fishers of men.*

After thus introducing his interpretation of the Parable, Blessed Robert leaves Heaven alone for a little while that he may urge upon bishops the paramount necessity of residing in their dioceses:

On the night of our Saviour's birth, the shepherds were keeping watch over their flocks. If this was done for senseless sheep by those who were a figure of the pastors of the Church, how much more carefully and diligently ought it to be done by those whom they typified, the shepherds of that flock for which Our Lord, when on earth, watched whole nights in prayer? And if the patriarch Jacob laboured so much for the flocks of his father-in-law Laban that he could say: *Day and night was I parched with heat and with frost, and sleep departed from my eyes*, what ought not the shepherd of that flock to do for which Christ poured out His precious blood? If the devil goeth about as a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour, is it not fitting that the good shepherd should also go about, seeking whom he may save?

But it may be said that business connected with the Church often compels a bishop to leave his flock. I admit this when the business is important and only a short time is spent in attending to it. Otherwise great things are to be preferred before less. If business compels us to leave our flock, more important business, even war of the most terrible kind, compels us to stay and defend it. The trumpet of St. Paul sounds in our ears: *Our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the world of this darkness, against the spirits of wickedness in the high places.*

Towards the end of the *De Aeterna Felicitate Sanctorum*

occurs a prayer in which the spirit of its author is finely reflected :

Unto Thee, then, do I fly, O my good Master! I, Thy servant and the son of Thy hand-maid, do long with all my soul for the heavenly prize and the most glorious crown which Thou hast prepared and promised to those that love Thee. I know the greatness of the contest and the length of the course to be run. I have learned through sad experience how weak I am, and I confess before Thee, who searchest the reins and the heart, that there is little virtue in me or no virtue at all. Neither am I ignorant of the great power and cruel hatred of my invisible foes who cannot abide that poor beings such as we are should be destined for the glory from which they fell by pride. Enlighten my eyes that I never sleep in death ; increase my strength lest I faint on the way ; may Thy grace defend me lest at any time my enemy cry in triumph, *I have prevailed against him.*

And what I ask for myself, I ask for all my brother men too, especially for those placed by Thee in high dignities in Church or State. Their danger is so much the greater as their functions are more excellent, but the more glorious will be their crown if they quit themselves well. Yea, and the more dreadful will be their condemnation if through their fault souls perish which Thou hast redeemed by Thy precious blood.[1]

5. Though Blessed Robert little guessed it, his ' Benjamin ' was to have four more brothers in rapid succession, one for each year of life left to him. These were *De Gemitu Columbae, sive de bono lachrymarum* (1617) ; *De Septem Verbis a Christo in Cruce prolatis* (1618) ; *Admonitio ad Episcopum Theanensem* (1619) ; and *De Arte bene Moriendi* (1620). The first of these books, ' The mourning of the Dove, or the value of contrite tears,' is, as its name implies, a little treatise on the fruit of penance and compunction of heart. The dove is used as a symbol of the Church Militant in allusion to the text : *Who will give me wings like a dove, and I will fly and be at rest?* In a charming dedication of the work ' to the Reverend Fathers and most dear Brothers of the whole

[1] *De Aeterna Felicitate Sanctorum*, ed. prima, pp. 374–375. This book like its predecessor met with a remarkable welcome. Italian, French and Polish translations were circulating within a year of its appearance in Latin. It was turned into English in 1620 and at four subsequent dates. In 1710 a Protestant named Jenks brought out a version under the somewhat pedantic title, *Ouranography, or Heaven opened.* This was followed in 1722 by another Protestant rendering, with a preliminary ' essay upon the same subject written by Mr. Addison'. The editor of the *Spectator* had been three years in his grave at the time and his essay was included merely as a sop to Protestant prejudice.

Society of Jesus ', Blessed Robert speaks thus of his relations with the Order : *Nam et ego a prima adolescentia Societati Jesu, ipso spiritu Jesu vocante, nomen dedi ; et in ejus sinu de lacte ejus suxi, et in ejus contubernio de cibo ejus sumpsi, et sub ejus regimine lac et cibum infantibus et adultis longo tempore ministravi.*

In the first part of the work, the necessity of penance, compunction, and holy tears is shown from various places in the Scriptures and from the teaching and example of the Saints. The second part is entitled, *De fontibus lachrymarum.* Blessed Robert describes twelve sources of sorrow for the Christian heart in as many chapters, namely, the consideration of sin, of Hell, of the Passion of Christ, of the persecutions of the Church, of laxity among priests, of the decline of fervour in Religious Orders, of the careless lives of worldlings, of the miseries of mankind, of Purgatory, of the love of God, of the uncertainty of salvation, and of the temptations of the devil. His meditation on the Passion is, perhaps, the finest thing in this very fine little book. It would spoil it to quote it incomplete and it is much too long to quote in full, so all that can be done is to call the reader's attention to one of the profoundest and most appealing pieces of writing on this sacred subject that has ever come from the heart of a saint.

Though, in his chapter on the decline of fervour in Religious Orders, Blessed Robert spoke with the kindliest tact and mentioned no names except generally and in a passing reference to a famous incident in the life of his dear patron, the Founder of the Franciscans, his remarks, for all their unmistakable charity and zeal, were hotly resented in one quarter. In 1625, four years after the Cardinal's death, a Dominican named Gravina published at Naples a book entitled *Vox Turturis, seu de florenti usque ad nostra tempora SS. Benedicti, Dominici, Francisci, et aliarum sacrarum Religionum statu*— the voice of the turtle-dove, or a declaration concerning the flourishing condition up to our times of the Benedictine, Dominican, Franciscan, and other Religious Orders.[1] Gravina

[1] The solitary reference to the Dominicans made by Blessed Robert was in the following passage : ' Nam et Sancti Benedicti, et Sancti Dominici, et Sancti Francisci, *et omnium aliorum Sanctorum qui religiosos Ordines instituerunt* filii et nepotes per multos annos ita sancte, pie, perfecteque vixerunt, ut vel omnes, vel eorum pars maxima insigni sanctitate floruerint. Postea tamen multiplicari coeperunt Regulares sine numero, et multi non a Deo vocati ad statum perfecitonis, sed aliis rationibus adducti, monasteria repleverunt.' Italics inesrted.

was answered by a French Jesuit with a book bearing the comic title : *A cage for the turtle-dove that crows over Bellarmine's mourning dove.* Gravina's next effort was called : *The doubly powerful voice of the turtle-dove reiterating the flourishing condition of Religious Orders, after the collapse of a certain anonymous person's cage.* So the disedifying controversy went on, without profit to anybody except people who liked to make merry at the expense of religion.[1]

The same year in which the *Vox Turturis* appeared (1625), a religious of the Order of Minims brought out a new History of the Church. After a lyrical passage in praise of Bellarmine's spiritual books, this man, by name Father Hilarion de Costa, gives the following items of information :

As for *The Ascent of the Mind to God*, a great man, who is one of the most distinguished and prominent members of the Parliament of Paris, has said that he reads it four times each year and that it is not inferior to the *Imitation of Christ.* Similarly, Monsignor, the Bishop of Geneva, who died eighteen months ago, used never to tire of reading and praising the *De Gemitu Columbae.*[2]

According to his nephew and earliest biographer, when St. Francis de Sales received the book last mentioned, he cried his admiration aloud in some such terms as the following :

Ha ! innocente colombe, vous gemissez en ce siècle ; mais dans le ciel, et dans les pertuis de la pierre, et dans la caverne de la masure, vous mettrez fin à vos travaux, et ferez sonner vostre voix aux oreilles du celeste espoux, et monstrerez votre face ; car votre voix est douce et la face de vostre âme est très belle.[3]

[1] Gravina's efforts, it should be said, were in no way countenanced by the Dominican Order as a whole. The Franciscans, who were the only religious referred to explicitly by Blessed Robert, never dreamt of taking offence because it was so perfectly obvious that no offence was intended. They knew well enough how much the Cardinal loved them and that any admonition he might give was but his love expressed in another form.

[2] Quoted in *Summarium additionale*, n. 14, p. 151. *Vide supra*, p. 266.

[3] Charles Auguste de Sales, *Histoire du Bienheureux François de Sales*, liv. IX (edition of 1870, t. II, p. 157). This book gives some further interesting details of the friendship between Blessed Robert and Saint Francis. ' Ces deux saincts personnages,' the author concludes, ' avoyent une si grande inclination l'un pour l'autre qu'ils en rendoyent des tesmoignages à toutes occasions.' Pierre Camus, Bishop of Belley, who wrote the charming book entitled, *L'Esprit du Bienheureux François de Sales*, speaks there about one of the many letters, now unfortunately lost, which passed between the two men. It was from Bellarmine to the Saint : ' J'ai veu une de ses responses, où il exprimoit sa joye, sinon en ces termes, du moins en ce sens : Monseigneur, je ne reçoy jamais de vos lettres qu'elles ne me donnent quelque tentation du désir d'estre pape, et je vous asseure que si cela arrivoit, la première chose que je feroy ce seroit de vous envoyer mon

It is not necessary to say anything about Blessed Robert's little classic on the Seven Words of Our Lord, since it is very well known in England as in other countries. For him, as for St. Paul and all the saints, Christ on the Cross was the beginning and the end of spiritual wisdom. That book appeared in 1618. In the Cologne edition of the Cardinal's works, which was published in 1619, another little spiritual treatise that is not so well known was included. It bore the title : *Admonitio Cardinalis Bellarmini ad Episcopum Theanensem, Nepotem suum*—counsel of Cardinal Bellarmine to his nephew, the Bishop of Teano.[1]

The *Admonitio* originated in an interesting way. In November 1615 a very holy Cardinal named Ferdinand Taberna, who had recently been consecrated a bishop and appointed to the government of a diocese, begged Blessed Robert to write for him a little book of advice and instructions on the duties of his new office, similar to the letter which he had written many years earlier for Pope Clement VIII. Ever compliant, Blessed Robert promised that he would, but his humility made difficulties about the inscription to be put on the work, because, if he addressed it to Cardinal Taberna, it might look as if he were taking it upon himself to play counsellor to a prince of the Church. Perhaps such a scruple may appear curious when his very outspoken letter to Pope Clement is remembered, but in reality that letter was the cause of the scruple. He had intended and taken every precaution that it should be seen by his Holiness alone, yet, in spite of all his care, it had become the property of Rome shortly after it was written. His enemies were not to have such an occasion for cavilling again, if he could help it. A young nephew of whom he was very fond, named Angelo della Ciaia, provided him with a way out of the difficulty, when, in 1616, he was

bonnet, c'est-à-dire de vous mettre dans le sacré collège ; car il me semble qu'il auroit besoin de beaucoup de personnages semblables à vous, à qui je recognoy que Dieu communique des lumières, et des adresses pour le bien de l'Église universelle. . . .' The little book *De Gemitu Columbae*, which St. Francis so greatly appreciated, was reprinted times without number and translated into nearly every European language. Even for the modern world its lessons have in no way lost their point or force. A saintly master of novices, Father Nicholas Prümm, who died in 1922, used to refer to it so constantly in his exhortations and spiritual direction that ' Die Taube ' became a sort of slogan among the young Jesuits of Feldkirch. They got some fun out of it, of course, as novices will, and used to make a mock grievance about their everlasting diet of dove.

[1] This work has been reprinted many times, at Paris as recently as 1894. Père Le Bachelet includes it in his *Auctarium*, (pp. 639–655).

appointed to the Bishopric of Teano in the province of Capua. Uncles have always been allowed by public opinion the privilege of exhorting and lecturing nephews, so Blessed Robert, with a sigh of relief, wrote on his manuscript the title given above.

That Cardinal Taverna was not the only one who wanted a 'book about bishops' is plain from the following warmly-worded letter of Monseigneur de Harley, the Archbishop of Rouen, which was addressed to Bellarmine at the beginning of the year 1618:

As I read and re-read the letter which your Lordship so kindly sent me, . . . it seemed to me not so much a letter as an oracle. The more I try to carry out what you have told me so gravely and modestly, the more is the desire, or rather the fire, enkindled in my heart to practise every detail of your counsel perfectly. Now you who have lit this fire must provide it with fuel if you do not want to see it die down. . . . I beg and implore you, then, in my own name and in the names of all the prelates of Holy Church, to have the goodness to describe for us in writing your ideal of a perfect archbishop, I mean such a pastor of souls as St. Ambrose or St. Augustine would be, were they alive in this wretched age. . . . Many writers put before us ideal bishops in the Platonic sense of the word. Others sketch for us hermit bishops who are admirable hands at weeping but useless for governing a flock. Then there are some who think they have done a great thing by stringing together a number of passages from the Fathers, and out of this mosaic constructing a bishop, forgetful that many ways and customs, good and holy in former times, would now, especially in countries where heresy is deluding and corrupting souls, be found either ridiculous or useless.

But your Lordship who knows everything, and is acquainted with the perversity of this iron age, who has been archbishop for three years and who has learned by experience what needs to be done, who is so full of zeal, prudence, and profound erudition, who is versed in so many affairs, who has seen France and Flanders, and knows what heresy really means, who, in fine, has such authority that your words are received as so many oracles,—your Lordship, in my opinion, is better qualified than any man alive to paint a true portrait of a holy archbishop, suited to our times.

Non dimittam te nisi benedixeris mihi! Do not deny me so just a demand, and to those golden treatises which you have published during the last three years, add this also in order to animate every prelate of the Church to fulfil his duty in a truly apostolic fashion. . . . This would be for me a great favour, nay, the greatest of favours, and not for me only but for all the bishops and archbishops in the world. I know not how to write my thanks for the exceeding kindness of your letters and for the holy advice

you give me from time to time. Were I not already entirely devoted to you, I should now lay my heart at your feet. Accept, then, my continued and cordial affection, and believe me, as with all love I kiss your hand, to be now and for ever

Your Lordship's most affectionate and obliged servant,
FRANCIS, Archbishop of Rouen.[1]

To satisfy the zealous Archbishop's desires, Blessed Robert sent him a manuscript copy of the *Admonitio*. Shortly afterwards it was printed and published in Paris without its author being given a single word of warning. Thereupon, Monseigneur de Harley expressed the greatest surprise, penitence, and indignation in a letter to Bellarmine, 8 September 1619 :

I cannot tell you how profound was my sorrow when I discovered that some friends of mine had played me false by publishing behind my back that golden manuscript you sent me. I am all the more angry because I do not know even now against whom my anger ought to be directed. I have no idea who has done me this bad turn. Forgive him, I beg you, whoever he be, for perhaps he meant well. So greedy are numbers of men to see anything that comes from your pen, that they cannot wait until you have made it ready for publication, feeling sure that nothing is written by you which is not full of merit. This little work, on which you set no store at all, they prize as a real treasure.

For myself, I am and always will be most grateful, whether you think that what you have done is enough, or set about the preparation of something still more substantial. Though you never add another word, you have written sufficient to make every prelate of Holy Church a saint. Should God give me an opportunity to be of service to any member of your Order, I trust I shall make him see clearly how deeply I reverence your Lordship, and how much I am indebted to you.[2]

The *Admonitio* is divided into a series of nine ' controversiae ', of which two have already been noticed in the present volume.[3] As might be expected from what we now know of Blessed Robert's thoughts, the matter treated at greatest length is the duty of bishops to reside in their dioceses ' nisi ad tempus ob urgentissimas causas '. The Cardinal brings all his eloquence and learning to bear on this point which, as has been

[1] *Summarium additionale*, n. 9, pp. 83–84.

[2] *L.c.*, p. 84. The pirated edition of the *Admonitio*, referred to in this letter, appeared in the book-shops of Paris in 1618. During the following year, Blessed Robert, accepting the situation, allowed the Cologne printers to include the piece in the supplement to the collected edition of his works, which they were then issuing.

[3] *Vide supra*, pp. 98, 100.

seen above, was one that troubled his zealous heart throughout life. Absenteeism, in his day, was not nearly so common as it had been in the past, and, though it did exist, his hatred and fear of it may have caused him to magnify the extent of the evil. 'From the testimonies which I have adduced,' he wrote, 'anyone may easily see that several present-day bishops are in the greatest danger of losing their souls.' [1]

The third 'controversy' is on the bishop's duty to preach to his flock. The fourth asks the question 'an episcopus teneatur esse perfectus', and answers it with an affirmative so strong as to be almost terrifying. 'If men who aspire to be bishops would only think about the perfection of sanctity and wisdom that is strictly required of those who hold the episcopal office, then they would not be so eager in pursuit of its dread responsibilities, but would hardly accept them, even if compelled and constrained to do so.' The following two sections deal with the care that is necessary in the choice of subjects for ordination, and with the grave danger that is attached to the possession of more than one benefice. The ninth and last section is on the employment of ecclesiastical revenues, and here again Blessed Robert counsels the strictest practice with all the earnestness of which he is capable. After quoting some very severe passages from the ancient Fathers, he gives the milder view of St. Thomas and the Scholastics according to which two different usages may be followed in the distribution of the goods of the Church. In the first case, certain distinct portions of the goods and revenues may be considered to belong to the bishop, to the clergy, to the poor, and to those responsible for the material upkeep of the church-building. In the second case, all the revenues may be considered as given in trust to the bishop, whose duty it will then be to assign them to their proper uses. The substance of Blessed Robert's remarks on the question is as follows:

Si portiones distinctae non sint, ut in plerisque locis accidit, certum est peccare mortaliter eos episcopos, qui non sunt contenti frugali mensa, et tenui supellectili, et reliqua non insumunt in reparationem ecclesiae, et usum pauperum. . . . Dicitur enim (Matthaei, xxiv, 48): *Quod si dixerit malus servus in corde suo; moram facit dominus meus venire*, quod pertinet ad divini judicii contemptum, *et coeperit percutere conservos suos*, quod pertinet ad superbiam, *manducet autem et bibat cum ebriosis*, quod pertinet ad luxuriam, *veniet Dominus servi illius in qua die non sperat, et dividet*

[1] *Auctarium Bellarminianum*, p. 645.

eum, scilicet a societate bonorum, *et partem ejus ponet cum hypocritis*, scilicet in inferno.

Ex his facile colligi potest, utrum liceat episcopis thesaurizare, vel multam familiam famulorum alere, vel in ludis et conviviis et venationibus pecuniam perdere, aut in exstruendis vel ornandis palatiis et hortis, more regum, thesauros Ecclesiae insumere. . . .[1]

The last of all Blessed Robert's published works was a little treatise on death, which appeared in 1620 under the title, *De Arte bene Moriendi*. It is divided into two parts, the first dealing in sixteen chapters with what might be called the remote preparation for death, and the second, in seventeen chapters, with the immediate preparation. The first part gives in brief form a complete outline of Christian spirituality, including seven admirable chapters on the Sacraments. Here we find re-iterated and emphasized once more all the chief points of the Cardinal's spiritual teaching, the necessity of constant prayer and self-denial, of alacrity and watchfulness in God's service, of charity in speech, of poverty of spirit, and above all, of generosity in the use of earthly possessions. The longest chapter in the whole work is devoted to this last question. Blessed Robert first proves from Scripture and the Fathers that alms-giving, according to one's means, is not a counsel but a strict precept. Then he dilates with touching eloquence on the various blessings which wait for the generous heart, and, having done that, turns to consider the manner in which alms ought to be bestowed. His book was translated into English within a year of its appearance in the original Latin, and from this pleasant, racy old version we quote the following passages :

Let us now speake of the *manner* of bestowing almes, for that is necessary more than any other thing, that we may vertuously live and die most happily. First, it is necessary that we give almes with a most sincere intention of pleasing God, and not for seeking of popular prayse. This doth Christ teach us when He saith : *When thou dost give almes, do not sound the trumpet, and let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth.* . . .

Agayne, our almes is to be given *readily*, and with facility, that it may not seeme to be wrung out by intreaty, nor delaied from day to day when it may presently be dispatched. . . . Abraham, the friend of God, requested the passengers that they would come to his house, and expected not to be intreated by them. . . . Neyther did Toby expect that the poore people should come unto him, but he himselfe did seeke for them.

[1] *Auctarium Bellarminianum*, pp. 654–655.

DE ARTE BENE MORIENDI LIBRI DVO,

AVCTORE

ROBERTO S.R.E. CARD.

BELLARMINO

è Societate IESV:

Ad Illuſtriſſ. & Reuerendiſſ. D.

FRANCISCVM S.R.E.CARD.

SFORTIAM

Epiſcopum Albanenſem.

ANTVERPIÆ,

EX OFFICINA PLANTINIANA,

Apud Balthaſarem Moretum, & Viduam
Ioannis Moreti, & Io. Meurſium.

M. DC. XX.

TITLE-PAGE OF BLESSED ROBERT BELLARMINE'S LAST BOOK.

Thirdly, it is requisite that our almes be given *cheerfully*, and not with grudging. *In everything thou givest* (saith Ecclesiasticus) *shew a cheerful countenance*; and the Apostle: *Not out of sadness or out of necessity, for our Lord doth love a cheerfull giver.*

Fourthly, it is necessary that our almes be given with *humility*, in such manner as the giver may know himselfe to receave more than he giveth, of which point thus writeth St. Gregory: 'It helpeth much to check the pride of the giver of almes if when he bestoweth his earthly substance he do weigh well the words of the heavenly Master, *Make you friends of the mammon of iniquity that when you shall fayle they may receave you into the everlasting tabernacles.* For if by the friendship of the poore we do gayne the eternall tabernacles, doubtlesse we who give are to perswade our selves that we do rather offer presents to our benefactours than bestow almes on the poore.'

Fifthly, it behoveth that we give *abundantly*, according to the proportion or measure of our ability, for so did Toby, that famous alms-giver: *As thou shalt be able, so be thou pitiful to the poore; if thou have much give plentifully; if thou have but little, study how to give that little willingly.* The Apostle teacheth us that an almes is to be given as a blessing, not as covetousness. St. Chrysostome addeth, not to give only but to give abundantly is to be called almes, and in the same sermon, that such as desire to be heard of God when they cry, *Have mercy on me O Lord God according to Thy great mercy*, must also have mercy on the poore according to their great almes.

Last of all, it is specially required that he who will be saved and dye well do diligently search out, eyther by his owne reading and meditation or by other devout and learned men, whether a man may keep superfluous riches without sinne, or whether such be not of necessity to be given to the poore; and further, which are to be deemed superfluous riches, which necessary; for the case may so stand that meane riches to one man may be superfluous, and great wealth to another may seeme necessary. And for that this small treatise cannot comport any prolixe dispute of scolastical questions, I will briefly repeat certayn passages of the Holy Scriptures, and Fathers as well ancient as moderne, and so conclude this difficulty.

The places of the Scriptures are the sixth of S. Mathew: *You cannot serve God and mammon;* the third of S. Luke: *He who hath two coates, let him give to him that hath none, and he that hath meate let him do the like*; and in the twelfth of the same Gospel it is sayd to a rich man who so abounded in substance as that he scant knew where to lay them: *Thou foole, this very night they will take from thee thy soule*; which wordes S. Augustine doth thus expound, that this rich man was everlastingly damned because he reteyned superfluous wealth.

The chiefest authorityes of the ancient Fathers for this matter

are these. *St. Basil :* And art thou not a theefe or robber who esteemest that as thine owne which thou hast receaved only to dispense and give away ? *St. Ambrose :* What injustice is there if I who take not other men's goods from them do diligently keep myne owne ? O impudent assertion ! Dost thou call them thine owne ? It is no lesse a crime when thou art able and wealthy to deny almes to the poore than to steale or take away from him that hath it. *S. Hierome :* Whatsoever thou hast more than is necessary for thy diet and apparel that bestow (on the poore), and know that for so much thou art a debter. *S. Chrysostome :* Dost thou possesse that which is thyn owne ? The goods of the poore are committed to thy custodye whether thou possesse them out of thyne owne just labour or by lineal descent of inheritance. *S. Augustine :* The thinges that are superfluous to the rich are necessary to the poore ; they who possesse more than they want possesse more than is theirs. *S. Leo :* Earthly and corporal riches do come unto us from the bounty of God, and therefore worthily is He to exact an account of these thinges which He hath no more committed unto us to possesse than to disburse and distribute. *S. Gregory :* Such are to be warned who neyther desire other men's goods nor bestow their owne that they attentively know that the earth of which we are all made is common to all, and therefore in common yieldeth substance for all ; in vaine do they thinke themselves without fault who challenge as their owne that gift of God which He hath bestowed upon all. *S. Bernard :* The poor cry out and say, it is our goods that you wast ; it is with cruelty taken from us which you so vainly spend. *S. Thomas of Aquine :* The things which some have more than they need are by the law of nature dew unto the maintenance of the poore. Our Lord commandeth not only the tyth or tenth part but whatsoever is superfluous to be given to the poore. Upon the fourth booke of *Sentences* [S. Thomas] affirmeth this to be the common doctrine of all devines.

Here if any will contend that these superfluous goods are not to be given unto the poore out of the rigour of the law, yet truly he cannot deny that they are to be given them out of charity, and it importeth little, God wot, whether a man go to hel for want of justice or for want of charity.[1]

6. When Blessed Robert's last book was submitted for censorship, the Master of the Sacred Palace, Father Hyacinth Petronio, expressed the strongest disapproval of the views on alms-giving set forth above, and represented them to the Pope as altogether new and strange. At this crisis, the

[1] *The Art of Dying Well.* Translated into English by C. E. [Father Edward Coffin, S.J.], St. Omers, 1621, pp. 91–97.

Cardinal's great friend Father Eudaemon-Joannes paid him a visit, and afterwards gave the following account of their conversation :

I urged that it was his duty, when next he saw the Pope, to make clear to him the soundness of his doctrine and the injustice of the censure that had been passed on it. He answered that he would not do any such thing, because if he were to speak he would either have to oppose the Master of the Sacred Palace or to defend himself. He had no wish to do the Master a bad turn ; rather did he feel it his duty to serve him all the more readily in any way possible, because he had suffered at his hands. As for defending myself, he said, you will not find me doing that in a hurry. If people think the less of me, why, so much the better.[1]

Virtue in books is one thing, and virtue in thought, word, and deed, another, so it will not be out of place to consider here a few more of the many ways in which Blessed Robert practised what he preached. His heroic prayerfulness, self-denial, zeal, and charity to the poor have already been described in some measure, but there were many other inspiring features in his sanctity besides these. The little incident in connection with his last book, which has just been related, illustrates his meekness. Example after example of this virtue is given in the acts of his beatification, and yet Matteo Torti, who lived in daily contact with him for several years, affirmed, as the result of his own observations, that he was naturally extremely hot-tempered—*di natura collerica in estremo*. This witness often noticed how, if insulted or annoyed, the colour would leap to his face, but only for an instant. He would immediately lower or close his eyes, and then, as if amused at his own explosiveness, smile ever so sweetly and be himself again.[2] On one occasion the Cardinal was present at an academic display held in the Carmelite monastery of Santa Maria Traspontina. A certain Dr. Roa was on his feet, and some extreme statement that he made caused Bellarmine to interject a remark. Roa turned on him furiously : ' You ! ' he spluttered, ' God preserve me from seeing the likes of you wearing the tiara.' A dreadful scene followed, in the midst of which Blessed Robert turned with a laugh to the presiding Cardinal, who was apoplectic with indignation and on the point of ordering the Doctor to be put under arrest.

[1] *Summarium*, n. 29, p. 105.

[2] Torti's evidence in the Roman process of 1622, quoted by Bartoli, *Vita*, p. 434.

'Poor fellow,' he said; 'the Lord would have to provide him with blinkers or something, if they elected me.' That little jest eased the situation and saved Roa from the Castle of St. Angelo.[1]

He was famous for such timely stratagems of meekness. One of his friends, Cardinal del Bufalo, even lost patience with what he considered his excessive forbearance, and complained to Father Mutius Vitelleschi about it. A certain member of the Congregation of the Holy Office was given to contradicting and insulting him on every possible occasion, yet all that he did was to shrug his shoulders and talk to his neighbour about the weather. After a while, other Cardinals besides del Bufalo began to think that his persistent silence would do an injury to his character, and that he ought not any longer to tolerate such treatment. Father Vitelleschi, accordingly, came to him one morning to urge more militant tactics for the sake of his reputation. 'His answer to me, given with a little laugh,' Vitelleschi testified, 'was, *Ah, Father Mutio, an ounce of charity is worth more than all the reputation in the world.* When I further assured him that I did not want him to defend himself at the expense of charity, he said, *That is not so easy; I do not want to do anything at all because there is no harm in being badly used and knocked about.*'[2]

His reputation, except in so far as it was bound up with the interests of the Church, was a thing about which he cared next to nothing. When people referred to it admiringly, he would banter them and begin to talk about something else. Once, he was told a story in connection with the terrible libel against him to which reference was made in an earlier chapter.[3] In this scandalous tract, it may be remembered, he was represented as having died in despair, with horrible blasphemies on his lips. Moreover, his ghost had appeared to the Pope in the Castle of St. Angelo in such a terrifying shape as almost to frighten his Holiness out of his wits. Among other places in which the libel was published was Dantzic. Some prominent men of the town were discussing it one day with the Prior of the great Cistercian monastery in the locality. As his visitors were Lutherans and inclined to believe the story, the Prior quoted to them the verdict of a Protestant minister named Colet who had said from his

[1] Bartoli, *Vita*, p. 445.
[2] Vitelleschi's evidence, *Summarium*, n. 17, p. 41; Bartoli, *Vita*, pp. 442–443.
[3] Vol. I p. 156.

pulpit that the book contained a hundred arguments to prove that it was false and not one to prove that it was true. While they were in the midst of the discussion, a Jewish Rabbi of high standing in the town, who had just returned from Rome, came in. They at once appealed to him, whereupon he showed amazement in every line of his face. 'Why,' he said, 'I have seen the Cardinal several times with my own eyes, and when I left Rome he was alive and flourishing. If all Christians led such lives as he does, we Jews would every one of us soon be asking for baptism.'

When Blessed Robert was informed of this incident, he said with his usual laugh : 'That makes two testimonies in proof of my sanctity, one of a heretic and one of a Jew. All that I need now is a kind word from a blackamoor and a Turk, and then you can proceed with my canonization.' [1]

A certain German Jesuit, who was something of a poet, wrote a set of verses in praise of the Cardinal, and was most anxious to have them printed in a book that was then about to be sent to the press. Blessed Robert's confessor, Father Rocca, urged him to sanction the publication of the verses, but met with a flat refusal. He knew what poets were like, he said, and there probably would not be a word of truth in the panegyric. In any case, even if it were true to-day, it might be false to-morrow, and consequently the only safe time to praise a man was when he was dead. No more was heard about those verses.[2]

A German friend, Dr. Peter Cudsem, who wrote asking for his Lordship's portrait, received the following answer :

My very Reverend and most learned Friend,

Your letter of February 21 [1615], in which you ask for my portrait, has reached me. Well, I fear I must give you the same answer that St. Paulinus gave his great friend Sulpitius Severus, and inquire which portrait you want. Is it that of the 'old man' or that of the 'new'? If of the 'old man,' be it known to you that it is too ugly to make a present of to anybody ; if of the 'new man,' it is not yet finished and therefore you cannot have it. Joking apart, there are some portraits of me here in Rome but not a single one of them shows me exactly as the Lord made me, and besides they are all too big to be sent to you without a great deal of trouble.

[1] Evidence of Cepari, to whom the words were spoken. Bartoli, *Vita*, pp. 325–326.

[2] Finali's evidence. He had the story from Rocca himself, who also showed him a note which the Cardinal had sent to the Gesù about the matter.

John Kinchius, the Cologne bookseller wrote a few days ago to tell me that my *Controversies* are being printed there by his brother-in-law, Anthony Hierat, and John Gymnicus, in large folio, so that all the Controversies are going into two volumes. There was not a word in his letter as to whether I would like this done or sanction it. He just told that it *was* being done. If this is so, I do not see how you can arrange to have these works printed in a number of volumes [as you suggest]. . . . Good-bye, worthy Sir, and dearest of friends. Remember me in your holy prayers.[1]

With regard to Blessed Robert's personal appearance, of which he makes fun in the above letter, once when he was in Belgium some boorish youth of that country passed a remark in his presence about his ears, which were too long to be shapely. The remark was intended to annoy, and doubtless the colour leaped to his face when he heard it, but all he answered was : *Ipse fecit nos et non ipsi nos*—He made us and not we ourselves (Ps. xcix, 3).

His way of conveying a hint to a man that some matter was not as it should be was characterized by the same tact and meekness. He hated nude statues and pictures. Once, when paying a visit to a very grand ecclesiastical dignitary in the middle of a severe winter, he noticed that there were a few nude figures over the doors of the palatial rooms. When taking leave of his host, he said with his pleasant smile : ' My Lord, there are a number of poor people here, who beg you to give them an alms.' By all means, answered the dignitary ; where are they ? ' Up there,' answered the Cardinal, pointing to the figures. ' It is very cold, my Lord, and these poor little things haven't a stitch on their backs. Do give them something to wrap themselves up in.' [2]

Blessed Robert's brothers in the purple had a great deal to say about his conversation. Cobellucci, the Cardinal of St. Susanna, testified that, notwithstanding his austerity and constant meditation on death, his speech was not severe but ever ' lovingly courteous and religiously urbane '. The magnificent Cardinal Alexander d'Este was yet more emphatic :

When I used to visit him, not to honour him as a Cardinal but to venerate him as a saint, I would find myself irresistibly drawn by his presence, as though he were a magnet. In the consistories,

[1] *Epistolae familiares*, cxix, pp. 269–270. Laws of copyright were evidently badly needed in the sixteenth century !

[2] Cepari's evidence ; Bartoli, *Vita*, p. 415.

I used to try nearly always to get the place next to his, and this not because business required that I should be near him but because I held him in such reverence, and derived such consolation from the sweet affability and open-heartedness of his converse that I could scarcely drag myself away from him. . . .

Very similar to this was the experience of the Cardinal of Savoy: 'I can say with truth that I used to take the greatest delight in the holy charm of his conversation. . . . His pleasant, playful manner attracted me immensely, so I used to visit him very often, and, no matter how long I stayed, it seemed to me only a few minutes, so great was the pleasure I took in his company. His conversation appeared to me to be like music, on account of the harmony of his words with his perfect life. And that was why I used to find it so hard to bid him farewell.'

Cardinal Bandini spoke of his *singolar mansuetudine, congiunta con piacevolezza di costumi suavissimi, e grata giovialità*, and Cardinal de la Rochefoucault avowed that he had noticed three things particularly in him: 'The first was profound humility, which his vast learning left utterly unaffected; the second was his unremitting self-denial in all things, joined with the most wonderful sweetness of manner, gaiety, and affability in his dealings with others; and the third was his perfect spirit of observance as a religious.'[1]

It is plain enough from the words used by these men, who were his familiars, that Blessed Robert's sanctity was of the same lovable kind as that of St. Francis de Sales. What delightful words they are and how often they recur—*una cortese affabilità, una religiosa urbanità, ingenua e dolce piacevolezza, grata giovialità, una soave armonia, allegrezza, ilarità!* Pierre Camus, who knew St. Francis de Sales so well and caught his spirit so admirably, was also acquainted with the Jesuit Cardinal. In his book about St. Francis he speaks of Blessed Robert as 'le grand cardinal Bellarmin, également éminent en pieté qu'en doctrine, et dont la conversation très-saincte n'estoit pas seulement sans amertume, mais encor remplie d'une très-agreable douceur (ce que je dy pour avoir eu quelque part non seulement en sa cognoissance, mais encor en son amitié).'[2] Another time Camus says,

[1] The letters of the Cardinals containing these extracts are given in Fuligatti. The pages of his *Vita* on which they are to be found are, in order of quotation: 400, 384, 414, 380, 386.

[2] *L'Esprit du Bienheureux François de Sales*, t. vi, à Paris, 1641, pp. 58–59.

' qu'il suffit de nommer le Cardinal Bellarmin pour dire son éloge,' and that he was ' d'humeur fort gaye.' [1]

Among the many *bons mots* with which, according to his chaplain, Jacobelli, he used regularly to enliven the conversation, there was one about Pope Paul V. Paul was a great builder, but some distinguished prelates did not approve of his lavish expenditure on edifices. One of them spoke about it in Blessed Robert's presence with a good deal of bitterness, whereupon the Cardinal, to turn the conversation, said, smiling the while : ' At any rate you cannot deny that he is a man of great *edification*.' This pun saved Paul from further attack, as the bystanders burst out laughing. Another ' dodge ' of his, whenever any one with whom he was conversing began to drift into uncharitableness, was to pretend to go to sleep. He found it an infallible remedy. Sometimes, there would be a slight sting in his repartees. Thus, once when asked what he thought was the reason why the majority of Cardinals were not holier, he is reported to have answered, with an allusion to the title of the Pope : ' Perhaps it is because they are too anxious to be *Most Holy*.'

7. At this point, when speaking about Blessed Robert's characteristics, it may be well to give some further information on the subject of his famous *Autobiography*, which has been the chief weapon in the armoury of his enemies for more than 270 years. As far as size goes it is certainly not a very redoubtable weapon, for it runs to no more than seven thousand words and has been accommodated quite easily in twenty-one pages of the present work.[2] Mgr. Baumgarten and others have endeavoured to create the impression that it came spontaneously from Blessed Robert's pen, or at least that he embraced the idea of it with alacrity when it was suggested to him.[3] The true story is this. In the year 1613, Father Mutius Vitelleschi, the representative of the Italian provinces of the Society of Jesus in Rome, noticed with sorrow the failing health of the Cardinal whom he had known and loved for a great number of years. Fearing that he might not last much longer, he sought him out one day, when quite alone, and begged and prayed him as a special favour to leave a last pledge of his affection for his Order in the shape of a full account of the chief events of his life. Another of the

[1] *L'Esprit du Bienheureux François de Sales*, t. III, pp. 237, 238.
[2] See appendix I, vol. I, pp. 460–481.
[3] Baumgarten, *Neue Kunde von alten Bibeln*, etc., p. 173.

Cardinal's great friends, Father Eudaemon-Joannes, afterwards added his voice to Vitelleschi's. Fuligatti, writing within three years of Blessed Robert's death, reports the first answer which Vitelleschi received. *Nego subito di voler far tal cosa il Cardinale, per esser ripugnante ad ogni buona ragione l'impiegar la lingua e la penna nelle proprie laudi, apportando a questo proposito moltre altre cose*—the Cardinal at once refused to do any such thing, saying that it was altogether indecorous to employ tongue and pen in one's own praises, and alleging many other reasons against it.[1]

Father Mutius was quite prepared for this flat refusal, and immediately brought forward the motives which prompted his petition, feeling sure that the Cardinal would not be able to dispose of them :

> Just think, your Lordship, whether it would be possible to omit your name from the official annals of our Society, when others of much less fame than yourself are mentioned so often in them. Now if you cannot deny the justice of this point, I would ask you to consider the difficulties with which our Society's historians are faced. There are many matters in your Lordship's life which they cannot pass over without causing astonishment to their readers, and of some of these matters their knowledge is small and very confused. If you do not help, they will be obliged, perhaps, to depend on conjecture, and so the accuracy of their pages will be exposed to risk. How undesirable that would be any one may see, and there is no remedy for it except the one which I now propose, namely that you should tell me or others the history of your long life, or else set it down in writing yourself.
>
> That your Lordship might know the matters about which we are particularly desirous to have information, I have brought with me a carefully compiled set of questions. If you will be good enough to answer these, the veracity of our history will be made secure. . . .[2]

Whether Bellarmine could possibly have refused so reasonable a request, whether, as his critics suggest, he *ought* to have refused it, the reader may judge for himself. That and nothing else was the origin of the little writing which was to bring upon his head such lightnings of righteous indignation. It was, of course, never intended for publication, but only to be a help to Sacchini and the other historians of the Society of Jesus. To call it an autobiography, in the strict sense of the word, is completely to misunderstand its nature, for it is

[1] Fuligatti, *Vita*, Prefazione.
[2] Fuligatti, *l.c.*, reporting what he had heard from Vitelleschi's own lips.

more akin to an extract from *Who's Who* than to the fascinating revelations of such a saint as Augustine or such a rogue as Benvenuto Cellini. Yet with all its matter-of-fact tone and deliberate objectivity, it reveals in a most striking way one of the fundamental traits of its author's nature—his guileless simplicity. All who knew him were impressed beyond measure by the limpid candour of his heart. *Candidezza e prudente semplicità*, are words that occur on almost every page of the voluminous acts of his beatification. More than twelve Cardinals, who had known him intimately, gave striking evidence on this point,[1] but it will be enough to quote two of them. The first extract is from the long and extremely interesting letter of the Dominican Cardinal Scaglia, to which reference was made in an earlier chapter :

> That simplicity, whose other name is sincerity, and that candour of soul, which is the opposite of all lying and deceit and which is the twin-brother of truth, were so great in him that not only was there no place in his own character for double-dealing or malice, but he could not ever bring himself to believe that other men could harbour such ill qualities. If, as happens to those who have the management of much public business, he met with what seemed to be plain instances of chicanery, he was astonished by them, as by something out of the course of nature, and, without ever a word against the guilty person, used to attribute their lapses to the misery of our human lot.[2]

The other extract is from the letter of Cardinal Orsini :

> The fifth thing which I noticed in him was the strangely small opinion he had of himself, in spite of his wonderful learning. He used to speak of his own private affairs with the greatest freedom, as though they were not his own but somebody else's, and if there was anything praiseworthy therein, the praise invariably went to God. . . .[3]

Blessed Robert's *Autobiography* lay quietly in the archives of the Gesù, Rome, until the year 1675. Prosper Bottini, who was then ' Promoter of the Faith,' learned of the existence of the document and asked that it should be produced. Owing to somebody's shabby behaviour it was printed and published at Louvain, in 1753. When the Cardinal's cause was reopened under Pope Benedict XIV, the enemies of the Jesuits

[1] Cf. Fuligatti, *Vita*, pp. 377, 380, 384, 386, 392, 395, 398, 400, 404, 410, 414, 417.
[2] Fuligatti, *l.c.*, p. 410. [3] Fuligatti, *l.c.*, p. 417.

brought out an edition on their own account (Ferrara, 1762). It was at this time that Cardinal Passionei, the friend and patron of Jansenists, began his bitter campaign against Blessed Robert. To a man such as he, very learned indeed but undeniably prejudiced and proud,[1] genuine Christian simplicity of heart was as little comprehensible as a rainbow to one born blind. Because Bellarmine tells how when young he learned to play the fiddle without difficulty and how the nets which he had mended were considered to be as good as new, Bellarmine must obviously have been full of vanity. That was Passionei's great contention. Let us listen to him on the subject of Bellarmine's little encounter with the Dominican Prior in Mondovì, that 'aliquid jucundum' of the *Autobiography*, which was related earlier in this work.[2] It may be remembered that Robert had gone in company with his Rector to visit the Prior, who pressed them to take some refreshments. When the Rector declined, the Prior turned to his young companion whom he did not know by sight, and said, 'At any rate, this little brother (*questo fratino*) will be glad of a drink.' Now Robert was even then a well-known preacher, and the Prior shortly afterwards visited the Jesuit residence to ask for his services in the pulpit. Robert himself was 'on the bell' when Father Prior arrived. That good man never dreamt that the *fratino* and the preacher were one and the same, so he requested the door-keeper to bring the preacher down. Robert answered that he could not do that but that he would give him any message the Prior might have for him. An argument then followed which Robert was at last obliged to end by declaring that he was the preacher and that he could not come down because he was already there. Hearing this, the Prior blushed, humbly begged to be forgiven for his unintentional lapse at their previous meeting, and asked Robert to do him a favour in the pulpit. Robert agreed at once, and there the story ended. This is how it appeared to Passionei:

> If the seriousness of the question with which we are dealing permits us to pause for a moment's reflection on this story, [we realize] that a Jesuit is never happier nor more in his element than when deriding a Dominican and especially a Dominican Prior, as in the case of this man who was made to blush and humiliate himself to the extent of asking a young Jesuit's pardon.

[1] For the justification of these remarks, *vide infra*, pp. 466–476.
[2] Vol. I, pp. 54–55.

This is implied and suggested in the story rather than explicitly stated, for surely to offer somebody a drink is not an action that calls for apologies. However that may be, it is truly an amazing thing that a septuagenarian Cardinal, when writing his own life, should, without the slightest necessity, have related the occurrence, and that he should have kept the piquant details alive in his memory for half a century.[1]

In his dislike of Bellarmine and the Jesuits, Passionei was too blind to notice a fact that was staring him in the face. Blessed Robert tells harmless little stories such as the above, which no one with even an elementary sense of humour could possibly call malicious ; he speaks of his fiddle, and his nets, and his verses ; he confesses how he appropriated a sermon of St. Basil's, and how, when teaching boys, he used to introduce philosophical questions *ut compararet sibi auctoritatem*. Anecdotes such as these abound, which the Cardinal knew perfectly well would never go into the history of his Order, but his real titles to fame, the amazing results of his sermons and controversial lectures, the esteem in which he was held all over Europe, the unprecedented success of his *Little Catechism* and its companion, these are things which he either passes over in complete silence or describes in a manner so inadequate as to be almost ludicrous. There is art in the *Autobiography*, truly enough, but it is not the art of self-advertisement. It would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that the few poor pages which have been so brutally criticized and denounced for their pride by such paragons of humility as Passionei, Döllinger, Reusch, Acton, and Baumgarten, are in reality a piece of autobiographical bluff, intended to conceal rather than reveal their author's true greatness.

His account of his promotion to the cardinalate is a good example of his methods. Speaking of what happened on the day of his nomination, he says : ' When his name was afterwards given out in the consistory with those of twelve others, Cardinal Aldobrandini at once dispatched the Marquis Sannesio to inform N., that he had been raised to the purple and that, by order of the Pope, he was on no account to leave the house.' That is the complete story of what happened at the consistory according to its supposedly vain-glorious narrator. Now it is known for certain, on the evidence of

[1] *Voto dell' Eminentissimo e Reverendissimo Signor Cardinale Domenico Passionei . . . nella Causa della Beatificazione del Venerabile Servo di Deo, Cardinale Roberto Bellarmino*, Venice, 1761, pp. 24–25.

men who were present and heard the words, that Pope Clement VIII, when mentioning Bellarmine's name, added: *Hunc eligimus quia non habet parem in Ecclesia Dei quoad doctrinam*—we elect this man because he has not his equal for learning in the Church of God. It may be doubted whether any other cardinal-elect had such a magnificent compliment paid to him, in the whole history of consistories. Bellarmine most certainly knew that it had been paid, and he knew too that it would look extremely well in the official annals of his Order, yet his *Autobiography* does not contain so much as a hint that the words had ever been pronounced.

The *Autobiography* ends with the following words: *Haec scripsit N., rogatus ab amico et fratre, anno* 1613, *mense junio. De virtutibus suis nihil dixit, quia nescit an ullam vere habeat; de vitiis tacuit, quia non sunt dignae quae scribantur, et utinam de libro Dei deleta inveniantur in die judicii. Amen.*[1]

8. St. Augustine, when writing about friendship, said that to be genuine it must possess four qualities, love, affection, security, and joy. 'It is the part of love to shower benefits on a friend; of affection to take delight in the thought of him. For friendship to be stable and secure, there must be brave and trustful exchange of all thoughts and secrets between the friends; for it to be joyful, there must be sweet, mutual converse, about all happenings, whether glad or sad.' It was to please two friends that Blessed Robert wrote his *Autobiography*. One who knew him well said that he was so made as scarcely to be able to refuse anything to a friend. When dealing with them, all reserves and formalities were cast aside and his heart took charge. Some of his brother Jesuits, who had occasion to appeal to him, asked his pardon for their temerity in doing so. To one of these he wrote: 'The fact that the Pope has made me put on a red gown instead of a black one has not made me any the less a Jesuit. Your Reverence must remember, then, that you are writing to a brother and not talk about temerity any more.' Another was gently reproached for treating him with ceremony: 'I might almost be a stranger, from the way your Reverence addresses me,' he said.[2]

[1] 'N. wrote this at the request of a friend and brother in June 1613. He has said nothing about his virtues because he does not know whether he really possesses any, and he was silent about his vices because they are not matters that it would be fitting to record. Would that they might be found blotted out of the Book of God in the Day of Judgment! Amen.'

[2] From MS. letters quoted by Le Bachelet, *Gregorianum*, vol. v, p. 501.

The following is a letter which he wrote in May 1617 to a nephew of his, aged twenty-three, who had entered the Society of Jesus :

My Dearest Brother in Jesus Christ,

Thank you very much for your good wishes for the feast of Pentecost. Let us both beg God to grant us in full measure this Spirit of holiness who can make us saints in an instant. Your Capuchin brother, Roberto, has been here for a few days. I was delighted to see how merry he was, and how satisfied with his vocation. It is true that he will not be a preacher in words, but I have every hope that he will preach by his example, not only to his brothers in religion, but to people in the world also. This is what I expect and most ardently desire from your Reverence also, so that you may pass the short time of our life on earth in spiritual gladness, always being careful to be guided by your superiors, and that you may at last reach safely the life without end, in which there will be no more temptations or dangers. Don't forget to say a prayer for me.

P.S. I would gladly have sent you a copy of my little book *De Gemitu Columbae*, only that the postage on it would come to much more than the book itself was worth. If you can think of any way of getting it to Florence, without putting the College to expense, do please let me know and you shall have it with the greatest pleasure.[1]

The Rector of the Jesuit college in Constance wrote a little timidly in 1615, to ask for some favour. Having first dealt, in his answer, with the business in question, Blessed Robert continued :

I am really greatly pained that your Reverence should write to me with such diffidence, as though to a stranger and not to a brother. My brothers of the Society of Jesus have not been less dear to me since I have borne the purple, than previously, when my gown, like their's, was black. The habit does not make the monk, you know, and, to tell the truth, I take little joy in this habit, which has nothing but care and danger attached to it. So your Reverence may write to me as freely as ever you like . . . and if there is anything that I can possibly do, I will do it very gladly indeed. Should the matter not be in my power, I know that my brothers will understand. . . .[2]

To a Jesuit missionary, labouring in the Philippines, the Cardinal wrote as follows, 25 January 1614 :

[1] Le Bachelet, *Gregorianum*, vol. v, p. 503.
[2] *Epistolae familiares*, cxxv, pp. 284–285.

My dear Reverend Father,

Your letter was as welcome as welcome can be, for there is nothing which I delight so much to hear about as the strenuous labours of my brothers for the salvation of souls. The bone ring which you sent, has reached me safely, and I look upon it as a token of our old friendship. As for wearing it, I may tell you I am not very much afraid of being poisoned, nor have I much faith in such amulets. My desire of desires is to have a share of your merits that so we may one day be united again in our heavenly country. For though we here in Europe also labour hard in the Lord's vineyard, I am very sure that your labours are more precious beyond comparison in the eyes of God. Go on your way, Father, joyfully and courageously, as now you do, and please keep a little place for me in your holy prayers.[1]

The next letter shows how Blessed Robert used to acknowledge the attentions of his friends. It was written in June 1620 to a Jesuit of Mainz:

Pardon my ingratitude, dear Father, in having delayed so long to thank you for your present to me, small in size but very great in quality. The reason for my delay was that at first I thought your work on the Trinity would be like many others, written in regular scholastic form, and consequently very dull and difficult to read. As I was then occupied from morning to night with matters of very grave importance, I put off reading it seriously and attentively, for a considerable time. But as soon as I settled down to it properly, I found it sweeter than honey and more precious than gold or jewels. Now I am continually reading it, for I look upon it as a thoroughly spiritual book, most suited to inflame, elevate, and feed my mind. I have read it all through, and if God allows me a little more of life, I have planned to re-read and ponder it again and again. So I thank God who moved you to write such an admirable work, and I thank you, too, for having prepared such a feast for me. Good-bye, dearest Father, and do not cease to pray for me.[2]

On Christmas Day of the year 1618, the Cardinal wrote to Father John Gerard, *alias* Tomson, Rector of the new novitiate of the English Jesuits at Liege. This Father Gerard was the famous missionary whose dramatic escape from the Tower of London, nineteen years earlier, ranks among the most notable of the world's prison-breaking exploits.[3] Bellarmine's letter to him runs in English as follows:

[1] *Epistolae familiares*, cv, pp. 233–234.

[2] *L.c.*, clxiv, pp. 372–374.

[3] The splendid and really thrilling story is told by Father Gerard himself in his *Autobiography*, the major portion of which is included in *The Condition of Catholics under James I*, edited by John Morris (London, 1871).

Very Reverend and beloved Father in Christ,

I have received your Reverence's letter dated from Liege the 23rd November, with the little presents enclosed in it, an English knife, a little case (either bone or ivory, I do not know which), and three small toothpicks. I do not know whether these were sent me for use or as having some special meaning. Whichever it be, they were welcome, as a proof of friendship and brotherhood.

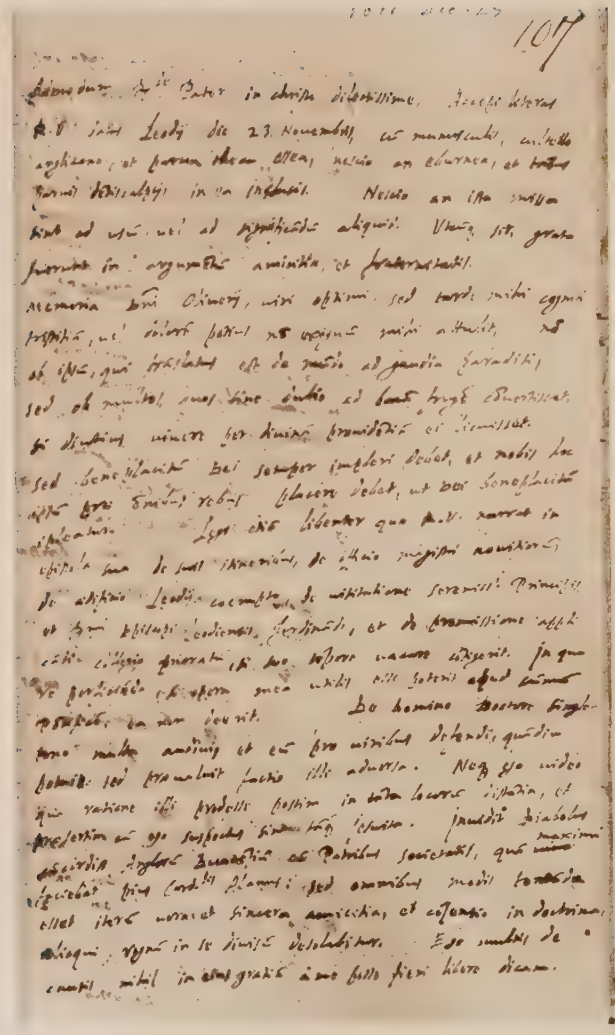
The memory of that excellent Mr. Oliver,[1] whose acquaintance I made very late, has brought me no little sadness, or rather grief, not on his account, who is translated from this world to the joys of Paradise, but for the sake of many whom, without doubt, he would have converted to a good life if Divine Providence had permitted him to live a while longer. But the good pleasure of God must ever be fulfilled, and the very same, in order that it may be fulfilled, must ever be pleasing to us under all circumstances.

I was pleased to read what your Reverence relates in your letter of your journeys; of your office of Master of Novices; of the building which you have bought at Liege; of the visitation of his Serene Highness, Ferdinand, the Prince-Bishop of Liege, and of the promise that the Priory, at its next vacancy, shall be applied to the College. If my assistance in carrying this out can be of any use to you with the Pope, it shall not be wanting.

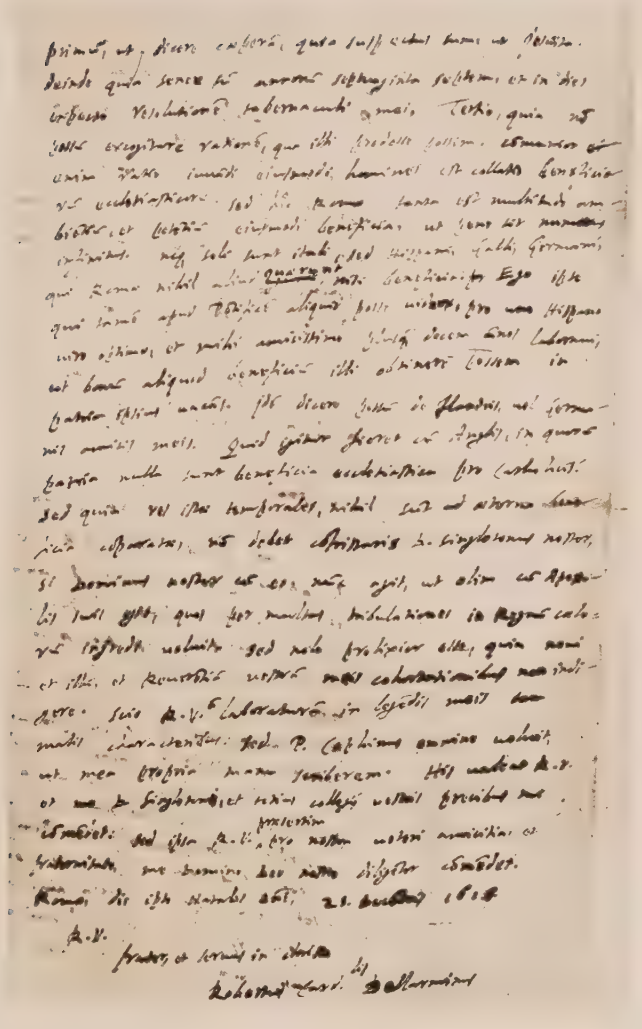
Of Dr. Singleton I had heard much, and have defended him to the best of my power, as long as I could, but the party opposed to him has prevailed. Nor do I see how I can help him at so great a distance, and especially as I should be suspected, because I am a Jesuit. The devil is envious of the harmony between the English at Douay and the Fathers of the Society, for which the good Cardinal Allen cared so much; but all means must be tried to re-establish a true and sincere friendship, and agreement in teaching; otherwise, a kingdom divided against itself shall be brought to desolation. For many reasons, I say freely that nothing can be done by me in his behalf; first, as I was just saying, because I should be under suspicion, being a Jesuit. Then, because I am an old man of seven-and-seventy years of age, and I daily expect the dissolution of my tabernacle. Thirdly, because I cannot think of any manner in which I could help him.

The common way of helping men of this sort is to give them ecclesiastical benefices, but here in Rome the multitude of those who aspire to and seek after such benefits, is so great that their number is almost infinite. Nor are they only Italians, but Spaniards also, Frenchmen, Germans, who look for nothing but benefices at Rome. I myself, who was thought to have some influence with

[1] Sir Oliver Manners, converted to the faith by Father Gerard, and ordained priest by Cardinal Bellarmine in 1611. *Vide supra*, p. 285.



AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF CARDINAL BELLARMINE TO FATHER JOHN GERARD.



FROM THE STONYHURST ARCHIVES.
Anglia, A, Vol. iii, p. 107.

the Pope, have laboured for more than ten years for a Spaniard, an excellent man and a great friend of mine, to obtain for him a good benefice falling vacant in his own country. I could say the same of Flemish and German friends of mine. What, then, would be the case with English people, in whose country there are no ecclesiastical benefices for Catholics? But since these temporal things are nothing when compared to eternal benefices, our friend, Dr. Singleton, must not be cast down if Our Lord treats him now as of old He treated the Apostles, who He willed should enter into the Kingdom of Heaven through many tribulations.

But I must not be too lengthy, for I know that both he and your Reverence stand in no need of my exhortations. I know that your Reverence will have hard work to read my bad writing, but Father Coffin [1] would have it that I should write to you with my own hand. With this I bid your Reverence farewell. Commend me to the prayers of Dr. Singleton, and of all your College; but your Reverence's self especially, for our old friendship and brotherhood, must diligently commend me to the Lord our God.

Your Reverence's brother and servant in Christ,

ROBERT CARD. BELLARMINE.[2]

One of the German friends referred to in the foregoing letter was a gentleman of noble family who had become very poor and was finding life a hard struggle for himself and his children. In the course of a business letter to the Bishop of Würzburg, Blessed Robert broke off to plead for this sufferer:

. . . I shall not fail to speak to his Holiness again and again about the matter which you have entrusted to me. Meantime, I cannot refrain from recommending to you most heartily and earnestly Francis N., whom your Lordship knows so well. I myself begged the Pope to make such provision for his son out of some wealthy canonry as would be sufficient for the decent support of both father and children. But as these allowances cannot be arranged in a moment, I entreat you in the meantime to add a little to the liberality which you have shown him many a time in the past. I write this entirely of my own accord. Francis has told me in grateful terms about the assistance you are giving him out of your kindness, and he did not in any way suggest that I should ask you to increase the alms. His only petition to me was that I should try to obtain a benefice for his son from the Pope.

It is because I so pity his poverty and have such trust in the kind heart of your Lordship, great and wealthy Prince that you

[1] Confessor of the English College, Rome, for nearly twenty years, and a great friend of Blessed Robert's.

[2] Translation from Morris, *The Condition of Catholics under James I*, pp. cciii–ccv. The letter is addressed 'To the Very Rev. Father John Tomson, S.J., Rector of the College of the English novices at Liege.'

are, that I have had the courage to commend his case to you again, in the present letter. . . .[1]

A few months later, September 1613, Francis himself received a long letter of consolation, from which we may quote one or two passages :

My noble Friend,

I am exceedingly sorry that no way can be found here of relieving your pressing need and its attendant humiliations. I had hoped that the very reverend and illustrious and, I may add, very wealthy Bishops and Princes of Germany, to whom I had commended your nobility as best I could, would have assisted the poverty of a German gentleman, so that there might be no necessity to beg for help from Italy and Rome itself. The Sovereign Pontiff, I may say, receives so many appeals from every nation that though he distributes among the poor as much as a hundred thousand crowns each year, as I know from his various almoners, still he cannot satisfy all the suppliants, especially as, in addition to helping private persons, he has to support entire colleges and seminaries, not only in Italy, but even in Germany, Belgium, Greece, and places as distant as Japan. . . .

Still, however things turn out, you must not allow yourself, dear friend, to be overcome with too much anxiety. Put your trust in God, for He does not lie who has said : *Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His justice, and all these things shall be added unto you ; for your Father knoweth that you have need of all these things.* If it seems good to Him that we should be without temporal possessions in order that with our whole hearts we may sigh after what is eternal, that too is to be counted as gain, for nothing can fall out better for a Christian man than to be led along the road by which Christ, our Master and Lord, chose to enter His Kingdom. . . .

We, then, my dear Francis, who by God's grace reckon Paradise as our true country, should not be much troubled about temporal goods in this time of our exile, *knowing that we have a better and a lasting substance*, the City whose builder and maker is God. I thought it permissible to write these few words to you, that as I was unable to give material help to my friend in his need, I might at least offer him a little counsel of the truest consolation. Goodbye, dear and worthy friend, and remember me in your holy prayers.[2]

The next two letters show Blessed Robert in another of his favourite rôles. The first is to an abbot of the French

[1] *Epistolae familiares*, xcviii, pp. 218–219.
[2] *L.c.*, civ, pp. 228–232.

Celestines on behalf of one of his monks who had been absent from the monastery a good time and apparently dreaded the reception he might meet with on his return :

VERY REVEREND DEAR FATHER,

Father Anthony, the French Celestine, has had a very long illness and that is the reason why he did not go back to his country at once. Now at last he is returning, restored to health and ready and willing to take up the yoke of obedience once again. He addressed me the enclosed letter, which I send to you because I am not sure whether what he asks for is reasonable. However, the matter stands, I beg your Paternity to show yourself gracious towards this your son that others may be heartened by witnessing your kindness. If the father of the prodigal child in the Gospel received him so generously, though he had wasted all his goods in riotous living, as to order the first robe and a precious ring to be given him, and the fatted calf to be killed, with how much greater reason ought not you to receive your son in all kindness, to maintain him in his rank and to permit him the exercise of his priestly functions, seeing that he has increased his goods and returns to you adorned with learning and the sacerdotal dignity ? Accordingly, I commend him to you with the greatest possible earnestness, and pray God to grant your Paternity all happiness.[1]

The second letter is to a Spanish Benedictine abbot about a runaway monk named Juan Orozco. Juan had been condemned to a painful sort of monastic confinement on some charge that had not been clearly proved against him. Unable to endure the rigours of his cell, he took to flight and eventually made his way to Rome to beg for absolution from the Penitenzieria. This had been granted *in foro interno*, or as far as the moral guilt, if any, was concerned, but for absolution *in foro externo*, or as to the disciplinary consequences of his supposed offence, he was referred back to his religious superiors. His abbot was authorized to absolve him *si sibi videbitur*,— if it seemed advisable. This latter clause frightened the poor monk, as he feared that his Spanish superior might make use of it only to increase his punishment. In his distress he turned to Bellarmine, knowing his reputation as a *consolator afflictorum*. The following is the letter which Blessed Robert addressed to the Abbot-General of the Spanish Benedictines, Anthony de Castro, 27 June 1617 :

[1] '. . . Commendo igitur illum eo affectu quo possum maximo et Reverendae Paternitati vestrae a Deo precor omnia prospera.' *Epistolae familiares*, lxxi, pp. 162–164.

Very Reverend and most Religious Father,

Juan Orozco has lately come to Rome in secular dress to seek a remedy for his soul from the Grand Penitentiary of our Lord the Pope, because out of fear of still more grievous imprisonment he had thrown aside his sacred habit and thus fallen into a state of apostasy from his rule and vows. When the Penitentiary learned that he had come straight here and that he was most anxious to return to his Order, he gave instructions that he was to be absolved *in foro conscientiae*, but for absolution *in foro externo* he referred him, according to custom, to your very Reverend Paternity, especially as it is impossible to know here in Rome whether what he says is true. For this reason, in the letter written to you on parchment and stamped with the Penitentiary's seal, there is added the clause, ' provided you see fit.'

As this religious is very much afraid of the severity of his superiors and is consequently in great distress, I thought I might venture to intervene, trusting to the charity and kindness of your very Reverend Paternity. Owing to my great fear that the devil might grievously tempt this most afflicted servant of Christ, I have dared to intercede for him as a mediator, and with my whole heart to commend his peril to your charity, lest swallowed up by sadness a soul should be lost for which Christ has died.

I appeal, then, to your goodness to consider whether, if what he says be true, his abbot did not proceed against him with too great severity. After putting him in prison, he wanted to thrust him into a still more dismal cell, and so gave the unfortunate man grounds for fearing even worse evils. At last, overcome by his forebodings, he took to flight. Still, he did not go back to the world but fled to the bosom of our universal Mother. Show, then, the tenderness of your compassion to this your son, and put a favourable construction on the words, *si sibi videbitur*. May your charity enable you to see your way to pardoning him, to lessening his punishment, and to tempering the rigour of your rule. By such kindness he will be more and more strengthened in his good resolutions. Good-bye and remember my need in your holy prayers.[1]

In January 1621, the year of Blessed Robert's death, St. Francis de Sales appealed to him on behalf of a Franciscan who was in distress. The letter of the Saint opened thus : *Odor mansuetudinis et benignitatis tuae allicit ad tuam Illustrissimam et Reverendissimam Dominationem, ut ad locum munitum et domum refugii, omnes male habentes et oppressos aere alieno.*

[1] *Epistolae familiares*, clxxvii, pp. 402–405. Fuligatti, the editor of these letters, suppressed the names of the monk and the abbot-general, both of which, however, were re-established by Père Le Bachelet from Bellarmine's autograph.

Quod si id tibi sit oneri, tibi imputes, Illustrissime Domine, qui talis esse voluisti. . . .[1] Was there ever a more beautiful compliment paid by a Saint to a Saint—if all poor, distressed people, weighed down with debts, run to you, you have only yourself to blame, for choosing to be what you are ?

It would be possible to write a whole volume on this one theme of the tenderness of Blessed Robert's heart. It showed itself in a thousand little ways. Once, in 1616, he was confirming some young people in Rome, and among them was Robert Constable, a student of the English College, whose home was in Yorkshire. When the Cardinal noticed his Christian name, instead of giving him the usual tap on the cheek, he most unrubrically bent over and kissed him, as a bishop kisses the candidates for ordination.[2] A year earlier than this, a mob of small nephews, the sons of his brother Thomas, invaded his house in Rome. The youngest of them was only ten and whoever else might be in awe of their ' uncle Robert', they were not afflicted that way. He gave them a nice set of the Latin poets, with the exclusion of Terence, as a present, but though they teased him morning, noon, and night to be allowed to ride the whole way back to Montepulciano on horses or mules, he would not permit it, knowing that they would infallibly go in for steeple-chasing, with considerable danger to their necks. Just before their departure he wrote a long letter to their father, in every line of which his affection for them is transparent. This letter, which is signed, ' Your most loving brother,' ends with a characteristic item of information : ' Do not be surprised that I send you only sixty scudi, because we have not a *quattrino* [3] left in the house, and even these sixty I have had to borrow from the bank.' [4] Similar to this letter was a charming one which he addressed to ' his dearest niece', Mary, in January 1614, on the occasion of her wedding, telling her ' how to be happy though married '. His chief piece of advice was to humour her husband and never to tire of humouring him. Then, she must never on any account omit her morning and night prayers, and ought to go to confession every week, on which

[1] ' The odour of your meekness and kindness draws to your Illustrious Lordship all who are in debt or distress, as to *a place of strength* (Ps. lxx, 3), and *a house of refuge* (Ps. xxx, 3). If this is a burden to your Lordship, you have only yourself to blame for choosing to be what you are. . . .' *Oeuvres de St. François de Sales* (Annecy ed.), t. xx, p. 4.

[2] Bartoli, *Vita*, pp. 512–513.

[3] A farthing.

[4] Letter in the Episcopal Archives, Montepulciano.

occasions she is to be 'brisk and business-like', and to avoid mere gossiping with her confessor.[1]

The next letter, and the last but one for which there is room, was addressed to the Duke of Olica, after the premature death of his brother, Cardinal Radziwil:

Though I do not remember ever having seen your Lordship, I have seen a striking likeness of you in your brother, the Cardinal. May his memory be in benediction! The kindness and goodness to me of which your letter is full, have re-opened the wound that the Cardinal's death inflicted on me. More than twenty-four years ago, I began to notice, to honour, yea and to love his Lordship, who, as I knew well, reciprocated my affection, for he used to attend my lectures daily in the schools, nearly always assisted at my Mass, and paid me very frequent visits. I, however, used to visit him still more often. A fresh tie sprang up between us when I was enrolled in the Sacred College of which he was already a distinguished member. But just when I was hoping that by our union of hearts and labours we might have been able to do something more for the cause of the Faith, he was suddenly snatched away in the very flower of his age.

Deprived of such a colleague, I can guess from my own sorrow what a blow the sudden death of so dear and excellent a brother must have been to you. But being Christians and knowing that all the accidents of life are ruled by the sweet Providence of God, we must say with holy Job: *The Lord has given, the Lord has taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord. . . .*[2]

On the last day of June 1607 Blessed Robert lost the dearest of all his friends, Cardinal Baronius. During the saintly old historian's illness at the house of the Chiesa Nuova, which had once been the home of St. Philip Neri, Bellarmine never let a day pass without calling to see him or to find out the latest news. Once, when the invalid was too exhausted for visitors, his Jesuit friend gave the brother at the door a little message to be delivered as soon as the attack passed off: 'Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom.'

The day after the death of Baronius, Father James Sirmond, one of the greatest scholars of France, paid Bellarmine a visit. It was Blessed Robert's custom to give an exhortation to his household on the first of each month, and this his visitor determined to stay and hear. 'During the course of his homily,' Sirmond related, 'he took occasion to refer to his dead friend.

[1] *Summarium additionale*, n. 8, pp. 74–75.
[2] *Epistolae familiares*, vii, pp. 18–20.

No sooner, however, did he mention the name of Baronius than he suddenly burst into tears and was so overcome that he was obliged to abandon the exhortation altogether.'[1] Though he was a man of the greatest self-restraint, we are told on good authority that he also wept continuously through the whole of the funeral ceremonies.[2] Five years after their great Cardinal had gone to his rest, the Oratorian Fathers appealed to Blessed Robert to further the canonization of their already beatified Founder, Philip Neri. The answer which they received was this:

If your Reverence and all the Fathers of your Congregation cannot have confidence in anybody else with regard to the cause of Blessed Philip, you may put the completest trust in me, for as in life I loved and esteemed that holy soul [Baronius], so now do I desire to give every possible proof of my affection. To all this must be added the reciprocal friendship which exists and has ever existed between the sons of Blessed Philip and the sons of Blessed Ignatius. . . . I shall use every endeavour to advance this affair, and I feel a great consolation in so doing, for the glory of Blessed Philip and of all his sons.

How well the promise of this letter was kept was shown during the years that followed. Blessed Robert was tireless in his efforts to further the cause, and the very last public act of his life was to attend a meeting of the Congregation of Rites that had assembled to discuss the canonization of the Founder of the Oratorians. It was while speaking there in warm advocacy of the cause that his last illness seized upon the great friend of Baronius.[3]

[1] From a letter of Sirmond to Fuligatti, 8 March 1622. *Summarium additionale*, n. 9, p. 83.

[2] H. B. Perusino, *Vita Caesaris Baronii*, Romae, 1651, p. 192. The Protestants of England had a joke about the two men to the effect that 'the first syllable of each of their names (*Ba* and *bel*) in conjunction gave the lively character of their persons; men whose scripture and doctrine sounded nothing but confusion'. This is from Sir Nicholas Lestrange's 'Merry Passages and Jests', and is included in *Anecdotes and Traditions Illustrative of Early English History and Literature*, edited for the Camden Society in 1839 by William J. Thoms, F.S.A. Mr. Thoms considered it 'an excellent story' (p. 70).

[3] By a sweet disposition of Providence, St. Ignatius Loyola, for whose glory Baronius had laboured and done so much, and St. Philip Neri, whose cause had no more ardent advocate than Bellarmine, were both canonized on the same day, 12 March 1622, just six months after Blessed Robert's death.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE ART OF DYING WELL

1. Blessed Robert Bellarmine never forgot his meeting in 1596 with the saintly old man of Lecce, Bernardino Realini. As his letters have abundantly shown, he was always covetous of the prayers of his friends, and this because in his rooted humility he had become alarmingly convinced that his chances of Heaven were by no means secure. If ever a man worked out his salvation in fear and trembling it was he. A friend of his, Father Anthony Beatillo, was returning from Rome to Lecce in the spring of 1616, and called to bid him good-bye. As they embraced, he said :

Father Anthony, I want you to do me a favour. When you reach Lecce, tell the holy old man, Father Bernardino Realini, that, as he is now so advanced in years and incapable of doing anything more in this world, he must hasten on to Heaven as fast as he can and prepare a place there for me.

Father Anthony, who is himself the narrator of the story, continues as follows :

Immediately on my arrival in Lecce, I gave the Cardinal's message to Father Bernardino. His answer was : *Padre mio*, I shall be leaving this world in a few days and I shall carry out my Lord Cardinal's directions. When, by the grace of God, I get to Heaven, I shall be on the look out for him and have his place ready, and your Reverence may tell his Lordship this from me. A fortnight later Father Bernardino died, and in my letter announcing the news to the Cardinal I told him about the answer which the dead man had given me. His Lordship then wrote to thank me and said that Father Bernardino's words had made him feel wonderfully light-hearted and joyful.[1]

The last three years of Blessed Robert's life were spent almost continually on the cross. An unusually severe winter visited Rome in 1619 and wrought havoc on the poor Cardinal

[1] *Summarium*, n. 12, p. 27.

whose life-long austerities had left him with very little covering on his bones as a protection from the cold. His hands bled so much from chilblains that he was forced to allow himself the comfort of gloves, and his legs became so swollen that he had to think of providing himself with a new pair of gaiters. The others, which had served him for eighteen years, would no longer meet around his calves. 'What do you think would be the price of a new pair of gaiters?' he asked a friend one day. 'Oh, a mere trifle,' answered the friend, 'a matter of five or six *giulii*.' The Cardinal pondered a little while and then said in his gentle way: 'Five or six giulii would not be a mere trifle in some poor man's pocket.' No more was heard of new gaiters after that. Instead, the old ones were taken to pieces and provided with strings by which they could be tightened or loosened to suit the whims of Jack Frost.[1] Blessed Robert wore his gaiters over the bare skin, and as Peter Guidotti knew that they caused him great torment, he bought him from his private resources a pair of woollen stockings. After the Cardinal's death these were discovered among his few belongings as new as on the day of their purchase, for he had never once put them on.

In 1619 he fell so seriously ill that his life was despaired of, but to the surprise of the doctors he rallied and was soon working as hard as ever with his voice and his pen. A great longing came over him at this time to lay aside his purple robe that he might go back to end his days as a simple Jesuit. Peter Guidotti and he had many long talks as to the ways and means by which this might be achieved. An elaborate petition to Pope Paul was drawn up and a systematic search for new posts for the servants in Blessed Robert's employment was begun, but it was all to no purpose because the Pope and his advisers found him too useful to let him go.

Paul died in January 1621, and a month later Gregory XV was on the throne. Just as his experience of previous conclaves had inspired Blessed Robert to draft at the beginning of 1606 a petition to Pope Paul begging for the reform of many abuses in the electoral methods,[2] so did the happenings at the conclave in which Pope Gregory was chosen stir him up to new efforts on behalf of better practices. The *pros* and *cons* of the method of election *per adorationem* were

[1] *Summarium*, n. 14, p. 32.

[2] *Sententia de Constitutione Pauli V pro Reformatione Conclavis.* Le Bachelet, *Auctarium Bellarminianum*, pp. 526–528.

discussed by him with great care, his personal opinion being apparently that that method ought to be abolished altogether. It was not until two months after Blessed Robert's death that Pope Gregory issued his great Bull of reform on the matter, the *Aeterni Patris Filius*, but that the zealous Cardinal's influence was largely responsible for the measure is plain from a letter of Gregory's nephew, Cardinal Ludovisi. Writing about a fortnight before the publication of the Bull, Ludovisi referred to various petitions that had been laid before him with regard to conclave reform. 'I particularly promised Cardinal Bellarmine, who is now at rest,' the letter continued, 'and pledged him my word that I would never cease to employ all my authority and industry for the attainment of this result.' [1]

At his first audience with the new Pope, Blessed Robert begged most earnestly to be allowed to go back to the Society of Jesus, giving as reasons for his petition his deafness, his advanced age, and his increasing feebleness. Gregory assured him that he would be only too glad to do him any pleasure in his power, if the interests of the Church were not involved. The Church needed his services up to the last minute, so instead of setting him free, he felt obliged to ask him to take up his abode at the Vatican once more. 'By this,' the Pope continued, 'you will do a thing very pleasing to God, all the more because for His love you deprive yourself of your quiet and well-merited repose.' [2]

On his return home, the Cardinal told Peter Guidotti to make ready for the change of quarters. Before the preparations were complete, however, Blessed Robert was down with a severe and dangerous cold. Jack Frost had his uses and his victim began to hope that the Holy Father would now see what an unprofitable servant he really was. In this hope he wrote the following letter to Pope Gregory's trusted adviser, Cardinal Bandini:

My Reverend and much honoured Lord,

I greatly desire to be freed from my duty of attendance at the Congregations of the Holy Office and of the Examination of

[1] '. . . et specialemente al Signor card. Bellarmino, che ora è in luogo di requie, promissi et con inculcate maniere obblighi la mia fede che non haverei pretermesso, d'applicarvi efficacemente ogni mio potere et industria.' Quoted by Le Bachelet from the original in the Vatican Library, *Auctarium*, p. 530, n. 1.

[2] From the manuscript narrative of Brother Finali who had the details from Blessed Robert himself.

Bishops because my deafness is getting worse every day. I beg your Lordship's charity to aid me by speaking to his Holiness about it in the next consistory. I shall not be there myself as I have received orders from the Pope's doctor and from my own not to leave the house till the March moon changes, which will not be before next Wednesday. I cannot tell you how anxious I am to obtain this dispensation. It would make me feel quite ashamed to disclose personally my great imperfection before the Vicar of Christ and such a number of Cardinals. If I could think of any means of persuading you, who are in so special a way my master, to aid me in this matter, I would at once adopt them, but I trust more to your kindness than to anything else. May God long preserve your Illustrious Lordship for my sake and the sake of all who love you, and may He teach me what I can do to be of real service to you. From my house, 16 April 1621.

Your Lordship's most humble and obliged servant,

CARDINAL BELLARMINE.[1]

When Bandini put his friend's petition before the Pope, Gregory answered in a kindly way that he could not entirely exempt Cardinal Bellarmine, as everybody would be distressed if one so competent and wise were to be allowed to retire altogether from ecclesiastical business. Blessed Robert accordingly took up his quarters at the Vatican, as he knew that to be the Holy Father's wish. One day, Gregory asked him for some document that had been entrusted to his keeping during Pope Paul's time. Blessed Robert hunted for it high and low, and brought in Peter Guidotti to help in the chase. They searched every nook and corner with the greatest thoroughness, but not a trace of the document could they find. It seemed to have been spirited away, and Peter and his master were both very tired and very depressed when the dark came on to put an end to their labours. Blessed Robert then went to a chapel, where he made the following prayer from the bottom of his heart: 'Lord, You know that I have this document, and You know where it is, and You know too that Your Vicar wants it, so please make me find it.' As soon as he came out of the chapel he noticed a book lying on his desk. Something impelled him to open it, and there before his delighted eyes was the fugitive piece of paper.[2]

Before he had been long at the Vatican he was making fresh efforts to attain the desire of his heart, his return to the

[1] *Summarium*, n. 28, pp. 81–82.
[2] Guidotti's evidence, *l.c.*, n. 12, p. 26.

Society of Jesus. He fancied that he had discovered a passage in Canon Law which authorized him to retire from public life without further permission, and he spoke to the General of the Jesuits, Father Vitelleschi, most earnestly on the subject. When he found that the General did not agree with him on the interpretation of the passage, he entreated him at least to urge his request with the Pope.[1] Father Vitelleschi agreed, and the Cardinal himself drew up two memorials, one to Gregory and one to his all-powerful nephew, Ludovisi. These at last won for him the favour which he coveted with so much eagerness.

2. The confessor and spiritual director of the English students in Rome at this time was a Jesuit of their own nation named Father Edward Coffin. Father Coffin knew Cardinal Bellarmine intimately and loved him ardently. He was with him many times during his last illness and wrote immediately afterwards ' A True Relation ' of all that he had seen and heard in the sick-room or had learned from other witnesses.[2] In the dedication of his little book ' To the Right Honorable, the L.M.M.', Father Coffin says :

I doe sincerely affirme that in this Relation I follow no uncertaine rumours, no doubtfull assertions, no flying reportes without ground or subsistence of truth ; much lesse am I moved by any partiall affection to exaggerate or extenuate any thing, but faythfully put downe what I saw my selfe, or what other eye-witnesses have seene, what upon their owne knowledge and conscience they have affirmed. Many, yea most things I have taken from an Italian letter of this subject written by Father James Minutoli, a grave, learned, and vertuous man, to Cardinall Farnesius ; and I use the more willingly his testimony, both for that I know his integrity, and for that by the appointment of the Generall, he continually remayned with Bellarmyne, from the beginning of his sicknes till the last gasp, and set down no more than what he saw in any particular. Others sometymes I alleadge, but of such singular credit as they are beyond exception, or else I would not have so much relyed on their wordes. . . .

The dedication is dated, ' This last of December 1621,' and signed ' Your dutifull poore servant, C.E.' Father Coffin tells his story so well and simply that we shall quote him extensively through the rest of this chapter, supplementing

[1] *Summarium*, n. 29, p. 103.

[2] *A True Relation of the last Sickness and Death of Cardinall Bellarmine*, St. Omers, 1622.

his account where necessary with details from other pens. Referring to Blessed Robert's eager wish to become an ordinary Jesuit again, he says :

To compasse the better this his desire, he made great sute unto this present Pope Gregory the Fifteenth to be delivered from the Court, from all Consistoryes and Congregations, and what other Office soever, that he might bestow the small residue of his life on God alone, alleadging many reasons for this his resolution, to wit, his great age and that which followes thereof, his weakness of body, decay of sight, hearing, and memory, his aversion from these toyles too heavy for so weak shoulders, and finally his fervent desire of returning againe to the quiet haven of Religion, out of which he was taken and advanced to be Cardinal. . . . Wherefore, having beene more tossed in the waves of worldly affayres by reason of his dignity than he would, he now desired to strike saile, and in that place to yield his owne spirit to God where first God had so bountifully imparted His Holy Spirit unto him. . . .[1]

Never had the old Cardinal been so happy as on the day when he learned that he was free at last, not indeed to lay aside his purple, but at any rate to go and prepare for death among his religious brethren. On the morning of Wednesday, 25 August 1621, the gorgeous coach of the Lord Cardinal d'Este met in the busy Roman streets a vehicle, not at all gorgeous, in which rode a highly satisfied old man.

'And where might my Lord Cardinal Bellarmine be going to-day?' asked d'Este leaning out.

'To die, sir,' answered the old man merrily. 'He is going away to die.'

'To die, indeed? Why, I never saw you looking so well!'

'Nevertheless, my Lord, I am going away to die, and high time too.'[2]

The carriage with its happy burden then rattled on up the slope of the Quirinal to St. Andrea, the house where the Jesuit novices lived. As Blessed Robert passed inside he murmured to himself contentedly : *Haec requies mea donec Dominus veniat*.[3]

Being now arryved at the harbour of his so long and much desired repose [the 'True Relation' continues], . . . one business of moment yet remayned in the Congregation of the *Indice*, which much required

[1] It was thought better to retain the old spelling, in spite of its fluctuations.
[2] *Testimonio del Signor Card. Alessandro d'Este*, Fuligatti, *Vita*, p. 385.
[3] Brother Finali's evidence.

his presence for dispatch, and the Cardinals being assembled on the 28. day of August, thither also he repayred, and after that it was ended, he took his leave and farewell of them all. All seemed to be sorry thereat. Some would have persuaded him to continue, but as the Evangelist sayth of our Saviour, *Ipse faciem suam firmavit ut iret in Hierusalem*, he stedfastly bent his face to goe to Hierusalem. His mind was on heaven, he would not looke backe or be withdrawne from his journey, which indeed was shorter than any one (or perhaps himselfe) did imagine ; for that very night, being the feast of S. Augustine (to which holy Doctour he was very specially devoted, as all his workes doe testify), he fell sicke and was taken with a very sharp and violent fever that bereaved him of his senses for the tyme.[1] Which rough entrance of the disease in one of his yeares made all afraid and most of all his phisitians, who apprehended evident danger and much grieved at this mischance. But their griefe was not greater than his joy who desired nothing more than to leave the world, as presently after appeared.

For when this fit was past, with great alacrity of mynd he began to discourse of the great gladness and comfort he had, for that he was so neere his home, or as he did alwayes in this sickness call it, *a casa mia*, to my howse. And worthily did he call it his howse, for as S. Augustine sayth of the militant Church on earth : *non magis est domus tua, quam domus ubi habes salutem aeternam*. . . . There had he fixt his hopes, there had he heaped up all his wealth, there was his hart, his treasure, all his desired good. To this world he was not so much a stranger as an enemy. And although that even here honour did follow his noble labours as the shadow the body, yet did none more fly from it, none more contemne and condemne it, than he.

The Cardinal, proceeding in his discourse, sayd and often repeated these words : *satis diu vixi*, I have lived long enough. . . . What have I to do more in this world ? I am now feeble and fit for nothing ; I am only a meere burden and trouble to my selfe and others. And then further declared how he did loath and abhorre and had still loathed and abhorred the course of this world, that men were so deeply plunged in the desire of temporall and transitory things ; grieving at their preposterous proceedings, that their endeavours were not directed to their right end, and that God was not sought for, knowne, nor glorified, as He ought to be—this point piercing indeed his hart. . . .

The phisitians expecting the issue of the disease and nature thereof, found it to be a continuall fever, with proportion of a double Tertian, the one more excessive than the other. The

[1] Blessed Robert attended the meeting of the Congregation of Rites as well as that of the Index on August 28. It was at the former, where the canonization of St. Philip Neri was being discussed, that the first signs of his fatal illness appeared.

former bereaved him of his senses, the other was much more moderate. And truly it seemes this bereavement to have been sent him for the greater manifestation of his vertue, for therein he no less edifyed others that saw him, than he did in the other, but rather much more. For according to the rule of the Philosopher, *in repentinis cognoscitur habitus*, our disposition is best knowne by suddaine events. So the violent and suddaine pulls did shew the habits of his saint-like mynde, having no other effect therein than to make him recurre to his prayers, which he did as soon as they began, and say them as farre as he was able.

Shortly after Blessed Robert's arrival at St. Andrea, Brother Finali, who acted as infirmarian to the novices, was overwhelmed by a sea of spiritual troubles. Almost in despair, he sought out the Master of Novices to lay the state of his tormented soul before him. Before he could say a word, however, this priest bade him go at once and nurse Cardinal Bellarmine. ' It suddenly dawned on me,' he tells us, ' that God Our Lord intended the Cardinal to be the nurse of my stricken soul. . . . I entered the room, drew near the patient's bed, and touched his pulse. Instantly my heart threw off the foul load that weighed upon it, and never again while I attended the Cardinal did a single evil thought return to afflict me.'

Bleeding was the great panacea of the medical profession in those days, and Finali goes on to relate that while the doctors, or rather barbers, lanced Blessed Robert's veins he made little jokes so as to put them at their ease. When dinner-time came and he was brought the usual starvation fare of a fever patient, he turned with a wry smile to his nurse, saying : ' Brother dear, it seems that the old adage is right —a plain is more fruitful than a mountain. When I was down there at St. Peter's, a slice of melon or an occasional fig used to find its way to my plate. But I suppose these nice things won't grow on the dizzy heights of the Quirinal.'

In a state of delirium, a man's dearest secrets escape him. All the frets and anxieties which he keeps carefully under lock and key when well swarm out then for everybody's inspection. Few men in the world's history have had such a mob of them to control as Robert Bellarmine, worries about books, about affairs, about friends, about enemies, about servants, about relatives, about everything. And yet his memory, left to itself, was a blank on all these burning concerns. His raving grew strangely monotonous, Finali

observed. God, God, God, was his cry all the time. He preached snatches of a sermon on the love of God, and wept and prayed for the men who would not love Him. During one stage of the delirium he spoke only in Greek, but God was still the subject of his sentences. On Tuesday, August 31, he fancied that it was the hour when he used to say Matins. Those who stood by noticed that he was recollecting himself. Then he made the Sign of the Cross and began his Office, dwelling long and sweetly on his favourite verses of the Psalms. When he thought that he had come to the end of Lauds, he said the collects of his patron Saints, telling them how much he loved them. After that he was heard to say in a low voice the preparatory prayer for his meditation, and then he remained silent for a long time, his face lit up as if the sunrise of eternity were upon it.

When his vehemency was a little relented [continues Father Coffin], he would make the Signe of the Crosse and begin another prayer ; never so much as once in all these extreme fits speaking any idle word or shewing the least signe of impatience. In so much as my selfe in company of others often visiting him, and that at such tymes as he was in this fever, I doe sincerely protest that I never saw man in his best health repose more quietly or make lesse shewe of feeling the force of any disease, than alwayes I saw him in this. For the most part his armes were decently layed acrosse on his breast, he never moving (unless he were willed) any part of his body, never sighing, never complayning. Nor though his tongue were schorched with the raging heat of the ague, did he ever so much as call for drinke, or once offered to refresh his mouth, so as the beholders could make no other judgement of him but that which the disciples made of Lazarus : *Si dormit salvus erit*, if he sleep he will recover. For his magnanimity was such he rather seemed to sleep than to be sicke, and thereby gave greater signes of life than death. . . .

When the Blessed Sacrament was brought he would needs rise to receave it and prostrated himselfe on the ground with singular devotion and humility. And this his piety upon every occasion did manifest it selfe in all his sickness, in so much as he desired the Phisitians leave to say the Office of his Breviary, and that so earnestly as the Doctours, though they denied it as a worke too greate for his weakness, yet to satisfy his importunity they graunted that in lieu thereof he might say his Beades, but with some pawse between every decade, lest his too serious application might hurt his head. And seeing that no more would be graunted to him, he sayd to those about him : Me thinkes I am become a meere secular man, and am no more Religious, for I neyther say

Office nor Masse, I make no prayers, I doe no good at all. And this seemed to afflict him more than his sickness, which yet was most violent and mortall.

3. Pope Gregory used to send his medical adviser, Castellano, each morning and evening to find out how the Cardinal was progressing. On Tuesday, August 31, Castellano's report was very unfavourable, and the Holy Father, who was deeply grieved by it, sent to inform the dying man that he would visit him early the following morning. When Blessed Robert heard the news he was much concerned and said anxiously to Finali: 'I am sorry that his Holiness puts himself out for a poor thing like me—*per me poverino*. And our stairs, too, are very high and narrow.' The number of steps the Pope would have to climb so worried the poor Cardinal that he asked one of his attendants to go and beg Gregory not to come. That appeal served but to strengthen the Holy Father's resolution, so on the morning of September 1 Blessed Robert made whatever pathetic preparations he could to receive his august visitor. He struggled into a sitting posture in his bed and put on a coat.

When he saw the Pope enter his room, reports Father Coffin, 'he sayd with the good Centurion, *non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum*, with other words of great dutifulness and humility. And when the Pope shewed the griefe of mynde he conceaved for his sickness and how much he esteemed his losse, the other answered as he had alwayes done that he had lived long enough and therefore desired no longer respit on earth. And I will pray God (quoth he) to graunt your Holiness as long life as He hath unto me. The Pope replied, but not in so lowd a voyce as the Cardinall could heare him, I have more need of Bellarmine's meritts than of his yeeres. Many wordes past betweene them, of great affection in the one and submissive humility in the other. The Pope, after that he had twice most lovingly imbraced him, being to depart, sayd that he would pray to God that he might recover. Not, quoth the Cardinal, that I may recover, but that God's will and pleasure may be done eyther for life or death.

'After that the Pope was gone, he seemed to be much more cheerful than he was before, the cause whereof he disclosed unto Father Minutoli, saying: Now truly doe I well hope that I shall dye, for the Popes are never known to have visited Cardinalls but when they were in danger of death, or rather past all hope of life; to which effect he alleadged

divers examples. Remayning therefore in this joyfull hope, when divers of the Society came to him and offered to say Masse and pray for him, he would very lovingly thank them all, but still accepted their curtesy with this *caveat*, that they should not pray for his longer life, but contrariwise that his passage might be safe and soone.'

The day following the Pope's visit, September 2, Blessed Robert's wits began to wander again. He made great efforts to get up as he fancied that he had to go to a meeting of some Congregation or to pay some important business call. At last his attendants were obliged to help him into his clothes. Then, supporting him by each arm, they walked him round his apartments and so back to his bed. This appeared to satisfy him and he lay down quietly, saying with great fervour the prayers which he was accustomed to repeat when he returned home from business. As soon as the attack passed away, a deep hush fell upon the room. For a long time no sound came from behind the curtains where the Cardinal lay, so that Finali grew very anxious. Stealing softly to the bedside, he peeped through and saw the most beautiful thing that had ever gladdened his eyes, the radiance on an old man's face as of a little child whispering to its mother.

After meate [Father Coffin continues], all his recreation was to heare the lives of Saintes read unto him, especially of Bishops, and above all of Saint Francis. And in the hearing their rare and eminent vertues he would alwayes weep and sigh after that perfection of life to which they had so happily arrived, and from which (such was his humility) he thought himselfe to be much further than he was. . . . Besides this griefe conceaved for himselfe and his owne unworthiness, another thing also seemed to afflict him, to wit, the continuall watch in the night with him. For he would ordinarily demaund of such as he saw about him in the morning whether they had watched with him all that night, and if they sayd yea, then would he reply : So much trouble, and of so many, for my sake, for me that am but a poore wretch and fit for nothing ! And if he saw more togeather with him, he would say : One is sufficient to watch ; let the rest sleepe, and let another watch whiles he doth sleepe. The trouble of so many is a trouble unto me who deserve not so much attendance.

Likewise when he saw any extraordinary thing brought him to eate, as chickens or the like, he would say that such expense was ill bestowed upon him, and would be better on the poore, whom he so loved and was so bountifull unto them as he left himselfe so little as could hardly mainteyne him and satisfy his

household. . . . Besides the above mentioned courtesy in this extremity to all that did visit him, his resignation of mind was admirable. And for the first he never respected his owne inconvenience, payne, or trouble, in so much as not only to Cardinals and Prelates, but to any other that came to see him (and there came many) he would take off his night-cap, lift himself up in his bed, and never endure that any should stand bare-headed in his presence. . . . Even to his owne servants he bare that respect as he would endure much rather than put them to any trouble. And when Father Minutoli once told him that no man held it for a trouble to serve him, and such as there attended were his owne servants, he answered only to these last wordes, and said: They are not my servants but my brethren. Brethren they are, and for such I esteeme them.

His resignation and indifferency of mind was very exact, without all contradiction or reply, whatsoever happened, whatsoever was determined. Nothing troubled his mind, one thing only excepted, if yet that thing be subject to exception. Having from the beginning of his sickness prepared himselfe to dye, it fell out that the seventh day, held by the phisitians for critical, he began to be somewhat better. Much joy was conceaved thereat, and the same signified unto the Cardinall, who, weighing the matter in another ballance, was somewhat troubled with this sudden resolution, and sayd myldly unto the doctours: I had thought at this tyme to have gone to my house and home, and now I see that you will hinder me. I pray you let me goe. Their answere was that it belonged unto their office to preserve his life as long as they could and was pleasing unto God, and he also was bound therein to concurre with them, to doe as they should ordayne, and be contented to stay in this world untill that God should otherwise dispose. Well then, quoth the Cardinall, His will be done. . . . I shall follow your direction. And when the phisitians were gone, he seemed so much to be discomforted that his attendants were all moved to comfort him, and that no lesse than ordinarily men use to comfort others that are to dye and would longer live.

Agayne, at another tyme when three of his foure phisitians had consulted and determined to make tryall of a new remedy, he sayd unto them: Will you not let me goe? Ah, let me alone now; it is high tyme. Father Minutoli answered and sayd: The Rule of our Society doth bynde us in sickness to obey the phisitians. He had no sooner named the Rule but the other recalling his former wordes sayd: You say well; there is a Rule. Let them appoint what they will, I will doe whatsoever they will have me. . . .

The cause why he desired the dissolution of his earthly tabernacle was no other but that lest through the frailty of body and mind he should hereafter offend God . . . whom now he had rather

dye than displease. This his fervent desire grounded on the foresaid motive was so imprinted in his hart and fixt therein so deeply as even when his violent ague bereaved him of his senses, he was often heard to say: *Signore, vorrei andare a casa mia*, O Lord, I would gladly go home. . . . And the eleventh day after his sickness he sayd unto all his phisitians: When shall I heare from you that happy news that I must depart? When shall I be delivered from this body of death? They answered as before, not so long as they could keep him alive. Well (quoth he), God sees my desire, and how willing I am to come unto Him. *Non est fraudatus desiderio suo.* God heard his prayer and that very night he was seene to sob in such a manner as a learned phisitian watching with him held it for mortall, and forthwith advertised the Generall (for so had the Cardinall before willed them, when they should perceave him in evident danger), who came early the next morning, and seeing how matters went, thought it best plainly to acquaint him with the truth, and sayd unto him: My Lord, I thinke that the ende of this sickness will be the end of your life, and by all likelyhoode you cannot escape long, for the phisitians now give a very ill censure of your disease, upon some signes they have seene, and more and more discerne in you. So as it seemes, Almighty God will call you unto Him, and you shall doe well to make your selfe ready, and dispose of what you have. The tyme is short and delayes are dangerous.

At this unexpected but much desired message, the good Cardinall, replenished with inward joy, presently with cheerful countenance and undaunted courage brake forth into these wordes: *Buona nuova, buona nuova, O che buona nuova è questa!* that is, Good news, good news, O what good news are these! . . . After this joyfull exclamation, turning his speach unto Father Generall, as answering unto that which he had suggested, he sayd: For disposing of my thinges, I have nothing left to dispose, and it grieveth me that I have nothing to bestow upon the Society, for I feare much that in making you mine heyres, as if I had something to leave you, I shall but charge you with new debts. The Generall replyed that therein he should not trouble himselfe. He had left the Society so much, and so much honoured it with his name and immortall labours as it esteemed that treasure more than all the riches of the world. . . .

4. At this point, the reader may like to have before him Father Coffin's accurate translation of Blessed Robert's will.

The last Wil and Testament of Cardinall Bellarmyne, made in the year 1611.

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. I, Robert Bellarmyne, Cardinall of the tytle of our Blessed Ladyes Church called in

Via, being promoted thereunto out of the Society of Jesus, desired leave of Clement the 8, *of holy memory, to make my wil, that my goods might be applyed to pious uses, that I might be sure that such temporall thinges as should remayne after my death, and such as whiles I lived could neyther be bestowed on the poore or on Churches, as being necessary for myne owne mayntenance, might returne unto the said poore and Churches.*

The Pope gave me a more generall graunt than I desired, which I did not accept, but only for bestowing them on good uses, as I had desired. This Indult or graunt is amongst other Bulls graunted me, in a great leafe of Parchment sealed with lead, dated in the yeare 1603, *the* 8. *day of Aprill and* 12. *of the Pontificate of the sayd Pope Clement.*

This graunt presupposed, I made my wil at Capua, whiles I was Archbishop of that Citty. Afterwards that wil being annulled, I made another in Rome, but the circumstances of thinges being altered, and that second also abrogated, I determyned now agayne to make my will, being of the age of three score and nyne, and very neere as I imagine to my last day, but yet by the grace of God in perfect health of body and mynd.

First, therefore, I desire with all my hart to have my soule commended into the hands of God, whome from my youth I have desired to serve. And I beseech Him, not as the valewer of merit, but as a giver of pardon, to admit me amongst His Saints and Elect.

I will have my body, not being opened, to be caryed without any pompe to the Church of the Society, eyther of the Roman Colledge or of the professed Fathers. And let the Exequies be made by the Fathers and brothers alone of the Society, without concourse of the holy College (to wit, of the Cardinalls), without any bed made aloft, with armes or scutcheons, with the same playneness as is accustomed for others of the Society. And in this I doe as earnestly as I can humbly entreat his Holiness that he will satisfy my desire.

As for the place of my buriall, I would gladly have had my body layen at the feet of Blessed Aloysius Gonzaga, once my ghostly child, but notwithstanding this, let the Superiours of the Society bury it where they list.

Of the temporall thinges graunted me by the Sea Apostolike, or gotten any other way, I dispose in this manner. I nominate and make my generall Heire the house of the Professed Fathers in Rome of the Society of Jesus, of which Order I was. But first of all I will that my debts be payed if there be any, and all dutyes

discharged to whome they are due. Then, for fourty dayes (as is the fashion) let there be given to my family[1] *such thinges as appertayne unto their diet, that is to say, so much as is allotted them in money for their bread, wyne, and victualls. I am able to leave them nothing else, because I desired this leave of making my will to bestow all I had on pious uses, as Churches and poore people, and for that cause gave every one of them wages, or some allowance besides their diet.*

Let there be restored unto myne owne brother, or to his heires, an Image in a frame of Pope Clement the 8. *Let there be given to my nephew Angelo also a little picture in a frame of Robert, Cardinal de Nobili, and one of the two in frames of Saint Charles Borromeo, and one of the little Crosses which I weare about my neck, with the reliques that are in it.*

Let there be restored to the Roman College six tomes of the Annales of Baronius, which it lent me that other six of mine might be given to the same. For on this condition I receaved of the Colledge the first six tomes which were given thereunto, in my name, by the Authour himselfe, that after my death I should leave them all his workes entire.

To the same Colledge I leave one of my three best vestments, with the stole and maniple, which it pleaseth. Also, all my writings and my whole library, unless it shall please our most Reverend Father Generall to bestow the library on some other house of the Society, that is more in need.

To our Blessed Ladyes Church in Via, which is my titular, I leave another of my three best vestments, such as it shall please myne Heyre to give. I leave no more to that Church, because, as the Friars[2] *know, I have been at great charge in building of the same, and they requested that of me in lieu of other ornaments which I had determined to have bought them.*

Whatsoever else doth belong unto me, or shall belong, whether immoveables, moveables, living thinges, whether dutyes or debts owing me, whether sacred, belonging to my Chapell, or prophane, belonging to my wardrobe, or to my cellars or other places, whether ready money or whatsoever else, I wil, as is sayd, that all entire apperteine unto the House of the Professed Fathers in Rome ; and I appoint and nominate the same for heyre in all and every of these thinges.

For the help of my Soule, I leave or prescribe nothing, because very little will come unto my Heyre, as I suppose, seeing I never

[1] His staff of servants, not his blood relations.
[2] The Servite Fathers, who had charge of Santa Maria in Via.

took care to heap up money or to gather wealth ; as also, for that I trust, or rather know, the pious charity of my Mother, to wit, the Society of Jesus, will not be wanting to help me, as it is never wanting to other of her children, and as myselfe have never beene wanting all my life tyme to offer Sacrifices and prayers for such as were departed of the same.

I nominate for honours sake my most Illustrious and Reverend Lord, Cardinal Aldobrandino, for the executour of this my will. I hope there will need no labour in the execution thereof. And I leave unto the same most Illustrious Lord (than which I have nothing more deare) a wooden Crosse, filled with most precious reliques, the names of which he shall find in a little deske covered with red silke.

This Will and Testament I will have to stand in force, the former two being annulled, which, in all things and for all, I revoke, make voide, and annullate, notwithstanding that this Will hath not been made with wonted solemnityes, as the Law requireth ; for the Bull of Clement the 8., *in which leave is given me to make my will, doth expressly graunt me this liberty, and further to make it by simple letter, or any other writing subscribed with mine own hand.*

I, Robert Bellarmyne, doe dispose, ordayne, bequeath, and appoint by Testament as above, not only in the foresaid, but in any other better forme whatsoever. The 23. *day of January* 1611.[1]

The decade that intervened between the date of Blessed Robert's will and the day of his death made sad havoc with all his careful clauses. In 1621 there were no debts owing to him, for he had long since cancelled them, and there was next to nothing in his ' cellars or other places ', for whatever they once contained had been given to the poor.

5. Having seen the Cardinal's plans for the disposal of things which, when the time came, were no longer in his possession, we may now proceed with Father Coffin's story of his inalienable treasures :

He caused one to reade unto him the death of St. Charles Borromeo, as desirous in his owne to imitate it. Which being ended, he desired to receave the Sacraments of Holy Church, and that as soone as might be, lest after he should be lesse able for indisposition both of body and minde to receave them, and to prevent also any suddayne accident that might in this weakness take him away ere

[1] *A True Relation*, etc., pp. 95–101. Father Coffin also prints the original Latin of the will.

he had armed himselfe with this so necessary and sovereigne defence.

Forthwith all thinges were made ready for receaving of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar for his *Viaticum*, which was ministered unto him by the handes of the Generall, and receaved with exceeding devotion of the Cardinall. For nothwithstanding his extreme weakness of body, he would needes agayne, as he had done before, rise out of his bed, and kneele on the ground to receave It. And so earnest was he to receave It in this manner, as it was not possible, without his great griefe and distaste, to hinder him. The Generall perceaving his will so fervently bent on that devotion would not withstand him therein, lest the inward griefe might more afflict his mind than that exterior action endamage his body. Wherefore he receaved It kneeling on the ground with singular humility. And after some collection made according to his wont, which endured for some while, he began to talke with the Generall about his buriall and the manner of his funeralls, which he did with so great peace of minde, and so familiarly, as if in his health he had spoken of going to dinner, or some other light and ordinary matter.

Much he desired to be buryed like a Religious man, and all his discourse tended thereunto. For first he requested to be buryed in the common vault under the ground, where others of that Order are ordinarily layed. Then that his funeralls might be plaine, and in such manner as if he had dyed in the Society and had never been advanced, being very earnest that no pompe or splendour, accustomed for other Cardinalls, might be made for him ; that they would not open and embalme his body, but bury it entire as they doe others ; and finally that his dead body, presently after his death, might be conveyed secretly to the Fathers Church, called the *Casa professa*, and there be interred, none intermeddling with the Exequies but the said Fathers, as they use to do for their own in such cases. The Generall, not to trouble him, made no semblance of any mislike, howsoever he thought it not convenient that all should passe in that order. . . .

The same day, some six or seven houres after his receaving, he demaunded the other and last Sacrament of the sicke, Extreme Unction I meane, which he requested the sooner to receave because he would be sure, he sayd, not to be deprived of it, or to take it when he should not know well what he did take. He was now in his perfect senses and therefore might receave it with devotion, as he did, and answered *Amen* with great compunction of hart at each several unction. And now with greater serenity of mynd than before he expected his last call, and coming of our Lord to take him out of this vale of misery and bring him where he might see *bona Domini in terra viventium*, the joy of our Lord in the land of the living.

And for that some sectaries of these dayes had bruited abroad that he had favoured their cause (of which he was the destruction), or had recalled some of his opinions, he entreated Father Eudæmon-Joannes, then present, that he would testify in some written record that whatsoever he (to wit, the Cardinall) had written or printed concerning matters of Fayth against the heretikes and heresyes of these tymes, that now on his deathbed he did most resolutely avouch againe, ratify, and confirme the same, and caused this his attestation to be written and subscribed by divers that were present, as by his two nephews, certain Fathers of the Society, and some of his owne servants. And I doubt not but the sayd Father, out of the great love and dutiful respect which he alwayes bare the Cardinall, will very willingly discharge this debt in some work that he shall shortly set foorth. . . .

Besides those preposterous rumours about Blessed Robert's inclination to heresy, there were other and more plausible ones afloat, according to which he had abandoned in later life the views on efficacious grace set forth in the early editions of his *Controversies*. He had, it was suggested, ' come round to Thomism,' and his Jesuit brethren were naturally very anxious to have some final statement from lips about the matter. What he said at that most solemn hour of his life is embodied in the following official document drawn up by Father Eudæmon-Joannes :

' Cardinal Bellarmine, being near to his death, charged me, Andrew Endaemon-Joannes of the Society of Jesus, on September 10, 1621, to write and declare in his name that he then ratified all that he had written in his books in defence of the faith of the Catholic and Roman Church, and that in that faith he died.

' Further, as to the affair *De Auxiliis Divinae Gratiae*, which is now a subject of dispute between the Society of Jesus and other Catholics, I was to say that he ratified and maintained as true all that he had written in his *Controversies*, and that he had never changed his opinion. When he gave me this commission the undersigned were present, and at my request they have subscribed this paper with their own hands for a testimony of the truth.'

The names of ten witnesses follow, including Giacomo Fuligatti, Blessed Robert's first biographer. A public notary was present at the signing of the document and each of the ten men was put on oath before adding his signature.[1]

[1] *Summarium*, n. 28, p. 97.

Being thus armed for his last encounter, and in great tranquillity and peace of mind, the Cardinal began agayne to cast backe his eyes on his life past to see what therein might trouble his conscience, or breed any feare in him at that straite account before God, which now hourely he did expect to be called unto. And after all his discussion and search, he said unto Father Minutoli that no one thing so much troubled him of all that he had done in his life past as that he had left his Church and Archbishopric of Capua, where by his continuall residence he might have done more good, to the honour and glory of God, than in any other place; and that heere in Rome it seemed that he had lost his time and had done nothing of any weight or moment. Yet he was imployed in all matters of most importance which concerned the whole Church, the proper office of a Cardinall, as the sayd Father told him. . . . Moreover, sayd the Father, you can have no scruple in this matter which you did by command of the Pope, whome you were bound by your rule to obey.

Indeed, sayd the Cardinall, so the matter passed. . . . But for that he had learned of his deare Maister, Blessed Father Ignatius, not only to seek the glory of God, but the *greater* glory of God, in all things, and because he thought that he might have done more good in Capua than in Rome, therefore did he sorrow and have this remorse. O noble Bishop, O zealous mynd! How secure a conscience that had at his death no scruple but for the exchange of one good worke for another, and that imposed upon him by an inevitable commaund!

This scruple being removed, and his mynd quieted, there remayned one difficulty touching his temporall estate, to wit, for repayment of his Cardinalls ring; for effecting of which he used the help of the Cardinall of S. Susanna to his Holiness, alleadging this reason, that *non erat solvendo*, for he had not wherewithall to bury him, much lesse to pay that debt. . . .

When it was knowne in the Citty that the Pope had been with the Cardinall, that he had taken his *Viaticum*, that he was annealed, and that there was no hope left of longer life, wonderfull it was, not only to heare the honorable reports which all made of him, but to see the meanes and inventions used, and that by men of quality, to come unto him. Some sued unto the Cardinalls and great personages; some intreated the Fathers, some used the help of his servants; and others made other devices, and this not only to see him, but to kisse his handes, his head, or some other thing about him. And when they had satisfied their devotion, they would touch his body with their bookes, their beads, handkerchiefs, crosses, medalles, and other the like thinges, and that very reverently on their knees. And in this kynde none were more forward than the Cardinalls themselves, who by reason of their more frequent conversation did best know him, and some of them

mentioned his canonization. When once they knew of his sickness they came very often unto him, and ten of them sometymes in one day, who all desired his blessing, but he constantly refused to give it. And one of them taking him by the hand kissed the same, and then touched his eyes and head therewith. At which Bellarmine mervayling, when the other was gone asked those about him what kind of curtesy this was, and how long it had beene in use amongst the Cardinalls.

Another tyme the Cardinalls that came would needs before they departed kisse his hands, at which he was much grieved, and would have withdrawne them backe, but was not able to resist their importunity, and therefore only sayd, *Non sum dignus*, I am not worthy of this honor especially from you my Lords. And he offered to have kissed theirs againe one by one, but they would not yield, and he was too weake to force them. And some Cardinalls agayne, togeather with other Prelates, would needs have his benediction, which he utterly refused to give. And they continuing to aske it, he craved theirs, so as the contention grew who should blesse each other; which a Cardinall perceaving decided the matter by taking Bellarmynes hand, and blessing himselfe therewith perforce. . . .

Two Cardinalls, above the rest, seemed to be more sollicitous of him, Aldobrandino and Farnesius. The first came very often to the Novitiate to enquire how he did, and out of courtesy forbare to visit him, as not willing to trouble him with his presence. Yet at length he resolved to see him, although his sight cost him teares. . . . And when he with others requested that when he came to Heaven he would remember them, although the Cardinall alwayes showed a great hope and confidence in Gods mercy, yet was this conjoined with no lesse distrust of himselfe, for he would earnestly crave every mans prayers, and to this petition of the Cardinalls, he answered more than once saying: To go to Heaven so soone is a great matter, and too great for me. Men use not to come thither in such haste, and for my selfe, I shall thinke it no small favour to be sure of Purgatory, and there to remayne a good while in those flames that must purge and cleanse the spotts of my offences, and satisfy the just wrath and justice of Almighty God. But when I am come Home, quoth he, I will not faile to pray for you all. . . .

Cardinal Farnesius was at this tyme at his house of Caprarola, thirty miles from Rome, who hearing of the sickness of Bellarmine wrote many letters to Father Minutoli. . . . And as often as Farnesius his letters, still full of love were read unto him, Bellarmine would in very effectuall wordes make remonstrance how far he was indeared unto him, and how little able to discharge that duty which he did owe him, of which in his health he was never unmyndfull. . . .

And for the other Cardinalls, they did also so tenderly affect him as few or none of all those which came to visit him could forbeare weeping. And one of them, a very grave man, sayd unto Father Minutoli that he did greatly glory to have been made Cardinall by that Pope which had made Bellarmine Cardinall; and that *in toto genere* (I use his owne wordes) the world hath not had any of so singular learning accompanyed with so great humility and Religious maturity as he, for many ages, and perhaps may expect long ere it have another. And he did well to specify his humility, for though he were equal to any, yet he so still demeaned himselfe as though he had been servant to all, and this even untill death. For to all that came unto him in his sickness, although he did speake with all respect and duty unto them, yet at their departure he would crave pardon of them, and say: My Lords, I pray you pardon me if I doe not as I would, or as I am bound, for I am not myne own man. I want strength of body; I can do no more. And indeed he did more than was convenient for one in his case, though much lesse than he desired to have done to them whom so hartily he did honour.

In fine, when the danger of his disease was once divulged over all the Citty, not only Cardinalls, but many Bishops, Prelates, and others of speciall note, repayred unto him, especially the three last dayes before his death. . . . In which tyme the foresaid Cardinalls, Bishops, Prelates, and others sent many little cappes of silke, such as they use to weare under their square cappes, and others sent white night-caps, which they desired might be put on his head, as they were, and with them they sent also little crosses of gold and silver, reliquaries, prayer-bookes, and other things, to touch him, and that in such multitudes as there were more than a hundred and fifty red, white, and other caps put on and taken from his head during this tyme, and since his death that number hath been much increased. . . .

The devotion of others unto the Cardinall hath made me make the longer digression from his owne person. But now leaving them a little (to whom eftsoones I shall returne againe), let us a while contemplate and cast our eyes backe on the sicke man. . . . Drawing on apace to the last period of his life, he found more and more difficulty to take any meate, or keep what he had taken; and he had not only a great repugnance and aversion from eating, but a great loathing and horrour to see any thing brought him. Heere, what should his attendants do? To force him seemed too violent for one so weake, so meeke, and of that ranke and dignity; to persuade him was but lost labour, for such difficultyes are hardly overcome by persuasion. Nothing remayned but to urge him the phisitians commaund, and that he was bound under obedience to eate.

Hereat, presently he would rise, take and eate whatsoever they

brought him, and that very readily, though it were never so much agaynst his stomacke, and though he did presently cast it up againe ; never looking or respecting what was given him, and which is more strange even when he was beside himselfe in the extremity of his bad fit, the very name of obedience would have made him take whatsoever they had brought him. So accustomed and affectioned he was to that vertue as nothing seemed hard unto him that came under that tytle, imitating therein his deere Maister, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, *factus obediens usque ad mortem.*

Because the rules of the Society of Jesus doe bynd all in the tyme of their sickness, not only to obey the phisitians, but all such as have any care of them, the Cardinall having a most diligent and faythfull servant to attend him in this sickness, him he also obeyed in whatsoever he bid him doe. And he knowing well his Lords pleasure, when any thing was to be done would not say as other servants use to do, If it please your Honour to do this or take that, and the like, but in resolute termes : My Lord, lift up your self ; Take this ; Do that, etc., and presently without any reply he would doe it, never saying more but, As you will, As it pleaseth you. Neither did this custome begin betweene them on his death-bed, but had still beene in use and practice before, and that with all humility and alacrity. For he regarded not whome he did obey, but for whose sake he did it, and that made him even in his servants person reverence our Saviour.

6. Blessed Robert suffered a great deal from the zeal of his doctors. Brother Finali tells how they applied blisters to his calves in the hopes of drawing out certain alleged humours from his body. The only humours which they did draw were the poor patient's tears, for the torture became so unbearable during the night that he cried like a child. He did not ask to have the blisters removed, however, but only clasped his Crucifix more tightly. A crowd kept vigil outside the doors of the Novitiate, and when they heard that he had become much worse, they pushed past the porter and swarmed up the stairs to his room. Poor Brother Finali was at his wits ends, but there was no controlling the visitors. Some threw themselves on the floor, beating their breasts, while others knelt up against the bed, crying their eyes out, and saying, ' Why, O my God, do you not take me, and spare this great captain of the Church ? ' That was the extraordinary thing about Blessed Robert. He somehow wakened in the hearts of all who knew him, not merely feelings of deep reverence, but love of the kind which a man keeps for his dearest of friends.

After his visitors had departed he got some quiet sleep which grew calmer and deeper as the dawn approached. Finali

was sitting at the foot of the bed when the Cardinal at last awoke. 'Lifting up the curtain, I congratulated him on having obtained some sleep, and wished him good day. To this he answered in a clear voice: May God be praised, Brother, I shall live four days more and then go home.' That was Monday morning, September 13. During the day, several Fathers from the various Colleges in the City arrived, for the vacations had begun. A number of them begged Finali to let them wait upon the Cardinal at dinner-time. 'You have been ruling over our Saint so long that you are sanctified enough,' they said. 'Let us get some of his holiness this morning.'

When the night came, the fever returned with all its violence. In the midst of his agony, Blessed Robert was troubled by the sight of Finali's tired face. 'Do go to bed, dear Brother,' he said, and then turning to his Crucifix, whispered: 'See, Lord, how good a thing it will be for me to go home when Thou dost call me, for the only purpose I serve now is to be a burden and trouble to my dear brothers.'

At a very early hour the following morning, S. Andrea was besieged by crowds of people from every walk in life. Women surged round the sacristy door, and when told that the Cardinal was still alive many of them hastened off to Santa Maria Maggiore to thank God for answering their prayers. As the day advanced, visitors began to flock into the sick-room in ever-increasing numbers. Among them were the Oratorian Fathers, the brethren of Baronius. When the dying man noticed them, he begged their forgiveness for not being able to bring the cause of their Founder, Blessed Philip, to a conclusion, as he had so ardently desired. 'I have to go where I am called,' he said, smiling up at them, 'even leaving unfinished the letter that I had begun, as our Rule commands.'

The rooms of the sick man on the Wednesday morning reminded Brother Finali of the apartments of a Cardinal in power, crowded with high-born aspirants for his favour. The doctors had decided the previous evening to apply leeches to Blessed Robert's head, and the visitors had now come loaded with richly embroidered handkerchiefs and napkins to catch the blood that flowed from the wounds. Poor Cardinal Bellarmine! A veritable free-fight went on around his bed for the privilege of a drop of his blood. At last, worn out by the clamour, and by the pain of the operation, the sufferer

turned to the barber-surgeons, and said mildly: 'So much trouble, Sirs, is not worth while over one who cares so little either for escape or for delay. God's determination is something quite beyond the power of your physic. I am on my way home, and you could not do me a better turn than to let me go whither my Lord calls me.' Then fixing his eyes on his Crucifix, he added: 'Still, do just what you think best. I am content.' After that he became quite merry again, and joked about the leeches and the handkerchiefs.

On Thursday, the Master of Novices brought all his spiritual children to the room to receive the Cardinal's blessing. He imparted it to them with great affection, saying: 'Peace I give you, peace I leave you, peace I commend unto you.'[1] During the day, he was heard whispering to his Crucifix again and again: 'Dear Lord, when shall I come to Thee, sole rest of the weary?' All the time, his bed remained covered with rosaries, pictures, books, and various objects of devotion, so that it looked like one of the stalls that are to be found at the doors of churches. He thought that they had been placed there to protect him from the assaults of the devil.

The last night of his life, which was the 23. of his sickness [Father Coffin continues], the former signes still increasing brought him into a certaine dulness or insensibility, especially some five or six houres before his death, which made all who were about him to thinke that now every houre might be his last. . . . Having a little Crosse of silver in his hand, he kissed it very often, and blessed himselfe divers times therewith, saying some prayers by himselfe, some togeather with them that were with him and kneeled at his bed side.

Afterwards taking into his hand a greater Crosse that stood by which had the picture of our Saviours body fixed thereon, he did oftentimes very devoutly kisse the same. A little after he layed it on his eyes, and taking it from thence he layed it on his left shoulder, imbracing it very hard between both his armes, being put across one over the other. And so he continued a good while, till removing it a little towards his brest, he lifted his hand up to take off his night-cap, but could not doe it. And such as kneeled by him knew not what he meant, till at last by conjecture Father Minutoli gathered that he meant to doe some act of devotion, and therefore took off his cap for him. Then the Cardinall tooke the Crosse with both his handes, and so much forced himselfe as he placed it on his bare head. . . . Finally, he layed it on his brest, under the coverlet, where it remayned till he was dead, so as he

[1] Cervini's *Adumbrata Imago*, p. 97.

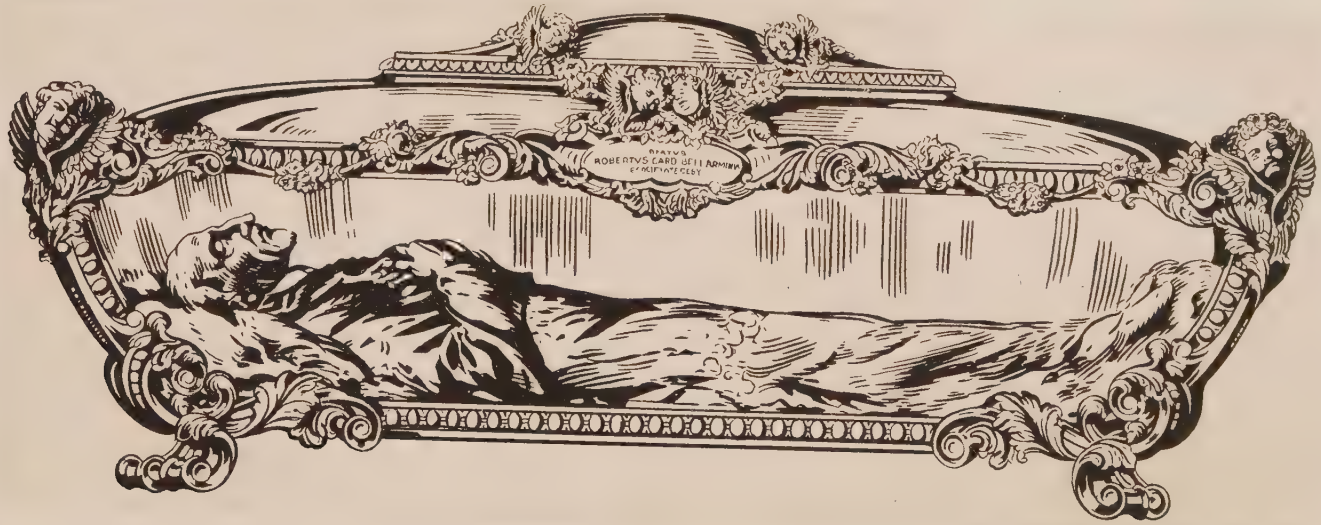
seemed unwilling to see, thinke, or desire anything but Christ and Him crucified. . . .

About half-past four on the morning of September 17 he began to gaze fixedly in one direction as at a vision that made him exceedingly glad, and smiling, he spoke some words which the bystanders could not catch. Then he made a great effort to lift his little cap, his last salute to the Master he had served so well.[1]

Now was he come to the last houre of his life, and though his paines were greater, yet his courage, his patience, his quiet and peaceable repose the same. The holy man began his prayers, sayd the *Pater Noster*, and *Ave Maria*, and began againe the *Pater Noster*, which being ended he sayd distinctly the Psalme *Miserere*. And being warned to say also the Creed, in protestation of his beliefe, and that he dyed a member of the Catholik, Apostolike, and Roman Church, presently he began the same, and sayd it all through, and with the end of the Creed he ended his speach, these being the last wordes that ever he spake cleerly and distinctly in this life : *Et vitam aeternam, Amen.* After which his voice so fayled that they could scant, with all diligence used, heare him, yet he sayd very softly to himselfe, in such manner as he was able, Jesus, Jesus, Jesus, and continued still in the same until the last gaspe, which of such as beheld him was in a manner insensible, in so still, quiet, and peaceable fashion as it seemed a sleep rather than death.

He left this world the seaventeenth day of September, betweene six and seaven of the clocke, in the morning, wanting not three weeks of three score and nynteene yeares, for he was borne on the fourth of October, being St. Francis day, and dyed on the feast of the same Saint, dedicated to his sacred woundes, which miraculously he had receaved ; the solemnity of which feast the Cardinall much laboured with Paul the Fifth to have graunted to the Religious of that Order.

[1] Finali's narrative.



'EXPECTANS ADVENTUM GLORIAE MAGNI DEI.'

Blessed Robert Bellarmine's sepulchral urn, Church of St. Ignatius, Rome.

CHAPTER XXIX

IN MEMORIA AETERNA

1. After Blessed Robert's death, his body was clothed in one of the purple robes that Pope Clement VIII had given him twenty-two years before. This robe was in tatters and had been divested of all its ermine, lining, and buttons by the visitors to the sick-room. The Cardinal's other articles of dress had disappeared entirely and Brother Finali had to borrow what was necessary from the novices' stock. When all was ready, Peter Guidotti, aided by three of the Fathers, carried the mortal remains of his beloved master through the Novitiate garden to a gate at the back where a vehicle was waiting to take them to the infirmary at the Gesù. All this had to be done with the greatest secrecy and expedition for fear of the clamorous crowds. To avoid a tumult at St. Andrea, Finali tells us, the doors were thrown open to the people as soon as the body had been removed. After satisfying their devotion in the room where he whom they called 'il Santo' had died, they hastened in great numbers to the Gesù and forced their way through protesting Fathers and Brothers to the infirmary. There their *Santo* lay, smiling in death, amid a great mass of flowers. All day long they came to him in an unending procession, and when night fell his grave-clothes were found to be so clipped and full of holes that it was necessary to change them completely.

Meantime, the General of the Society of Jesus, Father Vitelleschi, had written to his sons throughout the world, to tell them of their loss. Blessed Robert's death, he said, was of a piece with his saintly life. 'He made our Professed House here in Rome the heir of his poverty and affection, to quote his own words, but in truth he has bequeathed to the whole Society the rich legacy of his shining virtues, and of the great renown that he had won by his sublime wisdom and admirable example. In gratitude for these and many other benefits, and as a return for the tender love which he never

ceased to bear towards his mother the Society, though we may hope that his pure soul has no need of our prayers, each priest will say three Masses and each of those who are not priests, three Rosaries for his eternal repose.'

On the same day, September 17, the General went to consult the Pope about the Cardinal's funeral. After some deliberation, Gregory decided to overrule the provisions of Blessed Robert's will. To the delight of hundreds of eminent people, orders were issued that the body must be embalmed and buried with some measure of the pomp befitting the dead man's dignity. This is how Father Coffin describes the occurrences on that Friday dedicated to the wounds of St. Francis :

His body soone after his departure, by a secret way for avoyding the resort of people, was conveyed in coach to the Church of the Fathers, where he was to be buried. And because as yet nothing was prepared for his exposing, it was carryed into a private chamber of the house with expresse order of debarring as yet all accesse unto it. But there came so many to see and kisse the same, and so great personages, as the prohibition was soone recalled, and leave graunted unto most to come. All kneeled thereat as to the body of a Saint, and with great devotion kissed the same. Some commended his learning, some his vertue, all his mylde, loving, and most affable behaviour. Amongst the rest a great Prelate on his knees kissed the thumbe and two forefingers of his right hand, which had written so much to the glory of God, good of His Church, and comfort of many, no lesse than fifty tymes, and another not inferiour to the former did the same after him ; which devotion of people and Prelates continued untill it was an houre within night, and had done much longer, but that the Popes phisitian, togeather with his brother a surgeon, came to open and embalme the body, who earnestly requested this office as a favour at the Fathers hands, saying that they should both of them grieve much in case any other should do it. As soon as they began the same, many were present with towels, handkerchiefs, sponges, and other linnen to save the blood and preserve it for reliques, and so religiously industrious and deligent they were as nothing thereof was lost. . . .

Finali adds some other interesting details : 'We had no need of any vessels or basins to receive the blood and water from his holy breast. The really important thing was to get all the linen in the house out of the way and to lock it up, for the good men and venerable prelates who had come to be present at the embalming were hunting about every-

where for pieces of cloth, and appropriated whatever they found without by your leave to anybody. . . . Indeed, we were quite astonished to see consciences ordinarily so delicate allowing themselves so much latitude with regard to other people's property. . . .'

2. The rest of the story may be given in Father Coffin's words :

The next morning, September 18, the Nobility and Gentry of the Congregation of Our Blessed Lady got his body into their Oratory or Chappell, where being all assembled they sayd the Office of the Dead for him, two gentlemen alwayes standing at his head to keep the multitude from kissing his bare face, permitting them only his handes and feet. He lay on a fayre hearse, vested like an Archbishop, with his myter and pall, in so gratious manner as I never saw a fayrer corse, and the same was sayd by very many that saw him. The Office being ended, the narrowness of this place was not capable of so great concourse, and to avoid the inconvenience of such presse of people, the more haste was made to carry him into the Church, where being layd on a bed prepared for the same, there came to behold it, or rather to reverence and worship it, as though not the dead body of Cardinall Bellarmyne newly departed, but eyther the body of S. Augustine, or S. Ambrose, or S. Athanasius, or some auncient Doctour, Bishop, or Patriarke had been exposed and layed open to be honoured. And I know not what more devotion the people could have used unto their sacred reliques, than now they did unto the body of this Cardinall.

For they came not as ordinarily on such occasions they use to doe, to gaze and see the pompe of the funeralls (which heere was very little), not to pray for the party deceased, not to enquire of his heires, his testament, his wealth, his buriall, or the like more curious than necessary matters ; but to see as they called him, the Saint, to pray unto him, to reverence his body, and that in such sort as if already he had been canonized.

And for that it was now placed higher than they were able to reach, and compassed by some of the Popes Guard and Mace-bearers of the Cardinals that came to be present at the *Dirige*, they wearyed them all with giving their beades unto them, which the one on the top of their truncheons, the other, of their Maces, lifted up to touch his bare face. And so many beades being given to touch, and that so continually without any intermission, all looked or rather feared that his face would have been disfigured therewith, for it was touched, as most conjecture, by more than twenty thousand payre of beades. And there had been no end of touching it, had not the Fathers, with helpe of the Popes Guarde, after more than three houres within night caryed it away perforce, as presently shall be said.

And notwithstanding that the body lay aloft, and was well guarded with truncheons and halbardes, yet were there of these pious theeves so cunning as that some of them cut away pieces of his myter that he wore, others, the tassells and knots of his Cardinalls hat, others, the skirts of his vestments, others, other things ; and what each would get, with great devotion he kissed the same, lapping it up in cleane linnen, silke, etc. And two Prelates brought each a short staff under his garment, and when they came over against one the other at the lower end of the hearse, where the hat lay at the Cardinalls feet, they cast it off from thence very dexterously with their staves into the bosome of one of their servaunts ready at hand to receave it, who had conveyed it cleane away, had not one of the Fathers by chance espyed him, who by help of the Popes Guard recovered it out of his hands and carryed it into the Vestry. In fine, had not his body been well guarded, I thinke that neyther hat, or myter, or vestement, or any thing else had been left, and perhaps the very body itselfe had been taken away and devided for pious spoile.

And although his body were thus exposed in more plaine and positive manner, with lesse splendour and majesty, than is accustomed for Cardinalls, yet were his exequies in other respectes very honourable. For contrary to that which both in his will he had designed, and desired of the General on his death-bed to have no Cardinals present thereat, there came so many that more have not beene seene at any buriall ; for excepting two or three for exceeding great age, sickness, or some other business absent, all the rest were there, and stayed untill the very end of the office, which was performed by the General in his cope, and the Fathers of the Society. And further there was such resort as none living ever saw more, or perhaps so many at once, in that Church. When the Office was done, to satisfy the importunate request of so many as desired it, the body was taken downe, layed on a Beare covered with black velvet, and caryed to the Chappell of Our Blessed Lady in the same Church, not without a strong guard, where such as entered at one dore passing out at another gave way for more to satisfy their desires.

But it was not possible to satisfy all ; for though it remayned there untill after three houres in the night (as I sayd), yet were the Fathers forced to send away many that were still flocking thither ; much agaynst their will and not without mayne force of the Guard and others, that commaunded and compelled them out of the Church and shut the dores, to their no small regret.

The multitude being excluded, the body was put into a plaine coffin of wood and layed in the ordinary vault where others of the Society are wont to be buryed ; therein condescending to the Cardinalls desire, who would needes lye with them in the grave, with whome he had lived, whome he had loved, and to whome for

many years before his death he would have returned, and led agayne a Religious life under the common Rule, with the resignation of his Cardinall's hat and dignity, if it might have beene permitted him, as my selfe have heard him very hartily to wish it. . . .

The extraordinary love and devotion manifested at Blessed Robert's obsequies induced the Fathers ten days later to hold another solemn service, at which the great Latinist and rhetorician, Tarquinio Galuzzi, preached the funeral oration. The last words of this long and powerful panegyric may be given as a specimen of the whole: *Ut vetus quidam poeta loquitur, Consules fiunt quotannis, et novi Proconsules. Sed (non dicam equidem quod apud eundem sequitur, Solus aut Rex aut poeta non quotannis nascitur. Rex enim quotidie nascitur ex regibus, et poetarum natio plus etiam quam vellemus in Republica sobolescit) sed dicam, inquam, id quod ipsa res est nec in idonea laude verebor invidiam. Solus Bellarmino similis ordinis amplissimi Senator, ita doctus ac sapiens, ita modestus ac moderatus, religiosus ac pius, ita Reipublicae salutaris, non modo non quotannis nascitur, sed requiretur in annos plurimos, et longa post saecula desiderabitur. Non tamen ejus a nobis umquam desiderabitur auxilium, non fides, non Ecclesiae patrocinium ac tutela; cujus militantis ipse dum viveret tam praeclara stipendia meruit, cujus ovantis, vita jam functus, et triumphum capit et obtinet gloriam. Excurrit ille nunc inter felices animas, Ambrosios Augustinos, aliosque mortis beneficio triumphantes ac liberos. Respicit e coelo relicta, videt nos alta nocte circumdatos, et divinis perfusam radiis aciem promittit in spatia tam vasta terrarum. Suas adeo partes intelligit esse pro Christiana Republica non jam amplius Columbae gemitum dare, quod scripto libello fecit in lugentium campis, sed per advocationem adesse atque intercedere; quod et praestitit olim vivens in terris, et nunc praestare multo facillime potest in triumphantium concilio collocatus.*[1]

After the translation of the relics of St. Ignatius in February 1622, Cardinal Farnese erected a monument to Blessed Robert over the spot where the Founder of the Jesuits had lain. On this monument the Cardinal's bust by the sculptor Bernini was placed, and at each side of it, statues representing Religion and Wisdom. The inscription was as follows:

[1] *In funere Roberti Card. Bellarmini Oratio*, Romae, apud Alexandrum Zannettum, 1621, pp. 20–21. It is interesting to note the preacher's absolute certainty that the Cardinal had gone straight to Heaven.

ROBERTO
CARD. BELLARMINO
POLITIANO E SOC. JESU
MARCELLI II P.M.
SORORIS FILIO
ODOARDUS
CARD. FARNESIUS
SUI ERGA VIRUM QUEM
PATRIS LOCO SEMPER COLUIT
AMORIS NUNQUAM MORITURI
MONUMENTUM POS.
OBDORMIVIT IN DOMINO
ANNO SAL. MDCXXI
AETATIS SUAE LXXIX[1]

Blessed Robert's body was removed from its resting place, just a year after his death, placed in a new coffin and laid in the vault which had contained the remains of St. Ignatius. In the middle of the nineteenth century some architectural changes were made in the interior of the Gesù. A new tomb of white marble was then constructed for the Jesuit Cardinal's relics, over the false door which formed part of the original monument erected by Cardinal Farnese. There they remained until their solemn translation to the feet of his ' ghostly child,' St. Aloysius in the Church of St. Ignatius, 21 June 1923.

3. Before passing on to study briefly the strange history of Bellarmine's ' cause,' it will be well to give the conclusion of Father Coffin's narrative as, unlike much that was urged by the unofficial opponents of Blessed Robert's beatification, it is not private conjecture, but the plain story of what he saw with his eyes and heard with his ears :

Whiles this learned man lived, though his works did speak his worth, yet were his other noble vertues so shrowded under the mantle of humility as they could not be seene in their perfect nature. And such as best knew them had least list to speake them, lest their wordes might disclose what the Cardinall would have to be secret. But now hath that glory overtaken him which he did still eschew and beat backe with contempt of himselfe. . . . Now is the candle no more layed under a bushell, but set on a candlesticke for all to behold. Now is the mouth of detractors stopped that would with their lyes have blemished his life, and disgraced his death, many yeares ere it happened. Now (will they, nill they), truth shall trample falsehood under foot, and the cleere beames of Bellarmynes vertue overbeare all slaunderous reports of malignant

[1] ' To Robert Cardinal Bellarmine of Montepulciano, S.J., son of the sister of Marcellus II, Edward Cardinal Farnese erected this monument of undying love towards one whom he ever honoured as a father. He fell asleep in the Lord in the year 1621, aged 79 years.'

Sacramentaryes. Let them forge infamous fictions, let them print as they have done most exorbitant lyes, let malice matcht with learning arme their pens to write reproach, yet shall all their force and fury fall to the ground and his name be renowned for ever. The warrant is sure that is signed with His promise who sayd by the Psalmist : *In memoria aeterna erit justus ; ab auditione mala non timebit.* And not only his life and death but as the Prophet foretold of Christ : *Erit sepulchrum ejus gloriosum*, even his sepulchre shall be glorious. For thither now come many to pray, thereon dayly they cast fresh flowers. . . .

The habit, as the Philosopher sayth, is best knowne by his privation ; the darke night makes us more to esteem and valew the cleere day, and liberty is alwayes most gratefull after a long restraint. So Bellarmines absence hath made his vertues more prized, and the sense and feeling which now all find in his want makes them with grief to recall to mynde what a treasure they had whiles they did enjoy him alive. The Cardinals have lost the prime flower and brightest starre of their Colledge, the Bishops a lively patterne of a true pastour, the Religious a perfect example of imitation, the learned a renowned doctour, the poore a father, the afflicted a comforter, the whole Church an ornament.

And to renew still his happy memory in their never dying affection, many Cardinals, Prelates, and others of great Nobility have carefully sought and alwaies do seeke for something of his. And so much is already gotten as besides his body little or nothing is left. One Cardinal got his bed, another his Missall, another his Diurnall, Farnesius his Breviary. What others got eyther during his sickness or since his death were too long to write. They got his doublet, hose, stockings, caps, linnen, woollen, writings, pictures, shirts, handkerchiffs, and what else they could procure, leaving him so destitute of all things as that the Fathers of the Society were forced after his death to cloath him of their owne, and to borrow a square cap of another Cardinal to put on his head whiles his body for a day and night lay in a lower chamber at the *Casa Professa.*

And not in Rome only but from other places abroad many letters have beene sent, and meanes used, to get something that had beene his, which I let passe, setting downe only the clause of one letter written by a very worshipfull gentleman of our owne Nation, residing in Naples, which came to my hands as I was writing this Relation. The party wrote it in Italian that the Generall, to whome he is well knowne, might see it, and in this manner : I have beene urged, and that with exceeding importunity, by the Duchess of S. Elias, my very good Lady and Patronesse, to procure her somewhat of Cardinal Bellarmyne of happy memory ; that is to say, some linnen night-cap which he hath worne, or some piece of his shirt, and this for the great devotion the sayd Lady beares towards the dead Cardinall. And if need be, you may intreate N. N. in

my name to help as much as is possible to find out something to comfort the devotion of this Lady. So he. And although that this letter came soone after his death, yet were all these things eyther given or taken or stolen away ere it came, and her request satisfyed another way.

In fine, no man in Rome of his ranke, in the memory of any man living hath dyed with so general good opinion of all; no funeralls have been celebrated with so great concourse and honour; no sepulcher so much frequented. Two and twenty yeares he lived Cardinall, fourty a Religious man. He began betyme to beare the yoke of Christ, was never wearyed, never fainted till the end. A man of such lenity and meekness as he would offend none; of such candour and sincerity as he could not dissemble with any; of such kindness and courtesy as he was benevolous unto all. Of temporall emoluments he was never moved with losse or delighted with increase. His wealth was the poore mans gaine, not his owne profit; his losse their hinderance, not his hurt. To men of our Island, as well English and Scottish, he alwaies shewed himselfe a worthy friend and special benefactour, never denying them any thing that he could graunt, never sparing his labour, his pen, or purse, to pleasure them as far foorth as he was able; of which I could alleadge very many examples were not that field too large, and this no place to recount them. . . .

Heere if any out of a curious mynd should expect to heare somewhat spoken of some miraculous event which hath happened in or since his death, for further confirmation of his sincerity, I answere hereunto that as the sanctity of S. John Baptist did sufficiently warrant itselfe without any miracle at all besides his miraculous vertues, so the happy life and death of this Cardinall, being such as they were, need no other miracle than themselves for their proofe. And to speake only of his death, what was his invincible patience without the least sign of sorrow or sillable of complaint? What his security of mynd overbearing all temptations? What his purity of conscience without all mortall remorse? What his exact obedience without reply? What his reverent receaving of the Blessed Sacrament, his constancy in faith, his devout death, but a miracle, or rather many miracles in one? Who can esteeme otherwise of his courage agaynst death, now looking him in the face, when he desired it to draw neerer, to take him away, than that it was miraculous? unless he will contradict the judgement of S. Bernard, who, writing of his brother Gerards death, hath these words: I was called to that miracle, to see a man rejoycing in death, triumphing over death. Truly this holy Cardinal, as you have heard, so much rejoyced in death as he had no other sorrow in his sickness than to thinke that it was further from him than indeed it was; or greater joy than when he was to shake hands with it. . . .

These things, I say, need no other miracle than themselves to

confirme them. For as S. Augustine saith of such a one as would foure hundred yeeres after Christ see some miracle that he might believe: *Magnum ipse prodigium est qui mundo credente prodigia adhuc inquirit ut credat.* So in this case, seeing the former miracles, seeing the common opinion that all have of his holiness, seeing all that ever knew him to have canonized him with devotion to his body, or constant report of his integrity, seeing all his writings to have beene to confound heresy, to erect the banner of truth, to comfort the faithfull, to teach the ignorant, to advance vertue, seeing all his actions to have been signed with innocency, to have proceeded from charity, and by pure intention to have been directed to Gods glory or good of his neighbour, without touch, spot, or reprehension in the whole course of his life; he may indeed be thought prodigious that would further seeke any other confirmation, any other miracle, or miraculous proofe.

Which I doe not say to condemne or any way extenuate the force of other miracles, God forbid, for sometymes they are necessary, and heere they are not wanting; but only to shew that eminent sanctity may proove itselfe by the cleere beames of her owne beauty, without any borrowed light derived from supernaturall power, as it did in S. John Baptist above mentioned, and many other Saints.

Yet for further confirmation of this particular, there are some things reported, and not reported only but manifestly proved to be miraculous. . . . And even now is come to my hands a brief relation of a miraculous cure done by a relique of his upon a religious woman of the Order of S. Bennet, called Paula Landi, in the Monastery of Our Blessed Lady, in the Campo Martio of Rome. Thus the thing fell out. The said Paula the sixth day of October by a fall brake one of her rib-bones in such sort as that one part thereof did stand out, and the other was turned inward towards her breast. The paine she felt was excessive, and withall her weakness was such as she could not vest herselfe, eate, or use her arme. The surgeon in setting the bone right increased her paine, and besides the extremity of her bodily griefe she was inwardly also very much afflicted in mynde with the feare eyther of a continuall lameness if she did recover, or with the long endurance of that insupportable torment, which would have no other end than the end of her life. Whiles she remayned in the perplexity of these afflicting thoughts, there was brought to the Monastery a piece of linnen that had touched the Cardinalls body, which she desired to have, and when she had it did apply the same to the wound much swolne with the concourse of humours. Then betaking herselfe to prayer, hartily craved the intercession of the holy Cardinal, and lo, in the space of one houre, she was delivered from all paine, could vest herselfe, walke, and doe any thing as before, in so much as on the Sunday following (for this happened on Friday) she served the rest at table,

and at this present is as well able to doe any thing as ever she was before.

And this the party hath testifyed to my selfe, who purposely got leave to speake with her about this matter. And not only the sayd Paula, but others of her Order, who were present when I spake unto her, did testify the same, adding further that all of the sayd Monastery would doe the like. And Paula herselfe wrote as much as heere I report, subscribed the same with her owne hand, and sent it to the Fathers of the Society of the *Casa Professa*, where the Cardinall is buryed.

Since the former cure, there hath happened another, and that upon an honourable personage, to wit, the Lord Riviullo, Bishop of Bel Castro. This man being much afflicted with a payne in his sides that wonderfully molested him, before he would apply any medicine thereunto called for a little red cap of silke which Bellarmyne did weare under his square cap, and confiding much in his merits and intercession, touched those parts that grieved him therewith, and incontinently he was cured and fully delivered from all payne, as the said honourable personnage hath testifyed and confirmed by his oath, hand, and seale. More in this kind I might write but for that I have not such meanes to search out their truth as I thinke is requisite ere they be thus divulged. I leave them to others to relate who doe better know them. . . .

These thinges thus testifyed I thought good to set downe, which have so soone happened after his death, because in part they confirme what before I wrote of his holy life and saint-like departure. God graunt us His grace so to imitate his vertues as we may shut up this our mortall and fraile life with so happy an end. Amen.

4. Cardinal Bellarmine's beloved patron, St. Francis of Assisi, was solemnly canonized in July 1228, less than two years after his death. Bellarmine himself was not beatified until more than three centuries had passed over his grave. Few ' causes ' in the annals of sanctity have suffered such vicissitudes as his, and it will not be without interest to study its various stages in some detail. According to the legislation of the Church the inquiries preliminary to the beatification of a servant of God begin with what is known as the ' ordinary informative process.' It is designated ' ordinary ' because set on foot by the Bishop or ' Ordinary ' of each diocese in which the candidate laboured for any length of time. So great was Bellarmine's reputation for sanctity that this process was begun at Rome and Montepulciano the year after his death, and at Capua in 1623. Fifteen Cardinals appeared as witnesses in the Roman process, one of them, Cardinal Bandini, Prefect of the Congregation of the Holy Office, writing as follows,

BEATIFICATION OF CARDINAL BELLARMINE.
St. Peter's, Rome, 13 *May* 1923.

18 December 1623 : ' I have said many a time that a single miracle would be enough to justify any Pope in proceeding with his canonization, so full did his holy soul appear to me of heavenly grace and consummate perfection.' [1]

Pope Urban VIII, who had loved and revered Bellarmine and would have written his biography but for his election to the Papal throne, signed the introduction of his cause, 12 December 1626. A month later, the same Holy Father gave orders for the commencement of the ' apostolic processes,' so called because deriving their authority directly from the Holy See. These were at once begun, at Rome no fewer than forty-one witnesses being examined, but meantime, for wise reasons that had no special bearing on Bellarmine's case, the Pope had issued his famous decrees on beatification and canonization, laying down, among other things, that the causes of confessors were not in future to be introduced until fifty years after their death. This put an end to the activities of those who were labouring for the Jesuit Cardinal's glory until in 1655 Pope Alexander VII by a special dispensation allowed them to be resumed. Twenty years later the Cardinals of the Congregation of Rites ratified all that had been done so far, and further decreed that the non-existence of a public *cultus* of Bellarmine had been satisfactorily established. That, in view of the Church's strict legislation with regard to the payment of religious honour to persons not yet beatified, was a most important point gained.

Meantime the Cardinal's writings had been subjected to minute scrutiny with the object of discovering whether they contained anything contrary to faith or morals. Here again the decision was entirely favourable, and Pope Clement X accordingly authorized preliminary deliberations with regard to the Cardinal's virtues, by a rescript of 13 February 1675. It was as a help to the prosecution of these that the *Summarium* which has been quoted so often in the present volumes was first printed. The twenty-one consultors who had been appointed met on 1 September 1675, and voted unanimously that Cardinal Bellarmine had practised all the Christian virtues in a heroic degree. The ' Promoter of the Faith ' on that occasion was the brilliant jurist, Prosper Bottini. At his wish, Blessed Robert's Autobiography was produced, and he made skilful use of it, as he was perfectly entitled to do. The evidence on the other side, however, was more than his legal

[1] *Testimonio del Signor Cardinale Bandino.* Fuligatti, *Vita*, p. 382.

ability could dispose of, so he ended his labours as 'Devil's Advocate' with the following very remarkable declaration: *Cum egregie solutae videantur quae contra Ven. Servum Dei ex munere meo objeci, in praesentia pro veritate sententiam proferre jussus, censeo plane constare de ipsius virtutibus tam Cardinalibus quam theologalibus in gradu heroico*—I have been ordered to state my true opinion here and now. As all that I urged against the Venerable Servant of God, in accordance with the duties of my office, seems to have been excellently answered, I consider that there is the fullest evidence of his having practised both the cardinal and theological virtues in a heroic degree.[1]

That meeting of the consultors was only a preparatory measure, however, and it was not until 26 September 1677 that a general congregation was held, under the new Pope, Innocent XI. At this seventeen Cardinals and twenty-one consultors assisted. Almost three-quarters of the votes, 28 out of 38, were in favour of Bellarmine's beatification, but objections were raised against the validity of some of the earlier investigations at Montepulciano and Naples, and these had to be legalized before any further steps could be taken. It required more than thirty years to make the formalities complete. Then, in February 1714, Pope Clement XI ordered the discussions to be resumed once more, the 'Promoter of the Faith' on this occasion being the celebrated canonist Prosper Lambertini, who later on became Pope Benedict XIV. By the direction of the reigning Pontiff, 109 letters petitioning for the beatification of Cardinal Bellarmine were published and also a *Summarium additionale* in which the evidence of the chief witnesses was presented under various headings.

The letters had come from all quarters and people of every description, kings and princes, dukes and duchesses, archbishops and bishops, universities and religious orders. Father Anthony Cloche, the Master-general of the Order of St. Dominic, wrote as follows on behalf of himself and his sons:

This note of sanctity, which is a characteristic of the Catholic Church alone, shone resplendently in these latter days in the

[1] Bottini afterwards became Archbishop of Myra. The complete text of his *Votum* is given in Appendix III to this volume. Among the twenty-one consultors in 1712 were four Bishops and Archbishops, the Secretary of the Congregation of Rites, two Dominicans, a Theatine, the General of the Servites, a Franciscan, a Benedictine, a Carmelite, and two Jesuits —truly a representative gathering.

Venerable Servant of God, Robert Bellarmine, of the Society of Jesus and Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church. Dissimilar virtues were united so harmoniously in his soul that his candour was in no way diminished by his prudence, nor the nobility of mind, which came of his high breeding, by the spirit of religious poverty which he assiduously cultivated. He was both grave and gay, indefatigable in study and devoted to piety. During his life as a Jesuit he showed tireless zeal in the performance of every duty, unremitting diligence in the pursuit of knowledge, and the greatest readiness for every office of charity and kindness, nor was there ever an undertaking or project of his that had not the glory of God or the good of his neighbour for its end. . . .

As a Cardinal he was known to everybody and venerated by all for the singular modesty, frugality, and religious austerity of his life, as well as for his noble contempt for earthly riches and his immense charity to the poor, for whose sake he stinted himself that he might have the more to give. These virtues, however, were not the greatest in his soul. The crown of his sanctity was his burning love of Holy Church, a love with which he was so consumed that his heart held nothing more dear than the Church's glory. Nothing did he defend with such valorous eagerness as her traditional teaching, and nothing did he desire so much to promote as the holiness of each and every one of her children. . . .[1]

The death of Pope Clement XI in March 1721 put an abrupt end to whatever hopes were entertained of bringing the long cause to a conclusion during his Pontificate. The next three Popes had other matters to engage their attention, and not until after Benedict XIV's election in 1740 was there any opportunity to continue the discussions. In his great treatise, *De servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione*, Benedict had often referred to Cardinal Bellarmine's holy life and labours in a way that left little doubt as to his private opinion concerning their heroic quality. After consultation with the Cardinals of the Congregation of Rites, he decided on 7 September 1748 that Bellarmine's cause should be dealt with in a general meeting held in his presence, and instructed Cardinal Cavalchini to draw up a *Relatio* on the whole question, for the guidance of the voters. This masterly piece of work was completed in 1752 and is the most elaborate and decisive of all the documents that were brought to the

[1] *Epistolae . . . pro causa Beatif. et Canonizat. Ven. servi Dei Roberti S.R.E. card. Bellarmini . . . jussu Sanctissimi typis editae*, Romae 1723, ep. lxi.

notice of the officials connected with Bellarmine's cause during the course of three centuries.[1]

After all the preparations had been made, Benedict instructed six consultors of the Congregation of Rites, none of whom were Jesuits, to give written answers to the following question: *An expediat ut Causa progressum habeat*—is it expedient to allow this Cause to proceed? The answers were unanimous, *omnino expedit*, and then the Cardinals to the number of twenty-one were asked to record their votes. Eighteen declared in favour of the beatification and three against, the three being the Cardinal of York, a lineal descendant, curiously enough, of Bellarmine's royal antagonist James I, Cardinal Corsini, and Cardinal Passionei. The only matter in Bellarmine's life to which the first and second of these men objected was the *Autobiography*. As for the third, it would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that he objected to everything.

There had been a time when Passionei at least pretended that he greatly admired the Jesuit Cardinal. When Papal Legate in Switzerland, he had caused a new edition of Blessed Robert's *Admonitio* to the Bishop of Teano to be printed, speaking of it as 'a golden book,' and of its author as a man *Deo plenus* or 'full of God.' By the year 1753 a strange change had come over his opinions. Bellarmine is no longer a man full of God, but a man full of vanity and other yet more reprehensible qualities. He is wanting in charity, in respect for the Pope, in discretion, in truthfulness. The action which he took in the controversy on grace ought by itself to be enough to exclude him from the company of the beatified and so ought his theory of political power, which had been condemned by the Parliament of Paris. These are the matters on which Passionei expends his eloquence and learning in his famous *Votum*. He is much too interesting a character to let pass in this place without a few words of comment, so we make no apology for the short digression which follows.

5. Domenico Passionei was born in the small but illustrious town of Fossombrone in 1682 and died in Rome in 1761. A year after his death his biography was published by a Cassinese Benedictine named Galletti, and it is there that we are told

[1] As originally printed the *Relatio* contained 268 very large pages, each fortified with an array of learned footnotes in which all the objections raised against Bellarmine's sanctity were answered in detail. It was reprinted in Rome in 1920.

about his re-issue of Bellarmine's *Admonitio* while acting as Papal Legate in Switzerland.[1] Galletti further assures us that he always had the highest esteem for the works and Christian virtues of Blessed Robert and that he opposed his beatification with such vigour simply and solely from conscientious motives.[2] To believe this biographer, he was as learned and zealous a Cardinal as the Sacred College possessed, indeed a model scholar, a model prince of the Church, and a model Christian.

Galletti, however, did not possess or did not think well to publish all the documentary evidence that was available about the character of his hero. For instance, there is not a word in his large volume about Passionei's attitude towards the Jesuits. During the years 1907–1914 a learned Italian priest, Mgr. Vernarecci, published a great collection of documents and registers bearing on the history of Fossombrone, his and Passionei's native town.[3] Naturally enough, he shows himself as indulgent as possible to a man who was one of Fossombrone's most famous citizens, but admits all the same ' that Passionei owed his great celebrity to three things, to his vast learning, to the distinguished posts which he occupied with so much credit, and to the ungovernable antipathy which he kept to the end of his life against the Society of Jesus.' Some of the Cardinal's own letters are the best explanation of his attitude. Mgr. Vernarecci does not give them much prominence in his narrative, but they have been published in the *Civiltà Cattolica* during the year 1918, from the original autographs in the Vatican archives, and they are of no small interest as showing the influences that were at work to hinder Bellarmine's beatification.

The first thing they make plain is the curious company with which the young ecclesiastic considered himself justified in consorting while on business for the Roman Court in France, Belgium, and Holland. During his stay in Paris (1706–1708), Vernarecci points out, ' he was by no means indifferent to or disdainful of the compliments bestowed on him by Montesquieu and Voltaire.' It was not, however, until he passed into Holland in 1708 that his real enmity with the Jesuits began. Holland was even then becoming a haven of refuge for the Jansenist party, and Passionei was soon in touch with some of

[1] *Memorie per servire alla storia della vita del Cardinale Domenico Passionei*, Rome, 1762, pp. 118–119.

[2] *L.c.*, p. 217.

[3] *Fossombrone dai tempi antichissimi ai nostri.* Con illustrazioni e appendici di documenti. Memorie publicate a cura del Municipio, 1907–1914.

the most prominent leaders of the sect. During the years that followed, and after his elevation to the purple in 1738, there is good evidence to prove that he did not hesitate to sit in secret council with Jansenists and free-masons who were plotting the destruction of the Society of Jesus.[1]

While filling the office of ' Secretary of Briefs ' at the Papal Court, the Cardinal decided to equip for himself a place of retirement in the hermitage of Camaldoli. When the poor monks protested against the magnificence of his preparations, he merely laughed at them in his haughty way. Who were they to question his arrangements? To his sumptuous apartments in their midst he invited the strangest company that ever profaned that sacred solitude—artists, literary people, politicians, and above all Jansenists. ' The new hermitage,' says Vernarecci, who is nothing if not fair to the Cardinal, ' was merely a philosophically worldly place of retirement . . . its symbol, an ancient statue of Minerva. . . . We know that while [his friend] Winckelmann read Plato at Camaldoli, the Cardinal himself, seated under the portrait of Arnaud, meditated the *Provincial Letters* of Pascal.' That is an illuminating little touch, but there is more to come. Passionei liked to call himself the ' Prior ' of the new hermitage, his friends being jokingly styled *Frati*. Thus the two prominent Jansenists, Bottari and Foggini, were known respectively as Fra Giovanni and Fra Lorenzo. In a letter of the Cardinal to the first of these men, dated 17 February 1752, and still to be seen in the *Bibliotheca Corsiniana*, we read the following instructive passage: ' The Prior embraces his beloved Fra Giovanni a thousand times over. As usual, the slanderers do not know that the Prior and Fra Giovanni are the heads of the Jansenist party in Rome. . . .' [2]

After this it is hardly necessary to delay any further over Passionei except to discuss the oft-repeated story, to which even such a careful and scholarly writer as Vernarecci appears to give credence,[3] that it was his famous *Votum* which induced Pope Benedict XIV, however reluctantly, to abandon his project of beatifying Cardinal Bellarmine. Passionei died in Rome, 5 July 1761, from an attack of apoplexy brought about

[1] *Cf. La Civilta Cattolica*, quad. 1629, 4 Maggio 1918, pp. 256–257.

[2] ' Il Priore abbraccia mille e mille volte Fra Giovanni amatissimo. I calunniatori al solito non sanno che il Priore e Fra Giovanni sono capi de' Giansenisti a Roma. . . .' A photographic reproduction of part of this letter is given in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, quad. 1629, p. 259.

[3] *Fossombrone dai tempi antichissimi*, t. II, p. 770.

by his having to sign as Secretary of Briefs a decree condemning the Jansenist catechism of the Frenchman Mezenguy, which he and his friend 'Fra Giovanni' had caused to be translated into Italian and published at Naples in 1759.

6. The secret history of Passionei's *Votum* is decidedly interesting. While preparing it, he was in constant correspondence with his *stimatissimo e amatissimo amico*, the pronounced Jansenist Bottari, *alias* Fra Giovanni. He submitted his manuscript for this man's revision and begged his assistance and 'the use of all his cunning' in the hunt for new arguments against Bellarmine's sanctity and that 'tribe of swindlers,'[1] the Society of Jesus. In Rome the people's nicknames for the learned Secretary of Briefs were 'Scanderberg' and 'the Prussian,' given because of his explosive temper and blustering manner. Even in his dealings with the Pope, he was not above uttering veiled threats as to the consequences if his Holiness should issue the *Decreto fatale* of Bellarmine's beatification. Such an act, he hinted, would lead to war and strife within the bosom of the Church. Indeed, he himself endeavoured to start the trouble. Two years before his death, 14 March 1759, he wrote to a friend deploring the favourable attitude taken up by the majority of the Cardinals with respect to Bellarmine's cause and telling the measures which he had adopted to check such unhappy developments :

> Things falling out as they did, I took care, in the absence of the French Ambassador, to inform M. de la Bruère, the secretary of the Embassy, that he might write to his Court and secure the opposition of its members. To tell the whole truth, the credit belongs more to the Court of France than to my *Votum* of having brought this affair to nothing, in spite of the desire and eagerness of His Holiness that it should succeed.[2]

Pope Benedict's correspondence with his intimate friend Cardinal de Tencin, Archbishop of Lyons, throws a good deal of light on the affair of the beatification as it was agitated in those days. Quite apart from his office, no man on earth was better qualified than the illustrious Pontiff to decide whether or no Bellarmine deserved to be raised to the altars. His great treatise on beatification and canonization is proof enough of that. In the Congregation held in 1753, we learn from a letter of Passionei, who was present, that Benedict showed himself

[1] 'Gente furbissima.'

[2] Letter given in Goujet's *Éloge historique du cardinal Passionei*, La Haye, 1763, pp. 201–203.

' most favourable ' in the matter of the Jesuit Cardinal. The Pope's own letters bear this out. Thus writing to de Tencin at an earlier date, 21 February 1748, he said : ' We protest to you that we are entirely in favour of this cause.' [1] The Jesuits appear to have importuned His Holiness a little more persistently than was becoming, for he shows a certain amount of annoyance with their attentions. His attitude and their attitude are both easily intelligible. They knew that he was personally convinced that their great Cardinal deserved to be beatified, but they did not understand as well as he did the strength of the forces that were in league against the project. Having said this much, we may now set down in order of dates some interesting passages from the Pope's letters :

9 *May* 1753 : The Congregation of Rites has held a general meeting in our presence to examine whether the virtues of the Venerable Servant of God, Cardinal Robert Bellarmine, were heroic. A meeting of a similar kind had already been held in presence of Innocent XI, of holy memory, but, though the number of favourable votes was sufficient, he gave no answer of any kind, either because he was by nature disinclined to take decisive action, or because Cardinal Azzolini published at that time a *votum* more satirical and derisive than becoming and conclusive.[2] In the congregation that was held in our presence the number of favourable votes was more than sufficient, but all the same we were not without a new Azzolini in our midst.[3] Still, we trust that with the help of God this opposition will not hold us back from giving at the right time and place such an answer as the Lord shall inspire, for we claim, and not perhaps without good reason, that we are as well informed about the merits of the cause as anybody. Besides being a very learned man, the pious Cardinal was a living example of virtue, as a religious, as an archbishop, and in the purple. He did an infinite amount of useful work, pen in hand, in the congregations of the Holy Office and of Rites, as well as in all other assemblies where the Holy See had need of assistance.

Those who were working to prevent the beatification looked to France chiefly for munitions. The condemnation of Bellarmine's book on the power of the Pope was recalled and it was strongly hinted that disturbances similar to those which

[1] The Italian text of the correspondence of Benedict XIV with Cardinal de Tencin, in so far as it bears on the question of Bellarmine's beatification, was published from the originals in the Vatican archives in *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 1918, vol. III, pp. 55 sq., 135 sq., vol. IV, 48 sq.

[2] Before Passionei's appearance, Azzolini was the most vigorous opponent of the beatification.

[3] Cardinal Passionei.

had broken out on that occasion would be repeated in worse form if he were to be raised to the altars. It is to these rumours that Pope Benedict refers in the following passage :

20 *June* 1753 : In the question as to whether a man's virtues attained to heroism, it is not his writings that have to be taken into account but his actions. Should any one demand that his writings be examined, then only those which he composed against the heretics can be taken as evidence, and not those dealing with matters debated among Catholics themselves without compromising the integrity of the faith. To be very brief, it looks as if some people considered that to write in defence of the Holy See were a good objection against the heroism of a man's virtues, which is a sufficiently bizarre way of estimating sanctity. . . . We foresee that you will tell us that those who urge such a point do so in dread of the brutality of the Parliamentarians. We do not deny that we feel the force of this argument, and we shall recommend ourselves heartily to God before taking any step, praying Him to enlighten us as to whether we should hold back from fear of the extravagances of evil-minded persons who without any provocation have ill-used religion itself no less than the Holy See, or whether we ought not rather to accede to the prayers and wishes of the rest of the Catholic world, which is waiting for the decision of the cause. . . .

25 *July* 1753 : As to the cause of Cardinal Bellarmine, we know what in strict justice ought to be done, but at the same time we see the danger to which we should expose ourselves by doing it. It would not be seemly for us to make known the reasons for our inaction, and the result of this is that those who have not the clue murmur against us and make us out to be partisans of the enemies of the Society, taxing us with lack of courage, as if we had taken our guidance from the two unfavourable votes in the Congregation of Rites,[1] in spite of the fact that we had openly refuted the arguments of those votes in our speech to the assembly. However, there are some who divine the true cause of our hesitation . . . and these

[1] Those of Cardinal Passionei and the Cardinal of York. The Pope's opinion of Passionei is interesting. ' He is a man with a head full of vast information on the titles and editions of books. He has read a great deal, but he has never studied. There can be no study without reading, but there can be reading without study. He takes every pains to acquire the reputation of a great man of letters and though Cardinal Querini and he are not in love with one another, their vanity is about equal. . . . People have often been astonished that we should have kept such a brain at our Palace. Our answer is that it was not we who put him there but our predecessor. . . . Had we sent him away, we would have begun our Pontificate with an act of resentment and vengeance, maladies with which, thanks be to God, we have never been afflicted.' As for the Cardinal of York, this is what the French Ambassador Choiseul, who hated the Jesuits, said of him : ' Il n'a pas le sens le plus commun ; il ne peut pas arranger deux idées ensemble.'

try by every means in their power to stir us up to jumping the ditch, having first made up their minds to leave us in the lurch as usual, should any trouble ensue from our action. . . . It was not yesterday that we were born and learned to recognize the wool of our sheep.[1]

The next letter of Pope Benedict to Cardinal de Tencin contains a highly instructive passage about Bellarmine's *Autobiography*:

29 *August* 1753: Our predecessor as Promoter of the Faith, Mgr. Bottini, learned of the existence of the [*Autobiography*] and desired that it should be produced. In accordance with the duties of his office he passed some criticisms on it, taxing the Servant of God with a species of vainglory, and with having imprudently inserted in the record of his life certain matters that ought to have been kept secret. All these objections were embodied in the *votum* of Cardinal Azzolini, to which the postulators have answered with complete satisfaction, though Cardinal Passionei was not content. Up to that point all was legitimate and above board, but the manuscript life of the Servant of God was afterwards printed secretly at Florence, together with Cardinal Passionei's reflections on it, and the complete work was then made public. . . . We do not wish to become involved in this affair, but we have told the General of the Jesuits in confidence that the delay with the cause was not due to the tittle-tattle [2] of Cardinal Passionei but to the difficult circumstances of the times, and that we believed that we would render a greater service to the cause and to religion by not wishing to throw oil upon the fire. We begged him earnestly to keep what we had told him a close secret because if Cardinal Passionei and his partisans, who up to the present imagine that the delay is due to their writings, discovered that this was not so, they are quite capable of finding means to work up the Parliamentarians into creating trouble at once so as to impede our action, and induce us to take no steps in the future. . . . And now our Cardinal de Tencin knows as much about these matters as we do.

19 *September* 1753: We have read the latest journalistic effusions of the Jansenists against Cardinal Bellarmine.[3] They give out that his beatification is near at hand and that his canonization is assured. According to them, he will be declared a Doctor of the Church. They go over all that he wrote on the authority of the Pope and change it all, drawing from it consequences that certainly never

[1] 'È un pezzo che siamo in questo mondo e che conosciamo la lana delle nostre pecore.'

[2] 'Non viene dalle ciarle. . . .'

[3] *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques ou Mémoires pour servir à la Constitution* 'Unigenitus.' Art. of July 31 and of August 7, 1753. These had been forwarded to the Pope by Cardinal de Tencin.

entered his head nor the head of any sensible man. We have not failed to bring all this to the notice of the interested parties that they may see once and for all that our determination to take no step while, as the saying goes, the bull is in fury, does not deserve to be taxed with superfluous caution or panic terror. . . .

3 *October* 1753: With regard to the cause of Cardinal Bellarmine, . . . our delay is in no way due to the criticisms of his [*Autobiography*], for these had been urged before and were fully refuted and disposed of. As you are well aware the delay is entirely the result of the state of affairs in France. . . .

31 *October* 1753: We read in your letter of the 11th that the Parliament of Normandy has made some remonstrances in which the memory of Cardinal Bellarmine was attacked. We have not seen them and we do not know whether they have reached anybody here. If you have a copy by you, you would oblige us by sending it on. . . .

7 *November* 1753: Having now, thanks to your kindness, seen [the remonstrances], we find them strong, insolent, and devilish.[1] Their venom against Cardinal Bellarmine is unmistakable.

24 *December* 1753: We cannot refrain from speaking to you again about the remonstrances. They are truly infamous and it is impossible to read them without horror. . . .

Meantime the evil-living Count de Stainville, afterwards Duke de Choiseul, came to Rome as French ambassador, armed with special instructions from his government to oppose the cause of Bellarmine. Very soon, Pope Benedict tells de Tencin, he is in league with Passionei and the other *sussurroni* or backbiters of Rome. The Courts of Vienna and Madrid, not, we may presume, out of any particular devotion to Cardinal Bellarmine but simply as a snub to France, were soon clamouring for his beatification, to the intense annoyance of the Pope. Though he sympathized with the 'buoni Padri Gesuiti,' he told de Tencin that he was not going 'to set fire to the four quarters of the globe' on their account.

The next two letters show us the Count de Stainville at work:

2 *October* 1754: We understand that the French Ambassador has orders to oppose the cause of Cardinal Bellarmine. . . . This move on his part will serve only to strengthen the evil designs and excite the tongues and pens of people who have no respect for either God or man. . . .

27 *November* 1754: The Count de Stainville has just returned

[1] 'Indiavolate.'

from a visit to the Cardinal Secretary of State, to whom he spoke against the cause of Cardinal Bellarmine, either because this was part of his instructions, or because our great purveyors of advice put him up to it. The Cardinal answered that he might have spared his pains, that our views about this matter were well known, and that a meeting of the Congregation of Rites was about to be held in our presence for the purpose of discussing the cause of another Servant of God called Bobola, also a Jesuit, who was killed in Poland by the Cossacks many years ago, out of hatred for the faith. Now this congregation implies, according to custom, that the cause of Cardinal Bellarmine will not be resumed.[1]

Choiseul's own account of his visit to the Secretary of State (Cardinal Valenti) is given in the following passage of a letter to his government:

I found an opportunity yesterday of speaking to Cardinal Valenti on the subject of Bellarmine's canonization. This minister gave me the impression of being totally opposed to the project, so all that I had to do was to confirm him in his opposition by explaining to him how much the King was against it. I reminded him of all the difficulties that such a saint would raise in the various parliaments of the Kingdom, and, as I am sufficiently well acquainted with Cardinal Bellarmine's book,[2] I called his attention to the fact that it had been condemned by the Parliament of Paris, during the minority of Louis XIII, and to the strong representations that the first president de Harlay had made to the Queen Regent on that occasion. It is easy to see that the canonization of the author would cause even worse troubles than his book itself. . . .

Cardinal de Tencin's answers to Pope Benedict provide us with the final link in the chain of evidence to prove that it was not Passionei's criticisms or any intrinsic difficulty that prevented the Holy Father from beatifying Bellarmine nearly two hundred years ago, but simply and solely the danger of fresh

[1] The instructions given to the French Ambassador on his departure for Rome were as follows: ' Il paroit depuis quelque tems que le Pape auroit envie de reprendre l'affaire de la canonisation du cardinal Bellarmin. Cette affaire a été jusqu'à présent arrêtée par l'opposition de quelques membres du Sacré-Collège, et entre autres par le voeu ou vote du cardinal Passionei, qui forme un volume de trois cents pages in-folio, et dans lequel ce cardinal met dans le plus grand jour toutes les raisons que doivent exclure des autels le cardinal Bellarmin. Si pendant le cours de l'ambassade du sieur comte de Stainville on tentoit de renouveller cette même affaire, il aura soin de représenter aux ministres de Sa Sainteté qu'il seroit de la prudence de la Cour de Rome de ne pas suivre un sujet qui seroit également critiqué dans les pays catholiques et protestans, et que certainement une pareille canonisation ne seroit jamais reconnue en France.' Maurice Boutry, *Choiseul à Rome*, Lettres et mémoires inédites (1754–1757), pp. xix–xx, 237.

[2] *De Potestate Summi Pontificis*. *Vide supra*, pp. 241–249.

trouble in France, where Gallicans and Jansenists were already doing infinite harm to religion.

31 *May* 1753 : Since your Holiness permits me to open my heart to you completely, I confess that the thought of the resumption of Cardinal Bellarmine's cause in these tumultuous times scares me beyond measure. The vivacity with which this Cardinal upheld opinions contrary to those in favour in this Kingdom of France is calculated to bring the Holy See into new odium, and to draw upon the Church as a whole fresh assaults, which though no more justified than so many others would not for that reason be any the less disastrous.

5 *July* 1753 : The seditious example of the Parliament of Paris is producing its evil fruit more and more in the other parliaments of the kingdom. The bishops are vilified and insulted. Priests who have the cure of souls are unjustly persecuted and forced to take to flight. By the sacrilegious orders of the parliaments the Sacraments are administered to persons publicly known to be unworthy of them, and the authority of the Crown is outraged and trampled under foot in a more horrible fashion every day. . . . The conflagration is already so violent that no amount of caution could be too great to avoid anything that might feed the flames or worse still, increase and spread them. What Pope Benedict XIII had to suffer in connection with the cause of Pope St. Gregory VII is as nothing to what we have reason to fear from men whose one aim is to throw off the yoke of all authority and to cause others to do the same.

9 *August* 1753 : There is not a single Jesuit in the world who desires with greater eagerness than myself to see glorified a Cardinal who did such honour to his Order and to the entire Church by his virtues and labours. But such a desire does not blind me to the true interests of religion which, goodness knows, can well dispense with fresh iniquitous assaults to add to troubles already overwhelming.

18 *October* 1753 : I have read a great part of the *Relatio* of his Lordship, Cardinal Cavalchini. To my mind the whole question is there set forth with marvellous lucidity and in a manner calculated to dissipate all the objections that could possibly be raised against the Servant of God. Cardinal Cavalchini has done himself great credit by this exposition and defence of the cause, following herein the way marked out in that immortal work, *De Beatificatione et Canonizatione Sanctorum*. . . .[1] I end with an expression of my deep sorrow at the deplorable circumstances in which this cause has

[1] It is of interest to know that Cardinal Cavalchini would certainly have succeeded Benedict XIV as Pope but for the opposition of the French Court. One of the reasons for the opposition, and indeed a chief reason, was the Cardinal's splendid effort to procure the beatification of Robert Bellarmine.

become involved, and with an ardent wish that your Holiness may eventually have the joy of bringing it to an end, to the satisfaction of the whole Church, and to the glory of one of her most zealous and learned defenders.[1]

In spite of the clamorous eloquence of Passionei and other critics, and of the threats and hostility of Jansenists, Gallicans and free-masons, Benedict XIV, the greatest authority on such a question the Church has ever known, maintained to the end his conviction that Robert Bellarmine fully deserved the honours of the altar. Before he died he had a document drafted, partly autograph and partly dictated to his amanuensis, in which he expressed his final judgment in the clearest terms and at the same time answered as pointedly as only he knew how all the principal objections against Blessed Robert's sanctity.

7. Pope Benedict died in 1758. Fifteen years later, the intrigues and threats of its enemies forced Clement XIV to suppress the Society of Jesus. Thirteen years after its restoration, Pope Leo XII, by a rescript of 4 February 1827, ordered that the cause of Bellarmine should be resumed in a general meeting of the Congregation of Rites. Preparations were at once begun, and 31 March 1829 was fixed as the date for the meeting, but the Pope died on February 10, thus ending for the time all possibility of further progress. In 1855 Pope Pius IX was approached, but the storms that were to make such a tragedy of that great man's reign were already brewing, and Bellarmine, the warm defender of the temporal rights of the Holy See, was hardly the one to exalt in these circumstances.

Once again in 1890, under Pope Leo XIII, the matter was taken up, but for certain extrinsic reasons, as in the time of Benedict XIV, it was not pursued. Finally, by order of Pope Benedict XV a report on the state of the cause was prepared in 1919. Then, on 28 December 1920, after many discussions and consultations, the Sacred Congregation of Rites issued in the Holy Father's name a decree proclaiming that ' it was proved that the Venerable Servant of God, Robert Bellarmine, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, had practised the theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity, as well as the cardinal virtues of prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance, and all others connected therewith, in a heroic degree.' [2]

[1] The original Italian of these letters of de Tencin is given in *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 1918, vol. IV, pp. 48–55.

[2] This decree is given as an appendix to the present volume, pp. 481–485.

One clause of this document is particularly instructive. After alluding to the ' machinations ' by which the successful issue of the cause was frustrated in the time of Benedict XIV, it continues :

> In truth, it was not only the enemies of the Catholic Church, but also men of corrupt and prejudiced views, who through the long vicissitudes of centuries threatened to ruin the cause of the beatification of God's servant, Bellarmine, doubtless having their minds fixed rather on that nurse of sound and solid doctrine, the most worthy Society of Jesus, than on Bellarmine alone, her great alumnus of whom she is so justifiably proud.[1]

How true the suggestion put forward in this passage was became quickly evident. Most of the reasons against Bellarmine's beatification that had inspired the onslaughts of Gallicans and Jansenists in the past were out-of-date in the second and third decades of the twentieth century, yet a secret campaign, no whit less virulent than those of old, was organized only a few years back with the special object of preventing the further progress of Bellarmine's cause. It is not our purpose to describe the tactics of the group of malcontents who directed the operations. They set up presses of their own in Rome and Paris and from these issued tract after tract in denunciation of the Jesuits in general and Bellarmine in particular. In spite of their nauseating professions of loyalty to the Holy See, none of their effusions bore any mark of ecclesiastical sanction and many of them were forbidden by decrees of the Holy Office. Lacking the courage to fight in the open, the authors concealed their identity under the notorious collective pseudonym, *I. de Recalde*, and thus protected felt it safe to deluge the provincial seminaries of Italy and other countries with hand-bills containing virulent attacks on the Society of Jesus.[2]

In spite of all these efforts, however, and in spite of such belated attempts to override the solemn decision of the Holy See as that of Mgr. Baumgarten,[3] the cause went from triumph to triumph, until on 13 May 1923, Pope Pius XI made the following solemn pronouncement : ' We, by our Apostolic authority, in virtue of these presents declare it lawful that the

[1] *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, vol. XIII, 1921, p. 24.
[2] Cf. *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 7 July 1923, pp. 46–48.
[3] His attack on Bellarmine was published, as already noted, two years after the issue of the decree proclaiming the heroism of his virtues.

Venerable Servant of God, Robert Bellarmine, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, be henceforth called Blessed and that his body and relics be offered for the public veneration of the faithful. . . . Moreover, by the authority vested in Us we concede and grant permission for the celebration of Office and Mass in his honour . . . according to the rubrics of the Missal and the Roman Breviary. . . .'[1]

Up to the very eve of the beatification its opponents continued their feverish activities. On May 12 rumours were spread that it had been postponed, but when the following day dawned even those best acquainted with the enthusiasm of the Roman people were astonished at the vastness of the crowds that moved towards St. Peter's. As a rule, only two Cardinals assist at the beatification ceremonies, the Prefect of the Congregation of Rites and the man who has had charge of the cause. It is pleasant to know that this latter service was done for Blessed Robert by His Eminence Cardinal Gasquet. Besides him, there were seventeen other Cardinals present at the beatification, as well as great numbers of Archbishops, Bishops, and Prelates of every description. At half-past nine the decree proclaiming the Cardinal Blessed was read, from which those present, who could understand Latin, learned that the previous decree declaring that it was safe to proceed with the cause had been issued in accordance with the *unanimous* advice of the members and consultors of the Congregation of Rites.

The reading done, Cardinal Merry del Val solemnly intoned the *Te Deum*, whereupon a veil was drawn aside and Blessed Robert's picture, with a nimbus round his head, was revealed in a blaze of lights. Then followed the chanting of the new *Beato's* prayer, and the celebration of Pontifical Mass. In the afternoon the Holy Father came in solemn procession through a vast, cheering crowd that packed every inch of the great basilica, to venerate the relics of the man who had laboured so devotedly for the Holy See.

Following on the beatification, sanction had been obtained to transfer Blessed Robert's relics from the Gesù, where they had rested since his death, to the Church of St. Ignatius, in which is the shrine of his ' ghostly child ' Aloysius Gonzaga. The Jesuit authorities had fixed the date of the translation for the following November, but Pope Pius XI expressed a

[1] *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, vol. xv, 1923, p. 274. The full text is given in the appendices to this volume, pp. 497–503.

SOME SCENES DURING THE TRANSLATION OF THE RELICS OF BLESSED ROBERT BELLARMINE FROM THE GESU TO THE CHURCH OF ST. IGNATIUS, ROME, 21 JUNE, 1923.

Thus at last, according to his dearest wish, was Blessed Robert's body laid at the feet of his 'ghostly child,' St. Aloysius. The first picture shows his Eminence Cardinal Ehrle (the figure in biretta immediately behind the casket) and Very Reverend Father Wlodimirus Ledóchowski, General of the Society of Jesus (the first figure on left in surplice, holding a candle). The second shows some flag and banner-bearing students in the procession, passing the Collegio Romano. The bells of this famous Institution, which owed so much of its glory to Blessed Robert's labours, were rung for the first time since 1870 (when the College was sequestrated by the Italian Government) as the procession filed slowly by. The third picture shows the procession arriving at the Church of St. Ignatius, in which Blessed Robert's 'ghostly child,' St. Aloysius, has his shrine, and the fourth shows seventeen Cardinals waiting on the steps of the Church to receive the sacred remains.

wish in the middle of June that the ceremony should take place on the feast of St. Aloysius, June 21. That left just five days in which to make all the necessary preparations, when five months would scarcely have been sufficient. It was not found possible in the time to send out special invitations to the various religious organizations of the Eternal City, and the men in charge had to be content with a short announcement in the newspapers, almost on the eve of the ceremony. The result of the few lines, however, was that all Rome came out of doors to do Blessed Robert homage. The procession was dignified by the presence of forty groups of students from the various Catholic Universities, as well as large contingents from thirty-eight seminaries and eleven religious orders. Practically all the regular and secular clergy of the City itself took part, and the most distinguished Roman families helped to augment the pomp by sending their younger members decked out in the gay fashions of the seventeenth century. The military were there too, and the boy-scouts, an organization that would have delighted Blessed Robert, strenuously but vainly endeavoured to make their drums and bugles heard above the cheers of the watching multitudes. From the brightly tapestried windows along the route flower petals fluttered down on the casket as it passed, a fragrant and fitting tribute to the stilled heart for which the beauty of the world had been like an eighth sacrament. At the Church of St. Ignatius seventeen Cardinals were waiting to receive the sacred remains. Behind them, affixed to the doors of the Church, was a board bearing a welcome to Blessed Robert from his 'ghostly child', St. Aloysius, to whose feet he was thus brought at last, according to the humble and earnest desire he had expressed more than three centuries before.

On the day after the translation of his relics, 22 June 1923, the Holy See's official organ, the *Osservatore Romano*, associated Bellarmine with St. Francis de Sales and St. Alphonsus Liguori as one of the three great 'masters in Catholicism of modern times.' This book will not have been in vain if it has helped its readers in however stumbling a way to appreciate the justice of that tribute. Blessed Robert's learned folios may now be only unconsidered pensioners in the library, but the history of the Catholic Church is different because he wrote them. His labours are incorporated in her life, and his dear undated self with the 'countenance not very grave' has a

message for her children each spring when his feast comes round until the end of the world : ' *Carissimi*, love is a very wonderful and heavenly thing. In its dictionary you will hunt in vain for the word " impossible." '

APPENDICES

I

S. Congregatio Rituum

ROMANA

BEATIFICATIONIS ET CANONIZATIONIS VEN. SERVI DEI

ROBERTI S. R. E. CARDINALIS BELLARMINO

Societatis Iesu

SUPER DUBIO :

An constet de virtutibus theologalibus, Fide, Spe et Caritate in Deum et Proximum, nec non de cardinalibus, Prudentia, Iustitia, Fortitudine et Temperantia earumque adnexis, in gradu heroico, in casu et ad effectum, de quo agitur?

Quis fuerit venerabilis Dei Servus Robertus S. R. E. Cardinalis Bellarmino, quantis fulserit exornatus virtutibus, qua scientia praestiterit ac doctrina, paucis complecti difficillimum sane est opus ; ex iis tamen, quae pretiosum eiusdem proxime antecesserunt, comitata et subsecuta sunt obitum, arguere saltem licet atque adumbrare. Cuncta siquidem, quae hoc de loco distincte copioseque descripta reperiuntur in actis, qui animo reputaverit complexusque cogitatione fuerit, is profecto facere non poterit, quin ipsius venerabilis Dei Famuli vitam, actiones gestasque res absolutissimo quodam intueatur compendio, reflexoque veluti lumine fidelem quoque venerabilis Viri contempletur imaginem, eximiam morum sanctitatem praestantemque doctrinam arctissimo sociatas foedere, prae se ferentem, simulque confirmatam agnoscat Benedicti XIV sententiam, magnum constituentis in obitu Servorum Dei momentum, si quidem *finis vitae illustris sit et sanctimonia plenus et publica praesertim testificatione notatus ;* reique hanc afferentis rationem : *quum, uti dici solet, exitus acta probet* (lib. III, cap. 38).

Nil proinde mirum, si, nulla fere interiecta mora, admota fuerit manus ad iuridicas colligendas probationes, quarum ope

introductio obtenta est causae Beatificationis, brevique patuerit etiam aditus praecipuae, quae de virtutibus est, quaestioni ; de iis namque, quum per illud tempus antepraeparatoria in usu nondum esset Congregatio, in praeparatoria primum actum est Congregatione, quae die septima septembris mensis anni millesimi sexcentesimi septuagesimi quinti habita fuit.

Verumtamen, quae huc usque tam prospere expediteque processerat Servi Dei ROBERTI S. R. E. Cardinalis BELLARMINO Beatificationis causa, vix atque ad generalem deducta est Congregationem, quae coram sa. me. venerabili Innocentio Papa XI, die vigesima sexta septembris anni millesimi sexcentesimi septuagesimi septimi, coacta fuit, cito incidit in scopulos, et magnas subinde experiri coepit repugnantias ; easque nequaquam ex eo esse repetendas, quod heroicae venerabilis BELLARMINO virtutes uberibus idoneisque communitae non essent probationibus, sed longe aliis de causis suum duxisse ortum, vel ipsae suadebant, quas ad nocendum adhibitas fuisse constat, machinationes, cum, non multos ante annos, publici iuris quaedam magni pretii facta sunt documenta, quae ipsum Benedictum Papam XIV suum habent auctorem, e quibus, quodnam laudati Summi Pontificis, circa christianas a venerabili BELLARMINO heroico gradu exercitas virtutes, *iuxta acta et probata*, exstiterit iudicium, ab eoque rite promulgando curnam ille abstinuerit, satis superque innotescit.

Revera, nedum Ecclesiae catholicae hostes, verum et corruptae praeiudicataeque opinionis homines, qui, longo varioque saeculorum cursu, Servi Dei BELLARMINO Beatificationis causam perdere sunt minitati, potius quam unum BELLARMINO, ipsam solidae sanaeque doctrinae altricem, benemerentissimam Societatem Iesu, quae iure meritoque tanto gloriatur alumno, procul dubio spectarunt. Audaciores proinde effecti eo, quem sub venerabili Innocentio Papa XI sortiti fuerant, successu, celebre quoddam contrarium evulgando Votum, severissima etsi secreti lege contectum, illud prorsus latere debuisset, eadem sub Benedicto Papa XIV vaferrima renovarunt molimina, utque facilius extremum inclitae Societatis Iesu maturarent exitium, quae in binis praegressis generalibus Congregationibus lata fuerant, typis cusa, in vulgus spargenda curarunt negativa suffragia. Quae tamen hoc praecipuo capitalique inficiuntur vitio ; quod videlicet, quavis posthabita positiva heroicarum virtutum demonstratione, tota fere sunt in recensendis, quos eorum auctoribus in venerabili BELLARMINO deprehendere visum est, defectibus ; ideoque diversam ab ea,

cunctis in disceptationibus servanda, sectantur methodum, quae, recenti hae aetate, non mediocri cum veritatis detrimento, a nonnullis, quo minus manifestis, eo nocentioribus, instaurata fuit. Hi porro quum probe calleant, post institutae quaestionis valide strenueque confectam demonstrationem, nonnisi postremo loco ad difficultatum, si quae contra facere videantur, solutionem descendere, idem profecto esse, atque difficultates ipsas enervatas fermeque dilutas reperire, ad eam artem callidam sane saepe confugiunt, ut, sueto interverso perturbatoque ordine, difficultatem in thesim et thesim in difficultatem immutare non vereantur.

Equidem, ut, unde est exorsus, eo revertatur sermo, quibus opus, suo tempore, fuerat, elementa ad necessariam apparandam et accurandam de heroicis venerabilis BELLARMINO virtutibus probationem, neque pauca numero neque exiguae molis volumina continent, sive manuscripta, sive typis impressa ; eaque in duobus vetustis sacrae rituum Congregationis et Postulationis Societatis Iesu delitescunt tabulariis, ad quae, ceu pro religiosa archivorum custodia sapienter conditae postulant leges, interdictus est aditus, et, quibusdam dumtaxat exstantibus conditionibus, accedere vix licet ad consulendum. Contra, opusculum, quod cuncta complectitur adversa Causae BELLARMINO suffragia, venale prostabat et prostat adhuc ; illud idcirco haud paucorum versatum est in manibus, quorum nonnulli, sicut valde proclive est coniicere, avide cupideque ipsum lectitarunt. Nec fortasse defuit, qui ex unis difficultatibus, quae inibi mira quadam arte ac industria percensentur, universa tamen seposita Servi Dei vita, quodque gravius, incompertis omnino peculiaribus eiusdem Famuli Dei virtutibus, ad quas propositae referentur difficultates, iam in promptu omnia se habere sit arbitratus, quibus eamdem dignosceret iustoque pretio existimaret venerabilis BELLARMINO Causam. Ast vehementer hac opinione sua falsus utique ille fuisset, prout insigniter falleretur, qui, ardua quadam oborta contraversia, eam, praecisione facta a supremis principiis, quae subiectam, de qua agitur, materiam regunt et moderantur, se certo ac tuto dirempturum speraret.

Quibus ex omnibus non difficile explicatu est, qui factum sit, ut perdiu vehementerque exspectatum ad haec usque tempora suum adepta non fuerit exitum de heroicis venerabilis BELLARMINO virtutibus Causa, donec Sanctissimus Dominus noster BENEDICTUS Papa XV, inde fere a Sui pontificatus exordio, Suos in eam convertit oculos. Quamvis autem e Sibi satis explorata

vicissitudinum historia, quibus obnoxia facta fuit de venerabilis BELLARMINO virtutibus quaestio, iamdiu a Decessore Suo Benedicto Papa XIV quaestionem ipsam pro diiudicata ac definita haberi posse censeret, nihilominus, ut, magis quo fieri posset, singulari prospiceret Causae dignitati, Reverendissimorum Cardinalium sacris tuendis ritibus praepositorum, cum interventu et voto Praesulum Officialium, praehabere voluit consultationem. Utque haec nedum extrinseca auctoritate, sed factis inniteretur nec non vi et pondere argumentorum, quae accommodata essent ad persuadendum, eadem, qua nuper memoratum immortalis memoriae Praedecessorem Suum Benedictum Papam XIV in hac ipsa de venerabilis BELLARMINO virtutibus Causa usum fuisse noverat, ducisse regique praetulit norma. Eapropter, dum R. P. Fidei Promotori generali hoc dedit negotium, ut obiectivam de statu Causae texeret relationem, auctor insimul exstitit, ut actores quaecumque, sive pro sive contra facere possent, proferrent in medium. Providae iussioni, uti par erat, obsequenter paruerunt et R. P. Fidei Promotor generalis, qua peritia praestat ac sedulitate, obiectiva de statu Causae confecta relatione ; et solertes actuosique actores, edito exhibitoque volumine, quod duabus constat partibus. Quarum una R. P. Pauli Dudon, e Societate Iesu, affabre elaborata lucubratio est, qua singulas cernere datur totius Causae phases praeclaris cum eiusdem meritis coniunctas. Altera perfectum sane est opus numerisque omnibus absolutum, a Cardinali Carolo Alberto Cavalchini concinnatum, eidem, tamquam causae Relatori, a Benedicto Papa XIV commissum, quo cuncta, quae, tam ex adverso quam pro efficaci Causae tuitione illuc usque adducta utrinque fuerant, optime, perite ornateque resumuntur. Adiectae tres succedunt appendices, quarum prima Commentariolum exterioris vitae suae a venerabili BELLARMINO conscriptum exhibet, secunda ac tertia satis notum cum suis additamentis Cardinalis Dominici Passionei sub aspectum ponunt Votum, quod, utpote aetate posterius, alia tria, in generali iam Congregatione coram venerabili Innocentio Papa XI emissa, veluti summa, complet atque perficit.

Ita ad novissimum sibi propositum certamen de heroicis venerabilis BELLARMINO virtutibus Causa accessit ; et quam apte quamque valide parata et instructa accesserit, mirifice comprobavit eventus. In ordinariis quippe sacri huius Ordinis comitiis, quae, die decima sexta superioris mensis novembris, celebrata sunt, referente Reverendissimo Cardinali, causae

Ponente, Aidano Gasquet, omnibus, qui convenerant, tum Reverendissimis Cardinalibus, tum Praesulibus Officialibus, haec una eademque sententia fuit; nimirum, ita discussas fuisse et comprobatas heroicas venerabilis Servi Dei ROBERTI S. R. E. Cardinalis BELLARMINO virtutes, ut procedi possit ad ulteriora in casu, et ad effectum, de quo agitur. Sanctitas vero Sua, audita relatione per infrascriptum Cardinalem sacrae rituum Congregationi Praefectum, supremum iudicium Suum de more prorogandum duxit, ut, communibus interim fusis Deo precibus, congruum suppeteret tempus ad caeleste lumen implorandum. Quod quidem praestitum quum fuerit, decretoriam sententiam Suam pronuntiare statuit hodierna auspicatissima die, quae Suae ordinationis sacerdotalis et episcopalis consecrationis anniversaria est. Quapropter, sacris pientissime operatus, ad Vaticanas Aedes arcessiri iussit Reverendissimos Cardinales Antonium Vico, Episcopum Portuensem et S. Rufinae, sacrae rituum Congregationi Praefectum, et Aidanum Gasquet, causae Relatorem, una cum R. P. Angelo Mariani, Fidei Promotore generali, meque insimul infrascripto Secretario, eisque adstantibus, solemniter edixit: *Constare de virtutibus theologalibus, Fide, Spe et Caritate in Deum et Proximum, nec non de cardinalibus, Prudentia, Iustitia, Fortitudine et Temperantia earumque adnexis venerabilis Servi Dei* ROBERTI, *S. R. E. Cardinalis* BELLARMINO, *in gradu heroico, in casu et ad effectum, de quo agitur.*

Hoc Decretum publici iuris fieri et in acta sacrae rituum Congregationis referri mandavit pridie undecimo calendas ianuarias anno MCMXX.

L. ✠ S.

A Card. VICO Ep. Portuen. et S. Rufinae, *S. R. C. Praef.*

ALEXANDER VERDE *Secr.*[1]

[1] *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, vol. XIII, 1921, pp. 23–27.

II

RESPONSUM BENEDICTI PAPAE XV

Responsum Summi Pontificis, Benedicti Papae XV, ad orationem Wlodimiri Ledóchowski, Praepositi Generalis Societatis Jesu, cum decretum promulgaretur de virtutibus heroicis Ven. Servi Dei Roberti Bellarmino.

Hodie, si quando unquam, clare intelligimus nihil aliud Nos esse nisi instrumentum, quo Dei manus utitur. Quamquam, cum saepius iam in Nostro haud diuturno Pontificatu decreta de beatificatione vel canonizatione Servorum Dei promulganda Nobis fuerint, semper Deo Optimo Maximo honorem omnem referre voluimus, qui inde oriri posset, fatemur tamen Nos aliquando sancte delectatos esse ea quacumque, etsi minima parte, quam in praeparandis decretis de virtutibus alicuius Servi Dei vel in recognoscendis miraculis habueramus. Hoc vero decretum, quo Ven.is Roberti Bellarmino virtutes heroicae renuntiantur, aliud non affert quam discussiones et studia iam inde ab anno 1753 perfecta. Benedictus XIV edere id potuerat: Decimus Quintus proinde nullum in eo meritum sibi potest vindicare.

Sed neque promulgatio hodie facta decretum de virtutibus Ven.is Bellarmino Nostrum reddidit. Ille enim Pontifex qui, paulo post Congregationem die 5 maii 1753 habitam, Cardinali Archiepiscopo Lugdunensi scribebat: ' Non ignoramus quid faciendum iustitia ipsa postulet,' satis clare significavit iudicium virtutes Ven.is Bellarmino fuisse heroicas, sibi videri certissimum atque ' absolutum,' ' condicionatum ' vero esse tantum suum propositum illud renuntiandi. Quaenam autem condicio fuerit a Benedicto XIV suo voto complendo apposita, manifeste apparet ex nonnullis eius litteris nuperrime ad diligentissimum examen revocatis. Itaque interrogavimus consiliarios peritos, num ' temporum mutatio ' a Decessore Nostro requisita fortasse iam facta esset, et quoniam Cardinales Nostrae Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis id concordi consensu affirmaverunt, propositum conditionatum Benedicti XIV iam transiisse in absolutum Nobis visum est. Atqui hanc muta-

tionem agnoscere aliud non est, nisi de facto aliquo historico iudicare ; et eo solo quod illorum temporum historiam consideramus atque scrutamur, non creamus facta, e quibus ipsa constat. Quisnam ergo non fatebitur Nobiscum, in decreto de virtutibus heroicis Ven.is Bellarmino hodie prolato ne tenuem quidem illam meriti partem Nos habere, quae in similibus casibus operae Nostrae tribui potuerit ?

At si nihil Nos nisi Dei instrumentum esse maxime hodie sentimus, non possumus tamen non laetari de novo honore, quem Deus per Nos inclitae Societati Iesu concedit ; nec minus Nos delectat pulcherrimum novum exemplum virtutis, quod Deus clericorum et laicorum imitationi proponit hisce temporibus, quibus et hi et illi ad officia sua rite explenda fortibus efficacibusque incitamentis egent.

Profecto non multis explicandum Nobis est, quantum honoris ex hoc decreto accrescat Societati Iesu, cuius filius eximius Bellarmino fuit. Merito mater tanto filio gaudet, minus quod Ecclesiae principum purpura, quam quod virtutibus heroicis ornatus fuerit. Nam romanae purpurae splendor aequalium quidem oculos in eum convertere potuit ; virtutes vero heroicae posterorum ei, immo aeternitatis laudes comparabunt.

Praetermittendum porro non est, honori, qui ex decreto virtutes Ven.is Bellarmino heroicas renuntiante in Societatem Iesu redundat, praecipuum quoddam inesse : et praemium simul est et incitamentum duplicis illius actionis et vitae modi, quae propriam Societatis naturam et rationem constituunt. S. Ignatii filiis enim aut apostolatus aut magisterii via ineunda est, et fortunatus ille cui utramque ingredi conceditur ! Quisnam autem magis in utraque excelluit quam Robertus Bellarmino ? O si antiqui Collegii Romani responderent parietes ! Testarentur, Bellarmino se vidisse in scholis doctorem praestantissimum et in templo animarum moderatorem studiosissimum. Sed satis domestica Societatis historia, satis testimonia loquuntur in Nostrae Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis tabulario asservata ; omnia una voce declarant, Bellarmino virtutem mirabili quodam modo scientiam et pietatem coniunxisse.

Non temere igitur contendimus, decretum nunc editum magnum Ordini conferre honorem, cuius socius Bellarmino fuit : cum enim propriam eius rationem commendat, demonstrat per ipsam ad sanctitatem patere facilem ascensum. Et quoniam haec honoris significatio talis est, quae natura sua praesentes atque futuros Societatis filios ad beatissimi fratris

imitationem excitatura sit, addere licet eodem decreto S. Ignatii familiae afferri dignitatem, quae posterioris quoque gloriae quasi principium et semen est.

Aliam etiam laetitiae causam in huius decreti promulgatione percipimus, cum nos alliciat ad considerandum splendorem novi exemplaris, quod Deus clericis et laicis imitandum proponit. Non defuerint qui mirentur, saecularium quoque aemulationi assignari vitam viri religiosi, qui, etsi bis mutavit colorem togae, toga tamen semper vestiebatur. Aliis verbis : tam multa et varia sunt munera sacra a Bellarmino suscepta, ut omnes facile sibi persuadeant nullum clericum esse, cui non possit ac debeat exemplo et imitationi esse Servus Dei, cuius virtutes hodie declaratae sunt heroicae. Facile enim concedunt, Religiosis imitandas esse fidem ac pietatem, quibus humilis S. Ignatii filius, magistris scientiae studium, quo doctissimus Collegii Romani professor excelluit ; concedunt confessariis imitandam esse prudentiam sapientissimi illius animarum directoris, qui vel in S. Aloisio Gonzaga ardori poenitentiae moderabatur ; concedunt Episcopis imitandam esse curam Dei gloriae animarumque salutis procurandae, qua Bellarmino Ecclesiam Capuanam gubernans afficiebatur, et eos qui excelsa Cardinalatus dignitate ornantur, exprimere debere diligentiam, fidelitatem, in primis vero rectam animi intentionem quibus Bellarmino consiliis atque laboribus Sacrarum Congregationum interfuit. At multi non ita facile percipient, etiam laicis virtutes Bellarmino imitandas proponi posse.

Qui alterius virtutes imitari intendit, non necesse est in iisdem omnino adiunctis loci temporumque sit atque ille, cuius vestigia est secuturus, sed, dummodo discipulus animo et menti magistri se totum assimilet, quae ab ipso aetate et loco diverso diverso modo peraguntur, ex iisdem tamen consiliis eademque schola merito dicuntur emanare. Cum autem diximus, Nostro decreto exhiberi virtutis exemplar tam laicis quam clericis imitandum, non temere significavimus quam opportune nostris aequalibus ipsis haec vita proponeretur.

Praetermittamus igitur praecepta e virtutum Ven.[is] Bellarmino consideratione facile haurienda, quae fidelibus omnibus maximo usui esse possunt ad vitam privatam et publicam recte ordinandam ; velut quod Ecclesiae Princeps non tantam reliquit pecuniam, qua sumptus iusti funeris solverentur, praeclare nos docet, quo loco bona terrestria habenda sint. Nam cum diximus eius exempla etiam laicis maxime opportune ad

imitandum proponi, imprimis in oculis Nobis erat una ex praecipuis huius aetatis necessitas.

Quandoquidem enim hodie doctrinae pravae longe lateque disperguntur et ab Ecclesiae inimicis ubique insidiae struuntur incautis praesertim adolescentium animis, ut iis fides, nobilissima illa patrum haereditas, eripiatur, nunc si unquam alias ante necesse est numerum eorum qui veritatem catholicam strenue defendant, augeri et multiplicari. Quoties Nobis quis loquitur de ea quae nunc maxime urget necessitate *Actionis catholicae* promovendae, toties menti Nostrae haec unica id obtinendi ratio offertur : formatio phalangis cuiusdam *Propagandistarum* catholicae veritatis. Animos advertamus ad incredibilem illam industriam, qua iniquitatis magistri in urbibus maioribus laborant et facile intelligemus quam necessarium sit scholae scholam, actis diurnis et periodicis adversariorum eorumque concionibus popularibus nostra opponere ut pro viribus impediatur, quominus errorum virus inter homines excultos propagetur. Animo horremus quod etiam homines rustici, imo ii ipsi qui incolunt iuga ad quae fere aditus non est, exponuntur periculo fidei amittendae, cum errorum disseminatores ad regiones remotissimas atque reconditas penetrare non dubitent, ut venenum suum, haud raro in vasis aureis, hominibus incautis, porrigant. Quorum imprudentia abutentes saepissime non tam eloquentia ac bene ordinato sermone quam maiore lucro maioribusque vitae commoditatibus fallaciter promissis eos permovere student, ut novis magistris plausum dent eosque sequantur. Repelli ergo debent pessimi isti homines ; phalanx quaedam *Propagandistarum* catholicorum exsurgat oportet in urbibus et agris ad damna ingentia, quae in agros et urbes errorum atque impietatis assertores inferunt, resarcienda atque adeo praevertenda.

Atqui *Propagandistae* catholici exemplo egent ; iamvero quod aliud unquam Bellarmino aptius atque efficacius iis praeberi poterit ? En cur dixerimus decreto, quo hodie Bellarmino virtutes heroicae proclamatae sunt, peropportune Principem controversiarum proponi etiam laicorum imitationi. Non licet laicis doctrinae catholicae propagandae et imprimis errorum refellendorum munus in se suscipere, antequam plane edocti sunt, quo fundamento dogma innitatur, quo usque porrigatur, quomodo in usum recte deduci possit. A quonam autem melius quam a Bellarmino securam doctrinam hauriant ? Laici aeque ac clerici cum veritatis defendendae studio vitam bonam coniungere debent, ne aliud dicere aliud facere videantur

neve docentium vis atque auctoritas imminuatur. Iam commemoravimus in Bellarmino doctrinam semper cum pietate egregie consociatam fuisse : doctissimus magister ille erat, sed idem pius religiosus ; studia ardenter coluit, sed simul progressus in virtutibus curabat non solum in aliis, verum etiam in seipso ita ut de eo dici possit quod in Actibus Apostolorum de divino magistro refertur : ' coepit Iesus facere et docere.' [1] Omnes igitur animi ingeniique dotes quibus *Propagandistam*, ornatum esse decet, facile reperiuntur in Servo Dei, cuius virtutes hodie declaratae sunt heroicae. Nonne igitur recte diximus promulgatione huius decreti animum Nostrum gaudio esse affectum, quia in ipso Deus et clericis et laicis exemplum proponit, cuius imitatio nostris temporibus est maxime accommodata ?

Hic autem in memoriam reducere iuvat Benedictum XIV in epistola, qua die 19 septembris 1753 Cardinalem de Tencin certiorem reddebat se decretum de virtutibus Bellarmino non nisi mutatis temporibus esse editurum, adiunxisse promulgationem postea faciendam constitutum iri non solum in vitae Servi Dei innocentia atque virtutibus, sed etiam in laboribus magnis ab ipso ad convincendos haereticos susceptis. Quae verba clare demonstrant Benedictum XIV praevidisse rationem veritatis defendendae a Bellarmino adhibitam in posterum quoque retinendam esse eundemque aptissime proponi posse exemplar iis, qui ipsius studia prosecuturi essent.

Liceat igitur Nobis spem concipere hodie non frustra tam perfectum exemplum *Propagandistis* catholicis esse propositum. Quorum cum numerum tum efficientiam augeri vehementer cupimus. Id quod futurum est, si Bellarmino imitantes diligenti hauriendae e puro fonte veritatis studio se praeparaverint ad munus summum suscipiendum ; si in eo obeundo sicut Bellarmino doctrinam virtutum exemplis confirmare studebunt ; si Bellarmino vestigia sequentes in conspectu Dei ambulabunt et ad inimicos vincendos magis humilis orationis quam eloquentiae efficacitati confident.

Hanc nostram exspectationem Deus explere dignetur et Ipse benedicat omnibus, qui una cum Nobis firma spe credunt promulgationem decreti de virtutibus Bellarmino ad maximam Ecclesiae utilitatem factam esse.

Benedicat Deus dignissimo Praeposito Generali inclitae Societatis Iesu totique Ordini, quem prudenter gubernat ; accendat in omnium St. Ignatii filiorum animis ardens studium

[1] *Act. Ap.* I, 1.

imitandi virtutes heroicas Venerabilis Fratris. At sicut Ignatianae ita Deus benedicat ei quoque maiori familiae, quae nostrae curae commissa est. Huic, quae e clericis et laicis constat, hodie Dei nomine proponimus novum atque summum virtutis exemplar. Quod imitari omnibus curae sit, velimus, ut virtus colatur et fides catholica defendatur eo modo quo hanc strenue defendebat, illam heroice colebat Ven.[is] Bellarmino.

III

Decernitur constare de duobus miraculis propositis ad Beatificationem Ven. Servi Dei Roberti S. R. E. Cardinalis Bellarmino obtinendam.

S. Congregatio Rituum

ROMANA

BEATIFICATIONIS ET CANONIZATIONIS VEN. SERVI DEI

ROBERTI S. R. E. CARDINALIS BELLARMINO

Societatis Iesu

SUPER DUBIO :

An, et de quibus miraculis constet in casu et ad effectum, de quo agitur ?

Si qua umquam exstitit super virtutibus causa, in qua perdiu copioseque fuit disceptatum, haec profecto est venerabilis Servi Dei Roberti S. R. E. Cardinalis Bellarmino Beatificationis causa. Huius namque historiam sinceram et non corruptam si quis paullo altius repetat, variasque sibi in memoriam revocet iustoque pretio aestimet vices, quibus illa longo varioque trium saeculorum spatio obnoxia facta fuit, illuc facili rectoque tramite equidem ille adducitur, ut probe vereque dignoscat, quid tandem sit, cur, nonnisi vix duos ante iam elapsos annos, tamdiu vehementerque exspectatum apostolicum prodierit Decretum, quo rec. me. Benedictus Papa XV praefati venerabilis Dei Famuli Roberti S. R. E. Cardinalis Bellarmino heroicas declaravit sancivitque virtutes. Ista enim, quae tam diuturna tamque insueta praenobili causae huic inlata fuit cunctatio, quaeque eiusdem actorum intercepit cursum, qui prosper non minus quam expeditus inde ab initio processerat, nequaquam cum perspectis et exploratis, quibus causa ipsa intus potitur et ditescit, componi potest praeclaris meritis, eisque immo manifesto repugnat ; ideoque eadem cunctatio ex aliis omnino, longeque generis diversi, quaeque extrinsecus

obvenerunt, repetenda est de industria paratis impedimentis. In quam quidem sententiam eo pronior quis discedit, quo inde a prima lectissimae causae huius propositione, cum videlicet nullum adhuc subrepserat adversae partis studium, in id unum, hoc est heroicas agnoscere et profiteri venerabilis Bellarmino virtutes, mirum in modum iudicia conspirare cernit virorum, in peculiari sacri huius fori disciplina magistrorum, eosque inter, illius, cui obiiciendi commissum erat munus, quique in officio Fidei Promotoris ipsum proxime antecesserat Benedictum Papam XIV, eique nomen Prosper Bottini, Lucensis, Archiepiscopus Myrensis. Hic sane in Congregatione generali super virtutibus venerabilis Bellarmino, anno millesimo sexcentesimo septuagesimo septimo, coram sa. me. venerabili Innocentio Papa XI, hoc suum promebat votum :

' Ex Divini Spiritus testificatione Beatus dicitur vir, ad quem exornandum tres caelestis animi dotes conspirant, videlicet, ut inventus sit sine macula, post aurum non abierit, nec speraverit in pecuniae thesauris ; adeoque insolitum et heroicum triplex hoc decus esse statuit Sapiens divinitus afflatus, ut exclamet, correptus admiratione tam eximiae virtutis : " Quis est hic, et laudabimus eum ? fecit enim mirabilia in vita sua." Merito igitur approbandae videntur in gradu heroico virtutes Cardinalis Bellarmini, qui adeo fuit inventus sine macula, ut nec in venialem quidem culpam sponte ac consulto umquam inciderit ; et post aurum certe non abiit, qui non solum in pauperum et Ecclesiae usus illud erogaverit, sed frequenter aes alienum ob id contraxerit, et sacris horis in choro Archiepiscopus quotidie interfuerit, ut suo labore lucraretur proventus pauperibus distribuendos ; nec profecto speravit in pecuniae thesauris, quum sacros honores, a quibus locupletari poterat, nonnisi coactus acceperit, oblatos ecclesiae Capuanae reditus, dum illam dimisit, respuerit, consanguineos in vita non ditaverit, et moriens nihil eis reliquerit, nisi parvam crucem argenteam cum Sanctorum reliquiis, et adeo pauper obierit, ut sine Pontificis auxilio non potuisset ei consuetum funus exhiberi. Quum igitur ex his praerogativis constet abunde concurrisse in Bellarmino illa omnia, quae ad declarandum virum Beatum requirit Sapiens, desiderari profecto non possunt heroica caritas in Deum frequentissimo orandi studio contestata, zelus admirabilis salutis proximorum, quo incensus egregie pro Ecclesia, praesertim in haereticos et voce et scriptis pugnavit, demissio animi, mansuetudo, contemptus omnis perituraе felicitatis, et spes unice in Deum fixa, aliaeque vir-

tutes, quas in illo, praeter multos testes iuratos, admirati sunt tot insignes probitate et sapientia S. R. E. Cardinales.' Aliisque additis, suffragio suo finem imponebat gravissimis hisce verbis, ' Quamobrem, Beatissime Pater, quum egregie soluta videantur, quae contra Ven. Servum Dei ex munere meo obieci, in praesentia pro veritate sententiam proferre iussus, censeo plene constare de ipsius virtutibus tam theologalibus quam cardinalibus in gradu heroico.' (*Posit. sup. Virtut.*, vol. I, pp. 44–45).

Hactenus Prosper Bottini, Fidei Promotor, cuius in animo ideo tam firma, ceu nuper videre fuit, de venerabilis Bellarmino virtutibus insederat opinio ; quippe in eisdem processibus, quos pro fideli et vigili crediti sibi muneris perfunctione versatus lustratusque ille fuerat, una simul cum virtutibus narrata quoque et descripta adinvenerat miracula, quae, precibus et meritis Servi sui Roberti Bellarmino, et statim fere post pretiosum illius obitum, patraverat Deus, quibusque ab eo heroice exercitas, ratas habere et confirmare dignatus fuerat virtutes. Et revera, Prosperum Bottini, Fidei Promotorem, hac sua opinione minime fefellisse seipsum, hodiernus felix faustusque commonstrat exitus. Binae siquidem, quae ad cognoscendum propositae fuerunt sanationes, vetustae sane sunt, quin tamen praefato ex capite aliquid detrimenti capere illae queant. Etenim, si iuridica vis spectetur, probationes, quibus utuntur actores, utpote quae opportuno tempore collectae necessariis se praebent instructas praesidiis, quae, cum de probandis miraculis agitatur quaestio, conditae deposcunt leges. Quod si ab iuris praescripto ad intimam perpendendam rei substantiam convertatur animus, melior procul dubio harum sanationum in conspectum nunc se prodit conditio atque tunc erat, cum sequutae illae fuerunt ; quandoquidem iudicium, quod, tribus abhinc ferme saeculis, circa praeternaturalem utriusque facti qualitatem, ediderant, riteque postmodum in apostolico processu auditi et excussi ample diserteque testati fuerant medicus et chirurgus, qui sive puerulo Ignatio De Lazzaris sive piae mulieri Arsiliae Altissimi a curatione exstiterant, plenam atque sollemnem sui nanciscitur confirmationem in iudicio, quod plane conforme hodierni artis salutaris periti viri a sacro hoc Ordine adlecti, cunctis prius sedulo perpensis et consideratis, sibi ferendum esse pro sua scientia et conscientia muneris sui esse duxerunt.

Quapropter, sicut exspectandum et necessarium profecto erat, hae sanationes binae, vetustati ereptae, et recentioris scientiae lumine illustratae, vindicatae et firmatae, tamquam veri

nominis prodigio effectae, ulla sine difficultate habitae sunt et haberi debebant ab imperitis quoque et medicarum rerum ignaris hominibus, quippe quos nullo sane pacto fugere poterat, numquam fieri posse, ut, quemadmodum utroque in casu disceptationi subiecto, post exoratum venerabilis Bellarmino patrocinium, evenisse ex actis et probatis constat, una simul sint duo haec : ' organicus nempe morbus ' et ' organici morbi instantanea et perfecta sanatio.' Quominus enim hoc accidat, indubitanter obstant naturae creatae vires, quas eidem constituit et praefinivit naturae auctor Deus. Natura siquidem, ut sciunt omnes et ignorare potest nemo, cum de reparandis agitur humani corporis partibus materialiter laesis, etsi artis subsidio adiuta, agere tamen non potest per saltus, sed eidem a suo Creatore praestituti fines, quosque praetergredi ipsa nequit, consentiunt solummodo, ut in hoc suo redintegrationis opere lente, gradatim et pedetentim procedat. Quae sane omnia eiusmodi quum sint, quae iustae nulli obnoxia fieri queant dubitationi, nullumque prudentem et cordatum virum inveniant contradictorem, eorum idcirco vi et potestate omnem exstingui oportuit disceptationem ; antepraeparatoriam proinde et praeparatoriam, quae praecesserant, Congregationes, generalis subsecuta est Congregatio, quae, die decima huius currentis mensis aprilis, coram Sanctissimo Domino nostro Pio Papa XI coacta fuit. In qua a Reverendissimo Cardinali Aidano Gasquet, causae Relatore, sequens ad discutiendum propositum est dubium : *An, et de quibus miraculis constet in casu et ad effectum, de quo agitur ?* Reverendissimi Cardinales et Patres Consultores sua quisque ex ordine panderunt suffragia, quae laeto intentoque animo prosecutus est Sanctissimus Dominus noster, sed, uti de more, mentem Suam aperire distulit, graviterque Secum reputans, quanti res ponderis esset, spatium Sibi sumpsit divinae opis implorandae. Hodierna vero Dominica secunda post Pascha, qua die Iesus Christus in Evangelio exhibetur exemplar et forma ' Boni Pastoris, qui animam suam dat pro ovibus suis,' sacris Mysteriis piissime celebratis, ad Vaticanas Aedes arcessiri iussit Reverendissimos Cardinales Antonium Vico, Episcopum Portuensem et S. Rufinae, Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefectum, et Aidanum Gasquet, causae Relatorem, una cum R. P. Angelo Mariani, Fidei Promotore generali, meque insimul infrascripto Secretario, eisque adstantibus, sollemniter edixit : *Constare de utroque proposito miraculo ;* de primo scilicet *instantaneae perfectaeque sanationis pueruli Ignatii De Lazzaris a gravi cerebri*

commotione et a crasso haematomate in regione temporali dextera, quae duo ex eiusdem Ignatii ab alto in terram prolapsu fuerant producta ; deque altero *instantaneae perfectaeque sanationis Arsiliae Altissimi ab ulcerato tumore haemorrhoidali.*

Hoc autem Decretum publici iuris fieri et in acta Sacrae Rituum Congregationis referri mandavit decimo septimo Calendas maii anno MCMXXIII.

✠ A. Card. Vico, Ep. Portuen. et S. Rufinae,
S. R. C. Praefectus.

L. ✠ S.

Alexander Verde, *S. R. C. Secretarius.*[1]

[1] *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, vol. xv, 1923, pp. 234–237.

IV

Ven. Dei Servus Robertus S. R. E. Card. Bellarminus, e Societate Iesu, Beatus renuntiatur.

PIUS PP. XI

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.—Conspicuum, omni procul dubio, locum obtinet inter praestantissimos sanctitate ac doctrina viros, quibus inclyta familia Clericorum Regularium Societatis Iesu nobilitatur, Venerabilis Servus Dei Robertus S. R. E. Cardinalis Bellarminus, qui iure meritoque haberi potest tum Societatis illius, tum Purpuratorum Ecclesiae Patrum Senatus fulgidissima gloria. Et sane idem Dei Servus, doctrinae verbo non minus quam boni operis exemplo, Sanctorum altricem Ecclesiam Dei illustravit: integer, purus, fortis, prudens, sapiens, humilis, in religione, in episcopatu, in summis honoribus nihil aliud quaerens nisi gloriam Dei, cuius amore flagrabat. Hunc Divo Borromaeo similem, haereticorum malleum, sacrae disciplinae instauratorem, christianae fidei culmen et propugnaculum, catholicae veritatis adsertorem ac vindicem strenuum praedicarunt coaevi, ipsique Romani Pontifices Nostri Decessores et in vita sanctissimum et in virtutum omnium exercitatione heroëm appellare non dubitarunt. Natus est Servus Dei in civitate Montis Politiani in Hetruria, die IV mensis octobris anni MDXLII, parentesque sortitus est nobilitate non minus quam pietate insignes: nempe Vincentium Bellarminum equitem, amplissimis legationibus functum ac magna civium existimatione florentem, et Cynthiam Cerviniam, clarissimam matronam, germanam sororem celeberrimi Cardinalis a Sancta Cruce, qui, nomine Marcelli II, ad Beati hanc Petri Cathedram evectus est. Salutaribus baptismatis aquis abluto puerulo nomina fuerunt Roberto, Francisco, Romulo, et statim a primis aetatis annis mira in eo pietas illuxit. A puerilibus enim nugis alienus, orationi saepius vacabat, et alios pueros ad se vocare in deliciis habebat ut una simul Dei laudes celebrarent: immo vix quinque annos natus, scamnum adscendens, sacros in concionando oratores imitari studebat.

Acri praeditus ingenio, grammaticam brevi didicit, et in scholis Societatis Iesu, patria in urbe, inter rhetoricae alumnos admissus, poësim non sine laude exercuit. Latinas simul graecasque litteras calluit, et doctorum laudes et condiscipulorum amorem sibi merito excitavit. Ex ipso Servi Dei ore innocentia emicabat, atque is, in scholasticis disceptationibus publicis, angelus intuentibus videbatur. Cum octavum supra decimum annum aetatis ageret, et genitori admodum in votis esset Patavium eum mittere ad superiora studia, Servus Dei temporales honores despiciens se in Societatem Iesu abdere cogitavit, devictisque virili pectore omnibus obstaculis, Romam venit et, rite expleto tirocinio, in Conlegio Romano philosophicis disciplinis vacavit. Primis religiosae vitae annis tenui usus est valetudine, nihilominus tales obtinuit in doctrina progressus, ut, exacto triennio factoque publico periculo, dignus habitus fuerit, qui plenis suffragiis Magistri titulo potiretur. Florentiam missus ut humanas litteras traderet, adeo graviter aegrotavit, ut ex medicorum sententia iam morti proximus appareret ; sed Robertus, ut sibi concederet vitam fervida prece rogans Deum, non alium ad finem impendendam quam ad maiorem eius gloriam procurandam, ex insperato convaluit ; atque alacriore studio tum ad Magistri officium implendum, tum ad vitae internae perfectionem assequendam incubuit. Anno MDLXIV, stridente hyeme ac perdifficili itinere, Superiorum iussu se contulit Montis Regalis ad urbem, in Pedemonte, ut graecam linguam doceret, quo quidem officio singulari cum laude functus est. Tempus autem, quod a studiis supererat, in pietatis exercitationibus Dei Famulus insumebat et, concionator egregius, saepe in publicis templis verba populo faciebat. Patavium postea missus ad theologiam addiscendam, illa etiam in civitate sacra praedicatione uberrimam messuit spiritualem segetem ; atque inde Lovanium a Societatis Iesu Praeposito generali designatus discessit et, celeberrimo illo in Conlegio, splendidissima dedit doctrinae ac sanctitatis testimonia. Hebraicam enim linguam etiam didicit, et, sacrae theologiae lector renuntiatus, doctissimum illum, quem multo serius edidit, *de Scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* librum ibi tunc composuit. Eadem in Urbe per septennium mansit, ac, sollemnibus professionis religiosae votis nuncupatis et sacris Ordinibus Gandavii susceptis, Venerabilis Dei Servus salutarem Deo Hostiam, singulari laetitia perfusus, Lovanii prima vice litavit. Sacerdotio auctus, plurimas obtinuit haereticorum conversiones, disertissimus divini verbi praeco et, in piaculari exedra, prudens conscien-

tiarum moderator. Saeviente interea in Bataviae regionibus inter catholicos et haereticos bello, saepe Dei Servus vitae periculum subiit, nonnisi praesente caelesti ope a supremo discrimine liberatus ; donec in patriam revocatus est, eique ibidem, auctoritate Decessoris Nostri Gregorii Pp. XIII, peculiaris scholasticae theologiae cathedra de controversiis fidei in Conlegio Romano concredita fuit. Hac ex cathedra mirandum in modum Servi Dei fides effulsit ac sapientia, studiumque, quo flagrabat, germanae Christi doctrinae tuendae ac vindicandae. Pontificis enim dicto audiens, qui ipsam facultatem scholasticam instituerat, ut dogmata Fidei propugnarentur adversus machinationes Lutheranorum, Calvinistarum aliorumque haereticorum, qui per illud temporis in pluribus Europae nationibus grassabantur, undecim per annos Dei Servus, eruditissimis lectionibus, falsas haereticorum doctrinas refutavit, eaedemque lectiones sub titulo *Controversiarum in haereticos* prelo impressae ac per universam Europam diffusae, tum pervicaciam haereticorum fregerunt, tum mirandas conversiones ad romanam fidem obtinuerunt. Quare Praedecessor Noster Sixtus Pp. V, anno MDLXXXIX, Dei Servum uti theologus, cum Cardinali Caietano Pontificis Legato, misit in Galliam, ubi strenuus Apostolici Legati fuit adiutor et consiliarius. Tredecim post menses Dei Servo in patriam reverso, a Gregorio XIV commissum est Sacram Scripturam una cum aliis doctis viris emendandi munus ; quod opus immane alacri pectore idem aggressus, ut splendide absolveretur multum adlaboravit. Mox Conlegii Romani rector constitutus, nec non in spiritualibus Praefectus, alumnos suos ad religiosae vitae perfectionem atque ad humilitatis potissimum studium exemplo non minus quam consilio inflammavit ; dein ad Provinciae Neapolitanae regimen vocatus, hoc quidem in officio singulari prudentia se gessit. Sed, tot ac tantis meritis clarus, ad maiora Dei Servus vocabatur munera. Illum enim Romam accivit cla. mem. Clemens Pp. VIII, eumque theologum suum esse voluit, nec non Sancti Officii Consultorem ; dein eundem, in sollemni Consistorio habito feria quarta Quatuor Temporum Quadragesimae die III martii anni MDLXXXXIX, Romana Purpura ornavit, splendidum hoc de illo texens elogium : ' Hunc eligimus quia non habet parem Ecclesia Dei, quod ad doctrinam.' Verum Dei Servus, qui Societatem Iesu elegerat ut, a mundanis dignitatibus alienus, uni Deo posset inservire, accepto tantae dignitatis nuntio, quasi exhorruit ; religiosorum suorum consilium supplex impetravit, et nonnisi oboedientia a Romano

Pontifice adactus, effusisque lacrimis, dignitatis insignia suscepit. Etsi in supremum Ecclesiae Senatum adlectus esset, nihil tamen a religiosae vitae tenore sibi deflectendum esse Dei Servus censuit ; opimis sibi ab Hispaniarum Rege exhibitis pensionibus firmiter recusatis, modicam tantum a Romano Pontifice pecuniae summam accepit, ad dignitatis gradum sustentandum necessariam ; residentiam quoque elegit, cum primum potuit, Romano Conlegio proximam, ut dilectae communitatis tintinnabulum audiret et eius sonitui obtemperaret. Sed aliud, angelicis quoque humeris formidandum, onus Dei Servum manebat. Etenim, cum anno MDCII archiepiscopalis sedes Capuana vacasset, Clemens VIII Ecclesiae illius regimen Bellarmino censuit committendum, ipsumque die XXI mensis aprilis illius anni, manu propria, Capuanum Archiepiscopum consecravit. Ob eximiam, qua fruebatur, sanctitatis famam Capuae pompa receptus, triumpho simillima, ab ovantibus et gratulantibus clero, proceribus et omnis conditionis civibus, continuo pastorale ministerium diligentissime coepit exercere. Accuratissima sacra visitatione dioecesim universam lustravit, cleri disciplinam restituit, veteres abusus eradicavit in domibus religiosis communem vitam iterum excitavit, divini cultus decori consuluit, miram denique morum conversionem, potissimum sacris concionibus, obtinuit. Nec spirituali dumtaxat, sed etiam temporali archidioecesis bono prospexit vigilantissimus Pastor : archiepiscopalem enim domum, vetustate fatiscentem, instaurandam curavit, omnesque episcopalis mensae redditus, propriae commoditatis immemor, in cathedralis templi ornatum divinique cultus splendorem impendit. Tres per annos Servus Dei Capuanam sedem moderatus est, donec, demortuis, anno MDCV, Clemente VIII et Leone XI, Paulus V, Pontifex electus, ut sapientibus illius consiliis uteretur, in Curia Bellarminum retinuit. Dimissa igitur Capuana sede Romae Dei Famulus mansit, et ibidem apostolicis Congregationibus, impenso studio, operam suam navavit, verbo et scriptis Ecclesiae iura iugiter vindicavit atque in gravissimis negotiis pertractandis luculenta doctrinae prudentiaeque exhibuit testimonia : et tamen hoc etiam tempore pueros rudesque doctrina christiana instituere solebat ; cuius nempe doctrinae praeclarissimum *Compendium*, ad eorum captum apprime accommodatum, iussu ipsius Clementis VIII Rom. Pontificis, multo ante exaraverat. Tandem, laboribus fractus, impetrata a Summo Pontifice licentia, secessit in novitiorum sui Ordinis domum ad S. Andreae in colle Quirinali,

ut, omnibus solutus negotiis, se ad mortem, quam proximam praesentiebat, compararet. Et re quidem vera febri correptus discubuit atque, ingravescente morbo paucos post dies, extremis Ecclesiae Sacramentis munitus est. ' Dissolvi cupiens et cum Christo esse ' infirmitatis dolores patienti animo pertulit, assidua prece Iesu et Virginis dulcissima nomina repetens. Proximae tanti viri mortis nuntius universam Urbem summo maerore affecit, et plurimi cives, sive ex optimatibus sive e popularibus, ad S. Andreae domum confluebant, ut suprema vice sanctum inviserent. Idem Pontifex Gregorius XV ad infirmi Servi Dei lectulum accessit, et suprema apostolica Sua benedictione moriturum munivit. Tandem die, quem novissimum vitae suae futurum ipse praedixerat, nempe decimoseptimo mensis septembris anni MDCXXI, quo divi Francisci Assisiensis stigmatum memoria in Ecclesia recolitur, Dei Servus placidissimo exitu mortalem hanc vitam cum immortali commutavit, anno aetatis suae septuagesimo nono. Translatum est Venerabilis Dei Famuli corpus noctu ex memorata sede tirocinii in ecclesiam Nomini Iesu dicatam, ibique, etsi in testamento humilis Dei Servus conscripsisset, funebria iusta absque ulla pompa sibi esse comparanda, nihilominus Romanus Pontifex suis ipse sumptibus eum sepeliri voluit sollemni illo apparatu, qui ad Purpuratum Principem spectat. Apertis vix templi foribus, ingens populi multitudo ad sacrum cadaver invisendum certatim ita confluxit, ut convocati milites circa tumulum impares essent turbae continendae. Post Missarum sollemnia, mitra de mortui capite avulsa et in frustula discerpta, itemque flocculi pilei cardinalitii et laciniae sacrorum paramentorum, quibus indutum erat cadaver, quasi reliquiae raptim in populum dispertitae fuerunt, donec disiectis, militari manu, impetum facientibus fidelibus et cum suprema voce sanctum conclamantibus, conditum est Dei Servi corpus in templo a Nomine Iesu, primum quidem in communi sepulcro suae Societatis sacerdotibus assignato, sed deinde, insequenti anno, in illam ipsam funebrem cryptam translatum est, ubi iam iacuerant mortales exuviae Ignatii Loiolaei, legiferi Societatis Iesu parentis. Quae autem de Servi Dei sanctimonia, cum ipse adhuc viveret, in hominum animis eximia insederat opinio, magis magisque invaluit postquam ipse ex hac mortali statione secessit, caelestibus potissimum aucta signis et miraculis, quae, ipso intercedente, patrata a Deo ferebantur. Quare continuo et in hac alma Urbe et in curiis ecclesiasticis Neapolitana, Capuana et Montis Politiani, auctoritate Ordinaria,

inquisitiones inchoatae sunt super fama sanctitatis vitae eius nec non virtutum ac miraculorum, et fel. me. Urbanus VIII Pontifex Maximus Noster Praedecessor introductionis Causae Commissionem manu propria signavit die XII mensis septembris anno MDCXXVI. Verum tria per saecula producta est Causa tam feliciter inita, quae, varias ob extrinsecas rationes, tamdiu siluit, donec die XVI novembris anni MDCCCCXX in Congregatione Ordinaria Sacrorum Rituum super eiusdem Causae statu et super virtutibus Venerabilis Dei Famuli disceptatum de integro est ; omnibusque iuridicis probationibus absolutis rec. me. Benedictus PP. XV Decessor Noster, die XXII mensis decembris eiusdem anni MDCCCCXX, sollemni decreto edixit ' constare de heroicis Venerabilis Servi Dei Roberti Cardinalis Bellarmini virtutibus.' Adprobatis, ineluctabili Sedis Apostolicae iudicio, heroicis Venerabilis Servi Dei virtutibus, institutum est iudicium de duobus miraculis, quae, Venerabili Bellarmino deprecante, a Deo patrata ferebantur, omnique iudicii severitate adhibita, auditaque iuratorum peritorum sententia, rebusque omnibus accurate perpensis, de duorum illorum prodigiorum veritate Nos ipsi constare decrevimus Dominica secunda post Pascha vertentis anni MDCCCCXXIII. Cum igitur esset de gradu heroico virtutum ac de duobus miraculis prolatum consilium, illud supererat discutiendum, nimirum ut Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis Cardinales et Consultores rogarentur an tuto procedi posse censerent ad sollemnem Venerabilis Dei Famuli Beatificationem. Hoc praestitit dilectus filius Noster Aidanus S. R. E. Diaconus Cardinalis Gasquet, Causae Relator, in generalibus Comitiis coram Nobis habitis, in Vaticanis Aedibus, die vigesima quarta proxime praeteriti mensis aprilis ; omnesque tam Cardinales, quam qui intererant Patres Consultores, unanimi consensu affirmative responderunt. Nos tamen, in tanti momenti re, Nostram aperire mentem distulimus, donec a Patre luminum caelestis sapientiae auxilium impetraremus. Quod cum impensis precibus fecissemus, tandem quinto nonas maii huius anni, die scilicet sollemnibus ob Sacrosanctam Crucem Hierosolymis inventam consecrato, Eucharistico Sacro rite litato, accitis adstantibusque venerabili fratre Nostro Antonio S. R. E. Cardinali Vico, Episcopo Portuensi et S. Rufinae, Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi Praefecto, et dilecto filio Nostro Aidano S. R. E. Diacono Cardinali Gasquet, Causae Relatore, una cum dilectis filiis Angelo Mariani, Fidei Promotore generali, nec non Alexandro Verde, eiusdem S. Rituum Congregationis Secre-

tario, sollemniter ediximus tuto procedi posse ad sollemnem Venerabilis Dei Famuli Roberti S. R. E. Cardinalis Bellarmini Beatificationem. Quae cum ita sint, Nos, precibus etiam permoti universae religiosae familiae Clericorum Regularium Societatis Iesu, Apostolica Nostra auctoritate, praesentium vi, facultatem facimus ut Venerabilis Dei Famulus Robertus S. R. E. Cardinalis Bellarminus Beatus in posterum appelletur, eiusque corpus et reliquiae, non tamen in sollemnibus supplicationibus deferendae, publicae fidelium venerationi proponantur, atque imagines eius radiis decorentur. Insuper, eadem auctoritate Nostra, concedimus ut de illo recitetur Officium et Missa celebretur de Communi Confessorum Pontificum, iuxta rubricas Missalis et Breviarii Romani. Eiusdem vero Officii recitationem et Missae celebrationem fieri dumtaxat concedimus in hac alma Urbe eiusque districtu, nec non in archidioecesi Capuana et in dioecesi Montis Politiani atque in omnibus templis ac domibus, ubique terrarum sitis, quae pertineant ad Clericos Regulares Societatis Iesu, ab omnibus, tam saecularibus quam regularibus, qui Horas canonicas recitare teneantur, et quod ad Missas attinet a sacerdotibus ad templa in quibus Beati eiusdem festum agitur confluentibus. Denique largimur ut sollemnia Beatificationis ipsius Servi Dei peragantur cum Officio et Missa duplicis maioris ritus ; idque fieri concedimus in praefatis Urbe, dioecesibus, et templis sive sacellis, quae nominavimus, die per Ordinarios designando, intra annum postquam eadem sollemnia in patriarchali Basilica Vaticana fuerint celebrata.

Non obstantibus Constitutionibus et ordinationibus Apostolicis, nec non decretis de non cultu editis, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque.

Volumus autem ut praesentium Litterarum transsumptis, etiam impressis, dummodo manu Secretarii Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis subscripta et Cardinalis Praefecti sigillo munita sint, in disceptationibus etiam iudicialibus, eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur, quae Nostrae voluntatis significationi his ostensis Litteris, haberetur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, sub anulo Piscatoris, die XIII maii anno MCMXXIII, Pontificatus Nostri secundo.

P. CARD. GASPARRI, *a Secretis Status.*[1]

[1] *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, vol. XV, 1923, pp. 269–275.

V

MISSA DE BEATO ROBERTO CARD. BELLARMINO, EPISCOPO ET CONFESSORE

Introitus

Ps. 72, 28

Mihi autem adhaerere Deo bonum est, ponere in Domino Deo spem meam : ut annuntiem omnes prædicationes tuas (*T. P.* Alleluia, alleluia). *Ps. ibid.*, 1 : Quam bonus Israël, Deus, his qui recto sunt corde ! ℣ Gloria Patri.

Oratio

Deus, qui ad catholicam fidem tuendam et ad Apostolicae Sedis iura propugnanda, beatum Robertum, Confessorem tuum atque Pontificem, mirabili sapientia et virtute decorasti : eius meritis et intercessione concede, ut nos in veritatis cognitione crescamus et errantium corda ad Ecclesiae tuae redeant unitatem. Per Dominum.

Lectio libri Sapientiae

Sap. 7, 7–14

Optavi et datus est mihi sensus : et invocavi, et venit in me spiritus sapientiae : et praeposui illam regnis et sedibus, et divitias nihil esse duxi in comparatione illius. Nec comparavi illi lapidem pretiosum : quoniam omne aurum, in comparatione illius, arena est exigua, et tamquam lutum æstimabitur argentum. Super salutem et speciem dilexi illam, et proposui pro luce habere illam : quoniam inextinguibile est lumen illius. Venerunt autem mihi omnia bona pariter cum illa, et innumerabilis honestas per manus illius, et laetatus sum in omnibus : quoniam antecedebat me ista sapientia, et ignorabam quoniam horum omnium mater est. Quam sine fictione didici, et sine invidia communico, et honestatem illius non abscondo. Infinitus enim thesaurus est hominibus : quo qui usi sunt,

participes facti sunt amicitiae Dei, propter disciplinae dona commendati.

T. P. Alleluia, alleluia. *Dan.* 12, 3 : Qui ad iustitiam erudiunt multos, fulgebunt quasi stellae in perpetuas aeternitates. Alleluia. *Ps.* 109, 4 : Tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech. Alleluia.

Si alicubi hoc Festum celebretur extra Tempus Paschale, dicatur :

Graduale Eccli. 44, 16 : Ecce sacerdos magnus, qui in diebus suis placuit Deo et inventus est iustus. ℣ *Ibid.*, 20 : Non est inventus similis illi qui conservaret legem Excelsi.

Alleluia, alleluia. *Dan.* 12, 3 : Qui ad iustitiam erudiunt multos, fulgebunt quasi stellae in perpetuas aeternitates. Alleluia.

✠ Sequentia sancti Evangelii secundum Lucam.

Luc. 11, 33–36

In illo tempore dixit Iesus discipulis suis : Nemo lucernam accendit, et in abscondito ponit, neque sub modio : sed super candelabrum, ut qui ingrediuntur, lumen videant. Lucerna corporis tui est oculus tuus. Si oculus tuus fuerit simplex, totum corpus tuum lucidum erit : si autem nequam fuerit, etiam corpus tuum tenebrosum erit. Vide ergo ne lumen, quod in te est, tenebrae sint. Si ergo corpus tuum totum lucidum fuerit, non habens aliquam partem tenebrarum, erit lucidum totum, et sicut lucerna fulgoris illuminabit te.

Offertorium Ps. 50, 15 et 17 : Docebo iniquos vias tuas et impii ad te convertentur. Domine, labia mea aperies : et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam (*T. P.* Alleluia).

Secreta

Quas offerimus Hostias, Domine, in odorem suavitatis admittere digneris : et fac nos, beati Roberti exemplis inhærentes, iugiter in tuo servitio fidelitatis holocaustum immolare. Per Dominum.

Communio Ps. 54, 7–8 : Quis dabit mihi pennas sicut columbae et volabo et requiescam ? Ecce elongavi fugiens et mansi in solitudine (*T. P.* Alleluia).

Postcommunio

Sacramenta, quæ sumpsimus, Domine, illum in nobis foveant tuae caritatis ardorem : quo mirabiliter incensus beatus

Robertus, Confessor et Pontifex tuus, in simplicitate cordis semper ambulavit. Per Dominum.

Concordat cum originali rite approbato. In fidem, etc.

E Secretaria S. R. Congregationis, die 13 novembris 1923.

L. ✠ S.

ALEXANDER VERDE, *Secr.*

INDEX

Titles of books, pamphlets and articles quoted or referred to in the text or in the foot notes are given in italics.

A

Abbot, Dr. Robert, *Mirror of Popish Subtleties against Sanders and Bellarmine*, i. 149; *Defence*, etc., i. 174; ii. 209, 222
Abuse in works of controversialists, i. 173 ff.
Acta Sanctorum, i. 73, 311 f., 433; ii. 68, 276, 295
Acton, Lord, misinterprets Bellarmine, i. 151; ii. 416
Adalbert, Paul, i. 457
Addison, Joseph, ii. 397
Admonitio ad Episcopum Theanensem, ii. 397, 400, 402, 466
'Adoration,' papal election by, ii. 114
Adorno, Francis, S.J., i. 55, 62, 114, 117
Adrian II, Pope, ii. 47
Adrian VI, Pope, ii. 42
Advent sermons, i. 89, 91 f.
Aemilius, Paulus, *De Rebus Gestis Francorum*, ii. 291 f.
Aeneid, Bellarmine's love of the, i. 19
Aeternus Ille (Bull), i. 286, 297, 305, 306
Agatha, St., ii. 109
Agazzati, Alphonsus, i. 430
d'Agellis, Abbot-General of the Celestines, ii. 273
Aglionby, John, visits Bellarmine, i. 177
Agnes of Montepulciano, St., i. 5, 344, 438; ii. 90
Aguilera, *Provinciae Siculae S.J. ortus et res gestae*, i. 321, 425–427
Alber, Ferdinand, S.J., i. 303, 305
Albert, Archduke of Austria, ii. 28, 54
d'Albret, Catharine, i. 195
d'Albret, Jeanne, i. 195 f.
Alcalá, University of, ii. 52
Aldegonde, Marnix de Ste., *Tableau des Différends de Religion*, i. 155
Alegambus, Fr., S.J., i. 141
Aldobrandini, Cardinal Peter, i. 344, 364, 401, 409, 412, 437; ii. 36, 113, 118, 382, 416
Aldobrandini, Sylvester, i. 401
Aldus Manutius, i. 281
Alexander of Hales, ii. 47
Alexander VII, Pope, ii. 463
Alexandria, Patriarch of, i. 367
Alfonso II, Duke of Ferrara, i. 356
Allegiance, Oath of, condemned by Paul V, ii. 178 ff.; Bellarmine on, 180 f.; Blackwell on, 183 ff.; James I on, 187 ff.
Allen, Cardinal, i. 64, 73, 139, 204, 272, 278, 284 f.; ii. 285
de Almeida, John Francis, ii. 321
Almond, Rev. John, ii. 281
Almsgiving, Bellarmine's, i. 410 ff.; his views on, ii. 386 ff., 404 ff.
Aloysius Gonzaga, St., i. 284, 310–313
Alphonsus Liguori, St., ii. 480
Altars, Bellarmine on 'privileged,' i. 352
Alva, Duke of, i. 110 f., 116
Alvarez, Baltasar, S.J., ii. 23
Alvarus, Pelagius, i. 254 ff.
Alvernia, see "Verna, La"
Alzog, *Church History*, i. 190
Amadeus of Savoy, i. 234
Amann, Dr. E., i. 253; in *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, 268; *Die Vulgata Sixtina*, 288; 307
Ambrose, St., Bellarmine and Montalto's edition of his works, i. 126; ii. 77, 100, 166, 202, 220, 267, 334
Ames, William, *Bellarminus Enervatus*, i. 153
Anabaptists, i. 218
Anagram on Bellarmine's name, i. 158

Analecta Belgica, i. 116
Anastasius, *Lives of the Popes*, i. 105
Anastasius II, Pope, i. 368, 369
Ancestors, Bellarmine's, i. 5 f.
Andrew, St., Martyrdom of in Breviary, i. 388
Andrewes, L., Bishop of Chichester, ii. 183, 197; *Tortura Torti sive ad Matthaei Torti Librum Responsio*, 207–210; *Reply to Bellarmine's Apology*, 225 f.; 227 f., 233
Angelico, Fra., O.P., i. 46; ii. 354
Angelucci (Bellarmine's Vicar-General), ii. 104
Anjou, Duke of, i. 197; ii, 239
Annat, Francis, S.J., ii. 34
Anne of Denmark, Letter of to Clement VIII, ii. 213
Annunciation, Hospital of, ii. 95
Anselm, Dom, see "Beech"
Anselm, St., i. 106; ii. *De Concordia Gratiae et Liberi Arbitrii*, 46, 220
Anthony, St., i. 56
Antichrist, Bellarmine on the Pope as, i. 123, 368; ii. 222
Anti-Montacutum . . . an Appeale . . . against Richard Mountague, i. 146
Antiperistasis, i. 80
Antitheses Christi veri et falsi, i. 218
Antoniano, Cardinal, i. 388, 408; ii. 108
Antoninus, St., *De Statu Cardinalium*, i. 423; ii. 42
Antwerp Bible, i. 292
Apocalypse, the, i. 139, 219, 371
Apology of Bellarmine in answer to James I, ii. 217–224, 253
Appellant Priests, ii. 177
Aquaviva, Claudius, S.J., sends Bellarmine Beza's New Testament, i, 127; anxious for Bellarmine to publish his lectures, 129; asks Bellarmine to refute Julian Vincent, 134; defends Bellarmine's *Controversies* against Stephen Arator, 168 ff.; and against Henriquez, 172; memorial addressed to, 183; Bellarmine appeals against his ruling on theological studies, 193; correspondence with Bellarmine, 201, 208; forbids Jesuits to preach against Henry IV, 209; attempts to have the *Controversies* removed from the Index, 271 ff.; commissioned by Clement VIII to buy in Sixtine Bibles, 288 f.; admonishes Fr. Feder, 303 f.; orders investigation in the Sixtine controversy, 305; admonishes Bellarmine for excessive meekness, 328; and for overwork, 330; recommends more rigorous government to him, 331, 332; letter from Fr. de Sangro, 339; recalls Bellarmine to Rome, 342; writes to him at Ferrara, 358–361; names him Rector of the Penitenzieria, 364; appoints commission to draw up *Ratio Studiorum*, 378; and commission on theological studies in the Society of Jesus, 382; attitude with regard to Bellarmine's elevation to purple, 400, 402 f., references to in controversy about grace, ii. 10, 12, 13, 30, 63, 65 f.; and the Tuscan marriage project, 280, 284
Aquila, ii. 274
Aquinas, see 'Thomas, St.'
Aragazzi, Luigi, ii. 111, 122
Aragon, Cardinal of, i. 447
Arator, Stephen, criticizes the *Controversies*, i. 167–172, 183
Archirabbi des Loiolites (Bellarmine), i. 156
de Argentina, Thomas, ii. 32
d'Argentré, *Collectio Judiciorum*, ii. 248
Ariano, B. Eleazar of, ii. 289
Aristotle, i. 35, 72, 217, 343, 369; ii. 137, 164, 337 f., 367
Armagh, See of, i. 451
Arms of Bellarmine, i. 3
d'Arno, Val, i. 46
Arnoux, Jean, S.J., i. 213
Arques, Battle of, i. 202
d'Ars, Curé, i. 89
Ascanio (de Renialme), i. 145
von Aschhausen, John Godfrey, ii. 292, 299 ff.
d'Ascoli, Cardinal, ii. 54, 118, 295
Asselineau, ii. 216
Assisi, i. 5, 7; ii. 279
Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesûs*, i. 172, 359; ii. 35 f., 53, 55, 65
Astrology, i. 52
Astronomy, Aristotelian, ii. 328; Bellarmine's views on, 332–337
Athanasius, St., i. 79, 189
d'Aubigny, Seigneur, ii. 153

Aubrey, *Lives of Eminent Men*, ii. 108
Auditor Camerae, Bishops and the, i. 454
Auger, Fr., S.J., i. 198
Augustine, St., i. 19, 46, 60, 69, 74, 85, 105, 150, 184, 218, 451; ii, 2–3, 5–13, 20–22, 29, 32, 38–39, 41, 43, 49, 52, 58, 59, 62, 64, 67, 77, 89, 100, 109, 129, 146, 266, 363, 367, 383, 417, 461
Augustinus Triumphus, i. 254 ff.
Autobiography, Bellarmine's, i. 9 and *passim*; its origin and character, ii. 412–417; attacked by Cardinal Passionei, 415 f.
de Auxiliis controversy, see 'Grace, Controversy on'
Avendano, Alonso, ii. 34
Averroes, i. 35
Avignon, Popes at, i. 370
Avvisi d'Inghilterra, ii. 237
Avvisi di Roma, i. 306
Azor, Fr., i. 272, 306
Azpilcueta, Martin, see 'Navarrus'
Azzolini, Cardinal, ii. 470, 472

B

Le Bachelet, Père, S.J., *Auctarium Bellarminianum*, i. 19 f. and *passim*; *Bellarmin avant son Cardinalat*, i. 6 and *passim*; *Bellarmin et la Bible Sixto-Clémentine*, 102, 283, 299, 303, 306, 308 f.; in *Gregorianum*, i. 407; ii. 68, 69, 77, 262 ff., 267–273, 276; discovery of Bellarmine's *Examen*, ii. 255
Bacon, Francis, ii. 371
Bacon, Roger, i. 276
Bagster, Dr. J., *Sermons from the Latin*, i. 77
Baius, James, ii. 11.
Baius, Dr. Michael, i. 69 f., 73 f., 168; ii. 3 f., 7, 10–13, 15, 29
Balmerino, Lord, ii. 211 ff.
Balthasar of St. Philip Neri, Dom, i. 444
Bamberg, Bishop of, ii. 265, 308, and see 'von Aschhausen.'
Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, ii. 151; pastoral letter of, 171; promotes division between Jesuits and Seculars, 175 f.; *In Blackwellum Quaestio*, 178; treatment of Archpriest Blackwell, *ibid.*; examination of Blackwell, 185
Bandini, Cardinal Octavius, i. 73, 451; ii. 411, 430, 462
Bañes, Dominic, O.P., ii, 16, 23–25, 26 f., 30, 32, 34, 37, 42–51, 53, 54, 63
Barberino, Cardinal, ii. 357, 361, 363
Barbier, *La Ministrographie huguenote*, i. 146
Barclay, John, publishes his father's treatise *De Potestate Papae*, ii. 241 f.; Bellarmine makes friends with him, 258 f.; *Argenis*, 259; *Paraenesis ad Sectarios*, *ibid.*; *The Piety of John Barclay*, *ibid.*; 283, 286; and see 'James I'
Barclay, William, *De Potestate Papae*, i. 240, 263, 275; ii. 241–242, 250–251; *De regno et regali potestate*, 240 f.
Barisoni, Anthony, S.J., i. 358
Barker, Robert, ii. 186, 197 ff.
Barlow, Dr., ii. 234
Baronius, Cardinal, i. 112, 181, 321, 341, 348 f., 355 ff., 363 ff., 405, 408, 429, 444, 447; President of the Commission for revising the Breviary, 385, 388; visit to the Jesuit Professed House in Rome, 430 ff.; decorates the tomb of St. Ignatius, *ibid.*, 437; ii. 62; *Annals*, i. 99; ii. 70; question of his election to Papacy, 113 ff.; views on the Donation of Constantine, 294; *bon mot* of, 363; Bellarmine's visits to and love of, 426–427
Barrière, John Baptist de la, i. 440 ff.
Bartholomew, St., Massacre of, i. 111; ii. 238
Bartholomew Fair, allusion to Bellarmine in, i. 143
Bartholomew of the Martyrs, Ven., ii. 68; *Compendium spiritualis doctrinae*, *ibid.*
Bartmänner, i. 142; see 'Greybeard'
Bartoli, Daniel, S.J., *Vita del Cardinal Bellarmino*, i. 62 and *passim*
Basil, St., one of his sermons preached by Bellarmine, i. 60; 78, 85, 135, 178, 348; ii. 182, 334, 395

Basilikon Doron, i. 233 ; ii. 155 ff., 280 ; and see ' James I '
Battifol, Mgr. P., *Le Vaticane de Paul III à Paul V*, i. 299 ; *History of Roman Breviary*, 387
Bäumer, *Geschichte des Breviers*, i. 387
Baumgarten, Mgr., i. 304, 342, 402 ; *Die Vulgata Sixtina von* 1590, i. 305 ; discovers original Bull *Aeternus Ille*, 305 f. ; *Neue Kunde von alten Bibeln*, etc., 337 ; ii. 101, 412, 416, 477
Bay, Dr. Michael de, see ' Baius '
Bayle, *Dictionnaire Historique*, ii. 33
Bazy, *Le Vénérable Jean de la Barrière*, i. 441
Beatification, Bellarmine's, *see* ' BELLARMINE, *Beatification* '
Beatillo, Antonio, S.J., i. 325 ; ii. 428
Beaulieu, Mr., ii. 252
de Beaumont, *Dépêches de M. de B.*, ii. 148 f.
Becan, see ' van der Beeck '
Bede, the Venerable, St., i. 79, 278 ; ii. 204, 220
Bedell, Chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton, ii. 115
Beech, Dom Anselm, O.S.B., ii. 271
Van der Beeck, Martin, S.J. (Becan), i. 116 ; ii. 233, 235, 237, 254 ; *Dissidium Anglicanum*, 235
Bega, Bellarmine on meaning of, i. 101
Belgium, invaded by William the Silent, i. 110 ; Bellarmine's regard for, 115 ; see ' Louvain '
Bell, Thomas, *Downfall of Popery*, i. 153

BELLARMINE :

Early Years :

Ancestors, i. 5 f. ; James I of England and his ancestry, 6 ; birth, 7 ; baptismal names, 7 ; devotion to St. Francis, 8 ; childhood, 10 f. ; sent to school, 12 ; fasting, 13 ; vows, 13 ; ambition to be doctor, 15, 24 ; at school, 16 ; training in eloquence and deportment, 17 f. ; Latin compositions, 18 ; love of Virgil, 19 ; facility in Latin composition, 19 f. ; public dispute, 21 ; as an actor, *ibid.* ; writes hymns, 21 f. ; preaches, 22 ill-health, 14, 24 ; knowledge of music, 24 ; and games, *ibid.* ; adept at bird-trapping, *ibid.* ; playing on violin, *ibid.* ; love of reading, *ibid.* ; vocation, 25 f. ; Vincenzo Bellarmine at first offers opposition and then consents to his son's becoming a Jesuit, 27 ; Fr. Lainez' consent obtained to have entry deferred for a year, *ibid.* ; sojourn at Il Vivo, *ibid.* ; catechises and preaches there, 29 f. ; Vincenzo Bellarmine again tries to shake his son's purpose, 30 ; urges him to become a Dominican, *ibid.* ; Bellarmine leaves Il Vivo, *ibid.* ; enters novitiate, 31 ; allowed to take vows immediately, 33 ; begins studies at Roman College, 33 f. ; study of Aristotle, 35 ; study of astronomy, *ibid.* ; ill-health, 36, 40 ; public defence in philosophy, 36 ; philosophical studies, 37 ff. ; receives Master's degree, 37 ; powerful memory, *ibid.* ; works in hospitals during vacation, 38 ; visits his mother, *ibid.* ; love of *The Imitation*, 39 ; sent to Florence as a master and falls seriously ill, 40 ; preaches there, 41 f. ; compositions in verse, 42 ; experiences as a master, 43 f. ; love of young people, 45 f. ; views on corporal punishment, 45 f. ; visits Vallombrosa, 46 ; and Camaldoli, *ibid.* ; preaches there, 47 ; at La Verna, *ibid.* ; sent to Mondovì, *ibid.* ; views on inns, 48 ; help received on road to Florence, 50 ; work in Mondovì, 51 ; knowledge of Greek, *ibid.* ; style of eloquence, 52 ; sermons at Mondovì, 52 ff. ; views on *stilo alto* of preaching, 54 ; sent to Padua, 56 ; views on professors, 57 ; preaches in Padua, *ibid.* ; and in Venice, *ibid.* ; views on the Carnival, 58 ; and dancing, *ibid.* ; public disputation at Genoa, 59 ; obedience, 61 ; sent to Louvain, *ibid.* ; opposition to leaving Padua, 62 ; adaptability, *ibid.* ; ordination urged by provincial of Low Countries, *ibid.*

BELLARMINE (*continued*):
At Louvain:
Studies continued, 65; preaches, *ibid.*; appearance in pulpit, 67 f.; Protestants come from England to hear Bellarmine preach, 67; professed of solemn vows, 68; ordained priest, *ibid.*; appointed professor, 70; lecture-notes, 71 f.; use of illustrations in lectures, 72; brightness of his lectures, *ibid.*; his notes used at Douay, 73; refutation of Baius, 74; refusal to have notes printed, 75; views on printers, 76 f.; sermons, 76 ff.; on composition of sermons, 77 ff.; zeal shown in sermons, 79; facility in quotation, 82 f.; on the Carnival, 92 ff.; warnings against heresy, 98; learns Hebrew, 100 f.; success in teaching it, 101 f.; studies in Patrology, 103 f.; resulting in work *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, 104; views on authenticity of various books, 105 f.; reading in heretical literature, 107; as spiritual director of community, *ibid.*; on detachment, 108 f.; as a confessor, 110; William the Silent invades Belgium, 110; Jesuits leave Louvain, 110 f.; Bellarmine's love of Belgium, 115; adherence to St. Thomas in lectures, 375

At Rome and Naples:
Professor in Rome, 119 ff.; connection with English students, 124; helps Salmeron at Naples with his commentaries on New Testament, 124 ff.; criticism of Salmeron's work, 125; recalled to Rome, *ibid.*; professor of eloquence, *ibid.*; preaches before Gregory XIII, *ibid.*; defence of Papal rights over the Empire, 130; criticism of *Book of Concord*, 131; illness, 131; lectures on Sacraments, 131 f.; publishes first volume of *Controversies*, 132 f.; and second volume, 133; controversy with Julian Vincent on vow of obedience, 134; detachment, 135 f.; humility and cheerfulness, 136; his habit of making puns, *ibid.*; appointed Spiritual Director of Roman College, 310 ff.; direction of St. Aloysius, *ibid.*; sermon on St. Aloysius, 311 f.; gifts as spiritual director, 313; exhortations, 313 ff.; on the love of God, 314 f.; on brotherly love, 315 f.; appointed Rector of Roman College, 316; policy as Rector, 316; practice of poverty, 317; musical recreations, 318 f.; care of the sick, 320 f.; half-miracles, 320 f.; promotes mathematical studies, 321; Provincial of Naples, 325 ff., 384; controversy with Ferdinand Mendoza, 327 f.; work in Neapolitan Province, 330 f.; case of Julius Caesar Recupito, 332 f.; completes church of Santa Trinità Maggiore, 334; recalled to Rome, 342; advice to Clement VIII on proposed chair of Platonic philosophy, 342 f.; goes into residence at the Penitenzieria, 344; helps Mgr. Cervini, 346, 362; treatise on indulgences written at Roman College, 350 ff.; visits Montepulciano, 354; appointed examiner of bishops-elect, 355; his sister Catherine's vocation, 355; accompanies Clement VIII on tour through Duchy of Ferrara, 357 f.; efforts on behalf of expelled French Jesuits, 358 f.; Fr. Pacheco's 'Discalced Jesuits,' 359 f.; visits Padua and Venice in company with Baronius, 363; Rector at Penitenziera, 364 f.; member of the commissions on the *Ratio Studiorum*, 378 ff., 382; member of the commissions on the Breviary and Martyrology, 385 ff.

With the French Legation:
Appointed chief adviser to Cardinal Cajetan, i. 201; prophesies death of Sixtus V, 203, 214; escape from threatened ambush, 203; action with regard to the proposed synod at Tours, 204 f.; en-

BELLARMINE (*continued*) :
cyclical on this synod drawn up by Bellarmine, 205 f. ; meets Henry of Navarre, 207 ; Paris besieged, 207 ; takes part in public procession there, 209 ; view on negotiations with Henry of Navarre, 211 ; defends Paris Jesuits, 211 ; work during siege of Paris, 212 ff. ; composes songs and hymns during siege, 213 ; tries to learn French, 213 ; work in the Paris libraries, 213 ; recall of the Legation, 214 ; illness at Meaux, 214 ; supposed prophetic gifts, 214 ; accompanies Cardinal Cajetan back to Rome for conclave, 214 ; illness on journey, 214

Cardinalate :
Bellarmine's alleged ambition, i. 336 f. ; his attitude with regard to his promotion, 338 ff., 348 f., 365 ; communication with his brother Thomas on his rumoured promotion, 338 ff. ; bishopric of Montepulciano proposed, 340 ff. ; communications to Thomas Bellarmine, 349 ; elevation to Cardinalate, 400 f. ; reluctance to assume dignity, 401 f. ; household as Cardinal, 404 f. ; manner of life, 407 ff. ; charity to the poor, 410 ff. ; treatment of his household, 416 ff. ; mortified life as Cardinal, 421 f. ; on the state kept by cardinals, 423 ; correspondence with Prince Eric of Lorraine, 427 ff. ; exhortation on St. Ignatius, 433 ff. ; efforts to obtain beatification of St. Ignatius, 437 ff. ; champions cause of John Baptist de la Barrière, 440 ff. ; correspondence with Justus Calvin, 445 f. ; offer of the commendatory Abbacy of Procida, 447 f. ; in grace controversy, ii. 4 ff.

Archbishop of Capua :
Appointed Archbishop, ii. 59, 70 f. ; Baronius's eulogy of Bellarmine as Archbishop, 70 ; Bellarmine's attitude to the appointment, 71 ; reception in Capua, 72 f. ; sketch of an ideal pastor of souls, 73 ; sermons, 74 ff. ; Brief of congratulation from the Pope, 77 ; efforts to suppress gambling, 77 f. ; deals with a pilfering stone-mason, 79 f. ; restores discipline among the canons and clergy, 80 f. ; care of the temporal interests of his clergy, 81 ; renovates the Cathedral and other churches, 82 f. ; action as to the Chapel in the market-place, 83 ff. ; care for the liturgy, 85 f. ; restores convent of St. John, 88 f. ; reproves the nuns for their aristocratic exclusiveness, 89 f. ; catechetical instructions, 91 f. ; visitations in the diocese, 92 f. ; generosity to the poor, 92, 94 ff. ; advice and practice of Bellarmine as to episcopal relations with the civil authority, 98 f. ; attitude as Archbishop towards his own kindred, 100 ff. ; proposed exchange of sees with Bishop of Montepulciano, 103 f. ; responds to Clement VIII's request for advice, 105 f. ; letters to Dr. Wm. Taylor, Fr. Carminata, and Card. Antoniano, 107 ff. ; Bellarmine's prediction as to his tenure of the See, 109 ff. ; departure to take part in election of successor to Clement VIII, 111 f. ; attends conclave of 1605, 113 f. ; and receives majority at first ballot, *ibid.* ; election of Cardinal de' Medici (Leo XI), 114 ; at the second conclave of 1605, 115 ff. ; view of the Spaniards on Bellarmine's candidature, *ibid.* ; Baronius's activities to promote it, 117 f. ; Bellarmine's passivity, 118 f., 121 ; views of the French Cardinals, 118 ff. ; Bellarmine joins Baronius in refusing ' adoration ' to Tosco, 120 ; election of Paul V, 121 ; Bellarmine's views on question of his return to Capua, 122 f. ; resigns Archbishopric, 123 ; proposal that he should retain part of Capuan revenues, 124 ; sources of Bellarmine's income, 124 f. ; on Mgr. Gaetano's continued absence from Capua, 125 f.

BELLARMINE (*continued*)
Last Years in Rome :
Interest in the Franciscans, ii. 262 f. ; helps them in the dispute with Abraham Bzovius, 263 f. ; friendship with the Carmelites, 264 f. ; with the Servites and Augustinians, 266 f. ; with the Benedictines, 267 f., 278 ; support given to Dom Balthazar, Abbot of Fulda, 268 f. ; and to Dom Nicholas Fanson, 269 ; sympathy with scheme for restoring Benedictines in England, 270 f. ; work on the revision of the monastic Breviary, 271 f. ; Cardinal Protector of the Celestines, 273 ff., 278 f. ; presides at their general chapter, 274 f. ; effort of the Premonstratensians to have Bellarmine made their Protector, 278 ; opposition to mixed marriage between Prince Henry of Wales and a de' Medici, 280 f. ; attitude on the question of appointing bishops in England, 282 f., 285 ; Bellarmine and the Catholic League, 286 ff., 290 ff. ; correspondence with George Drugeth von Homonay, 288 f. ; and with Duke Maximilian, 291 ff., 300 ; opinion of the "Donation of Constantine," 294 ; helps Père Coton, 295 f. ; corresponds with Fr. M. Walpole, 296 ; with Dr. William Gifford, 297 ; with the Bishop of Verdun, 298 f. ; with the Bishop of Bamberg, 299 ff. ; with St. Francis de Sales, 302 ff. ; administrator of Montepulciano, 304 ff. ; opposition to his reforms there, 306 f. ; in the dispute between the Bishop and Signori of Lucca, 307 ff. ; relations with Jesuit missionaries, 317 ff., 322 f. ; supports Fr. de Nobili, 319 ff. ; efforts towards reconciliation of schismatical Eastern Churches, 325 ; places of residence in Rome, 374 f. ; serious illness, 429 ; petition to retire to a Jesuit house, 430 ff. ; takes up residence at S. Andrea, 433 ; last illness, 433 ff. ; makes his will, 440 ff. ; reassertion of views on Grace expressed in the *Controversies*, 445 ; death of Bellarmine, 452 ; removal of his body to the Gesù, 453 ff. ; funeral oration of Tarquinio Galuzzi, 457 ; monument by Bernini, 457 f. ; Fr. Coffin's eulogium, 458 ff. ; miraculous cure of Paula Landi, 461 f.

General :
Reform of the Calendar, i. 129 ; *Controversies* attacked by members of Cambridge University, 138 ff. ; and Dr. Whitaker, *ibid.* ; Anagram, 158 ; efforts to quote him on the Protestant side, 159 ; on Transubstantiation, 160 ; works used by Newman and his fellow-converts, 167 ; criticized by a Hungarian Jesuit, 167 ff. ; on witches, 343 ff. ; on his own deafness, 349 f. ; on privileged altars, 352 ; admiration for and defence of Dante, 369 f. ; defence of Petrarch and Boccaccio, 372–373 ; on adherence to doctrine of St. Thomas, 378 ff. ; on length of theological studies in the Society of Jesus, 379 ; on worship due to Image of Christ, 380 f. ; on the worship of images, 393 f. ; on duties and qualifications of bishops, 448–451, 454 ; on pluralism, 451 ; on translation of bishops, 451 f. ; on the duties of the Pope, 453 ff. ; recommends closer study of liturgy by Jesuits in Rome, ii. 86 f. ; predicts the length of Paul V's reign, 111, 122 ; views on General Councils attributed to him by Sarpi, 129 ; annual retreats, 376 ff. ; spiritual writings, 380 ff. ; advice to bishops, 400 ff. ; on the *Art of Dying Well*, 404 f. ; on almsgiving, 404 ff. ; Bellarmine's meekness, 407 f. ; and conversation, 410 ff. ; warmth of his friendship, 417–427

Beatification :
Summarium, i. 136 f., and *passim* ; *Summarium additionale*, i. 140 and *passim* ; Capuan Process, 331 ; ii. 112 ; Montepulciano process, i. 403 ; Roman Process,

Bellarmine (*continued*) :
of 1622, i. 404, 418 ff. ; ii. 104, 114 ; *Epistolae pro causa Beatificationis*, i. 67 ; ii. 465 ; *Relatio* Cardinalis Cavalchini, i. 67, 163 f. ; ii. 449 f. ; evidence of Lancicius, i. 313 ; *Responsio ad animadversiones*, ii. 74 ; Process of 1712, 98 ; Process of 1824, i. 424 ; Process of 1828, 410, 412 f., 417 f. ; Process of 1828, Informatio, 157 ; ii. 95 ; Diocesan Processes opened at Rome, Montepulciano and Capua, 462 ; 'Apostolic Processes,' 463 ; examination of writings, *ibid.* ; verdict of Bottini (*Promotor Fidei*), 463 f. ; Process delayed until 1714, 464 f. ; petition of the Dominican Master-General, *ibid.* ; further delay until 1752, 465 ; opposition of Card. Passionei, 466 ff. ; Benedict XIV's comments on the 'Cause,' 470 f. ; and on the *Autobiography*, 472 ; Beatification prevented by French and Austrian opposition, 473 ff. ; further efforts to resume the 'Cause,' 476 ; decree of 'Heroicity,' *ibid.* ; Beatification by Pope Pius XI, 477 ff., Appendix iv, pp. 497 ff. ; translation of Blessed Robert's relics, 478 f. ; the Mass of his Feast, Appendix v, pp. 504 ff.

Letters :
Correspondents unnamed, i. 348, 456 ; ii. 62, 73, 82, 265 f., 267, 271, 273 f., 296, 306, 378, 418 f., 422 f.
de Almeida, John Francis, ii. 321
Antoniano, Cardinal, ii. 108 f.
Aquaviva, Claudius, S. J., i. 127, 169 ff., 212, 271 ff., 329, 358 ff., 402
Arnoux, Jean, i. 213
von Aschhausen, Godfrey, ii. 299 ff.
Bandini, Cardinal, ii. 430
Baronius, Cardinal, ii. 294
Bellarmine, Thomas, i. 45, 322, 325, 338 f., 341 ff., 345 f., 348 ff., 355, 363 f., 406, 413 ; ii. 101 f., 425
Benavides, Michael, O.P., ii. 68
Birkhead, Dr. George, ii. 282
Blackwell, Rev. George, Archpriest, ii. 180–183
de Coire, Reginald, O.P., i. 156 f.
Calvin, Justus, i. 445 f.
Campigny, Dom. Charles, ii. 277
Capuan Nuns, ii. 89 f., 125
Carier, Benjamin Anthony, i. 185 f.
Carminata, Fr., S.J., i. 352, 422 ff., 425 ff., 437 ; ii. 93, 107 f., 115, 122 f.
de Castro, Anthony, ii. 424
Celestines, Provincial of, ii. 275 f.
Cervini, Mgr., i. 362
Charles of Lorraine, ii. 298 f.
Clavius, Fr., S.J., ii. 343
Clement VIII, i. 449 ff. ; ii. 58–61, 104–107
Constance, Rector of College in, ii. 418
Coton, Père, S.J., ii. 295
Cresswell, Fr., i. 204
Cudsem, Peter, i. 75 ; ii. 409 f.
Danesi, Mgr., i. 344
Deckers, Fr., S.J., ii. 30–31
von Dermbach, Dom Balthasar, ii. 268
Doge of Venice, ii. 127, 143
Drugeth von Homonay, George, ii. 284 ff.
Dubois, Fr. John, ii. 244, 257 f.
Electors of Mayence, Cologne, Trèves, ii. 287 f.
Fanson, Dom Nicholas, ii. 269 f.
Ferdinand of Styria, Archduke, ii. 286 f., 290
Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Tuscany, i. 340 f.
Foscarini, Paul Anthony, ii. 358 ff.
Francis de Sales, St., ii. 304
Gaetano, Archbishop, ii. 125 f.
Galileo, ii. 347
Gerard, John, S.J., ii. 420
Germeys, Dom Hubert, O.S.B., ii. 270
Gifford, William, ii. 297
Gondomar, Count, ii. 285 f.
Gnesen, Archbishop of, ii. 279
Gretzer, James, i. 127
Han, Bonaventure, i. 457 f.
Inquisitor of Portugal, ii. 322
James I, ii. 146 ff.
Jones, Fr., O.S.B., ii. 270 f.
Ladislas, Crown Prince, i. 233
Lessius, Leonard, S.J., ii. 14, 66
Lipsius, Justus, i. 405
Louis XIII, i. 440

BELLARMINE (*continued*):
Lucca, Senators of, ii. 310–315.
Mandarins, Christian, ii. 323 f.
Mayence, Archbishop of, i. 458
Maximilian the Great, Duke of Bavaria, ii, 288, 291–294, 300
Mendoza, Ferdinand, i. 328
Mercurian, Everard, S.J., i. 317
Modena, Inquisitor of, i. 439
Olica, Duke of, i. 459; ii. 426
Oratorians, ii. 427
Padilla, Fr., S.J., ii. 57
du Perron, Cardinal, ii. 63 f.
Pozzi, Sebastiano, ii. 316 f.
Prochnicki, Bishop, ii. 122
Queen of France, ii. 250 f.
Reitberg, Count John of, ii. 272 f.
Roz, Mgr. Francis, ii. 317 ff.
Rudolph II, Emperor, ii. 224
da Sà, Christopher, ii. 321
St. Clement, Cardinal of, i. 258 ff.
Salmeron, Fr., S.J., i. 131
Talpa, Fr. Anthony, i. 405
Taylor, Dr. William, ii. 107
Valier, Cardinal, i. 406
Verdun, Bishop of, i. 446 f.
de Villars, Mgr., ii. 301 f.
Vilna, Bishop of, i. 456
Vitelleschi, Mutius, S.J., ii. 86 f., 263 f.
Walpole, Fr. Michael, ii. 296
Würzburg, Bishop of, ii. 380, 421

Sermons:
Preaches as a child, i. 11; as a schoolboy, 21 f.; at Il Vivo, 29 f.; sermons in the *stilo alto*, 53; Latin sermons, 65; at Louvain, *ibid.* and 76 ff.; lasting impression left by them in Belgium, 67; on the composition of, 77 ff.; *Qui habitat in adjutorio Altissimi*, sermon on psalms, 77, 90; *Missus est angelus*, 77, 81 f.; need of eloquence in, 86 f.; use of rhetorical devices, 87 f.; knowledge of the Fathers in, 83 f.; on the Real Presence, 84; on frequent Communion, 85; 'It is now the hour to rouse ourselves from sleep,' 91 f.; humour in, *ibid.*; on the Carnival, 92 f.; on drink, 93 f.; before Gregory XIII, 125; on St. Aloysius, 310; preaches in Capua, ii. 74 ff.

Works:
Admonitio ad Episcopum Theanensem, ii. 397, 400, 402
Apologia Roberti Bellarmini . . . pro responsione sua ad Librum Jacobi, Magnae Britanniae Regis, i. 227 ff.; ii. 217–224, 253
Autobiography, i. 9 and *passim.*; origin, ii. 412; attacks on, 415 f.
Catechism, see 'Catechism', '*Dottrina Christiana*' and '*Explanation of Christian Doctrine*'
Conciones Lovanii habitae, i. 45, 65, 69, 76 ff.
Controversies, i. 132, and see 'Controversies'
De Aeterna felicitate sanctorum, ii. 303, 392, 393–397
De Arte bene moriendi, ii. 397, 404–406
De Ascensione Mentis in Deum, i. 28, 82; ii. 334, 381 f., 384 ff., 388, 391 f., 399
De Christo, i. 179
De Conciliis et Ecclesia, i. 191
De Ecclesia Militante, i. 191
De Ecclesia Triumphante, i. 178 f.
De editione Latina Vulgata, etc., i. 299
De Gemitu Columbae, i. 134; ii. 259, 397, 399, 418
De gratia et libero arbitrio, ii. 31–32
De Indulgentiis et Jubileo, i, 350–351
De Membris Ecclesiae, i. 216 ff. 218 f., 222 ff.
De Officio Principis Christiani, i. 232 f.
De ratione formandae Concionis, i. 77 ff., 87 f., Appendix v, pp. 508 ff.
De ratione servanda in bibliis corrigendis, i. 284, Appendix ii, pp. 482 ff.
De Reformatione, i. 453
De Reformatione Martyrologii Romani, i. 385
De Romano Pontifice, i. 151, 178 f., 191, 230, 256, 263 f., 266, 293, 304
De Sacramento Eucharistiae, i. 160
De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, i. 39, 104 ff.

BELLARMINE (*continued*):
De Septem Verbis, i. 45, 213; ii. 397
De Verbo Dei, i. 68, 223
Devout Meditations of Cardinal Bellarmine, ii. 388 f.
Dichiarazione del Simbolo, ii, 93
Dottrina Christiana breve, i. 390, 397 f.; see 'Catechism'
Dubia quaedam de Historiis in Breviario Romano, i. 386
Epistola Apologetica (to Cardinal St. Clement), i. 258 ff.
Epistolae Familiares (ed. Fuligatti), i. 77, 186, 213, 390, 405, 429, 446 f., 456–459; ii. 67, 93, 107, 122, 126, 143, 148, 254, 257 f., 266, 288 f., 292–297, 299–302, 304, 410, 418 ff.
Examen (of work by Roger Widdrington), i. 228; ii. 254–257
Exhortationes Domesticae, i. 107 ff., 135, 437, 439; ii. 389 ff.
An Explanation of Christian doctrine, i. 390 ff., 397 ff.; see 'Catechism'
Hebrew Grammar, i. 101 f.
Hieraticon Doron, ii. 156 ff., and see 'James I'
In omnes Psalmos Explanatio, ii. 378–381
In quo positus fuerit error Pelagii, etc., ii. 54
Memorandum to Gregory XIV, i. 294 f.
On the Obedience . . . called blind, i. 134 f., Appendix III, pp. 485 ff.
Preface to the Clementine Vulgate, i. 294 f.
Recognitio Librorum omnium Roberti Bellarmini, i. 225–227
Refutatio libelli Italici, dicti: Aviso piacevole ec., i, 366–374
Responsio . . . ad calumnias, etc., i. 438–439
Responsio Matthaei Torti, ii. 191 f., 210
Risposta ad una lettera, etc., ii. 136 ff.
Risposta . . . alla difesa . . . di Giovanni Marsilio, i. 224 f.
Risposta . . . all' oppositioni di F. Paolo, ii. 139, 142
Tractatus de Potestate Summi Pontificis, etc., ii. 241 ff.
arms of, i. 3
play on the name, i. 158 ff.
as name for jug, see 'Greybeard'
Camilla, i. 12 f., 31; ii. 102
Catherine, i. 355
Cynthia (Cervini), i. 7, 9 f., 12 ff., 16, 24 f., 31, 38, 117 f.
Maria, i. 77; ii. 425
Thomas, i. 45, 325, 338 ff., 342 f., 345 f., 348 f., 354, 363 f., 406, 413; ii. 74, 101, 279, 307
Vincenzo, i. 8 f., 15, 25, 27, 31, 117
Vittoria, i. 355

Bellarminus Correctus, Enervatus, Notatus, i. 160
Bellum Papale (Dr. James), i. 291 f., 296
Benassai, Signor, ii. 314 f.
Benavente, Count of, ii. 100
Benavides, Michael, O.P., ii. 68
Bencio, Fr., i. 348
Benedict, St., ii. 268, 276
Benedict XIII, Pope, ii. 475
Benedict XIV, Pope, i. 396; ii. 129, 414, 464, 469–477; *De servorum Dei beatificatione, etc.*, 465
Benedict XV, Pope, ii. 476
Benedictines, ii. 267–273, 278
Benefices, Bellarmine and their bestowal, ii. 81
Bentivoglio, Cardinal, *Opere Storiche*, i. 67, 72, 358; *Memorie Storiche*, 358, 407 f., 447
Bernard, St., i. 256, 260, 368, 443, 451; ii. 293 f., 395, 460
Bernini, ii. 457
Berti, Domenico, *Copernico e le vicende del systema Copernicano*, ii. 327; *Giordano Bruno da Nola, ibid.*
Bertrand, J., *La mission du Maduré*, ii. 320
Berzetti, Nicholas, S.J., ii. 376
de Bethune, ii. 128
Betten, Leonard, ii. 270
Bevagna, Blessed James of, O.P., ii. 68
Beza, Theodore, i. 102, 161, 165, 179, 368; *Du Droit des Magistrats*, ii. 239
Bibliotheca Angelica, i. 288
Bible, Antwerp, i. 292
Bicci, *Notizia della Famiglia Boccapaduli*, i. 9
Bickersteth, Edward, *On Popery*, i. 166
Biel, Gabriel, ii. 32
de la Bigne, Marguerin, *Bibliotheca*, i. 103
Birch, *Court and Times of James I*, ii. 210

Birkhead, Dr. George, ii. 254, 281–284, 285
Biscioli, Gabriel, S.J., i. 430
Bishop, Dr. William, *A Reproofe of . . . Abbot's Defence*, i. 153; 174; ii. 178
Bishops, Bellarmine on duties and qualifications of, i. 448–452, 454; advice and instructions for, ii. 400 ff.
Bishops-elect, Bellarmine examiner of, i. 355
Blackwell, Rev. George, Archpriest, ii. 177 f., 185 ff., 254, 285
Bladus, Paul, i. 271
Bliss, *Roman Transcripts*, ii. 152
Blondo, Fr., S.J., i. 214
Bobola, B. Andrew, S.J., ii. 474
Boccaccio, i. 367 f., 373
La Boderie, *Ambassades*, ii. 173, 178, 184 f., 198, 205, 210, 212 ff., 234
Bodin, Jean, i. 236, 345; *Six Livres de la République*, ii. 153 f.
Bohemia, ii. 288 ff.
Boleyn, Anne, ii. 159
Bollandists, see '*Acta Sanctorum*'
Bonaventure, St., i. 422, 438; *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, ii. 383
Boniface VIII, i. 220 f., 252 f., 255 ff., 369, 372
Bonvisi, Lorenzo, ii. 309
Borghese, Cardinal, see 'Paul V'
Borgia, Cardinal, ii. 116
Borromeo, St. Charles, Cardinal, i. 112 ff., 422; ii. 105, 261, 298
Boscaglia, Dr. Cosimo, ii. 349
Bossuet, i. 155, 165, 181, 187; opinion of Oath of Allegiance, ii. 177
Bottini, Prosper, ii. 414, 463
Boucher, John, *De iusta Henrici tertii abdicatione*, ii. 239
de Bourbon, Anthony, i. 195
de Bourbon, Cardinal, i. 199, 200
Bourget, Paul, *Sensations d'Italie*, i. 2
Boutry, Maurice, *Choiseul à Rome*, ii. 474
Braunsberger, *Beati Petri Canisii Epistolae*, i. 99
Brentz, i. 165, 178
B'resith, Bellarmine on meaning of, i. 101
Brera, College of, i. 113
Breviary of Pius V, i. 385 ff.
Breviary, Bellarmine and, i. 316; Bellarmine on lessons of St. Romuald, 348; his concern over second nocturns, 385 f.; member of commission for reform of Breviary (1592), *ibid.* ff.; his contribution to, 388 ff.; verses on St. Mary Magdalen, 389; revision of Monastic Breviary, ii. 271 ff.
Breviary, the Celestine, ii. 276
Brightman, Dr. Thomas, i. 153; ii. 222
Brill, i. 110
Brink, Ernest, ii. 353
Bristow, Dr., i. 73
Broët, Paschase, S.J., i. 11 f., 16, 25
Broughton, Fr., ii. 178
Brown, Prof. Hume, ii. 153; *History of Scotland*, ii. 212
Bruno, Giordano, ii. 327, 362
Buchanan, George, *De jure Regni apud Scotos*, ii. 153, 191
Buckingham, Countess of, i. 147 ff.
Buckingham, Marquis of, i. 147; ii. 260
del Bufalo, Cardinal, ii. 408
Bullinger, i. 165
Buoncompagni, the, ii. 318
Buratti, Bartolomeo, ii. 102
Burke, Thomas, Bishop of Ossory, i. 398
Burleigh, Lord, i. 138; ii. 259
Burnet, Bishop, *Travels through France, Italy, etc.*, i. 323
Buschbell, Dr. Godfrey, i. 11, 336; *Abhandlungen der Herren Buschbell, Engert*, u.s.w., 337; 342 402; in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, i. 11; ii. 90
Butler, Charles, *Historical Memoirs*, ii. 193, 200
Buxton, Ven. Christopher, i. 124
Bzovius, Abraham, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, ii. 263 f.

C

Caccini, Matteo, O.P., ii. 353 ff.
Caccini, Tommaso, ii. 352–354, 363
Caecilius (African bishop), i. 178
Cafaggiolo, i. 341
A Cage for the turtle-dove, etc., ii. 399
Cagiano, Antonio, ii. 75 f.
Cajetan, Henry Cardinal, sent as Papal Legate to France, 201 f., 205, 209 ff., 213 f., 271, 274
Cajetan, Thomas Cardinal, O.P., i. 96, 101, 261; ii. 20

Calabria, i. 331
Calderwood, David, *True History of the Church of Scotland*, ii. 210, 212, 221
Calefati, John, i. 407
Calendar, Bellarmine and reform of, i. 129
Calenzio, *La Vita e gli scritti del Card. Baronio*, i. 448
Calvin, John, i. 154, 165, 179, 351; ii. 3, 5, 17, 32
Calvin (Chauvin), Justus, *Epistolae*, i. 445
Calvinists, i. 44; ii. 63, 147
Camaldoli, i. 46 f.; hermits of, i. 27
Cambrai, Archbishop of, ii. 15
Cambridge, University of, i. 138 ff.
Camerino, Cardinal, i. 325
Campbell, A. G., *Life of Paolo Sarpi*, ii. 129, 131
Campigny, Dom Charles, *Breviarium nostrae Congregationis etc.*, ii. 277
Campion, Blessed Edmund, i. 421; ii. 186
Camus, Pierre, *L'Esprit du B. François de Sales*, ii. 399, 401 f.
Canaye, Philippe, *Lettres et Ambassades*, ii. 121, 127 f.
Canisius, Theodoric, S.J., i. 182 f.
Cano, Melchior, O.P., i. 96, 299, 375, 377; ii. 34
Canon Law, i. 106
Cantor, ii. 370
Cantu, Cesare, *Gli Eretici d'Italia*, i. 345; ii. 133
Capreolus, i. 96; ii. 25
Capua, Bellarmine appointed Archbishop of, ii. 61, 70 f.; described by Fynes Moryson, 71; reception accorded to Bellarmine, 72 f.; effect of Bellarmine's sermons in, 74 ff.; gambling in, 77 f.; taxation of Capuan clergy relieved by Bellarmine, 81; renovation of Cathedral and other churches, 82 f.; the chapel in the market-place, 83 ff.; reform of the Convent of St. John, 88 f.; catechetical instructions given by Bellarmine, 91 f.; Bellarmine's prediction of his tenure of the See, 109 ff.; his departure, 111 f.; Mgr. Gaetano appointed to succeed him, 123; and see 'BELLARMINE: *Archbishop of Capua*'
Carafa, Cardinal, i. 278 f.
Cardinals, Bellarmine on, i. 453 ff.
Carerius, A., *De potestate Romani Pontificis etc.*, i. 258 ff.
Caretti, *Santorale S. Ordinis Cisterciensis*, i. 444
Carier, Benjamin Anthony, converted after reading *Controversies*, i. 184 f.; correspondence with Bellarmine, 185 f.
Carleton, Sir Dudley, ii. 207
Carlstadt, i. 165
Carlyle, Doctor A. J., i. 238
Carmelites, General of the Discalced, ii. 265
Carminata, John Baptist, S.J., i. 321, 351 f., 421 f., 425 ff., 437; ii. 93, 107 ff., 114 f., 122 ff.
Carnival, in Venice, i. 57 f.; Bellarmine's views on, i. 58; in Louvain, i. 92 f.
Carresio, Canon, ii. 79 f.
Cartwright, *The Ordinary*, i. 143
Casale, Father, ii. 16
Casaubon, Isaac, i. 132, 175, 181, 184, 210; ii. 133, 226 ff., 233 f.
Casentino, i. 46
Cassiodorus, i. 105
Castelli, ii, 348, 353 f., 356, 360, 363
Castile, Inquisition of, ii. 28
de Castro, Anthony, O.S.B., ii. 423
de Castro, Cardinal Francis, ii. 35 f.
de Castro, Francis, Viceroy of Naples, ii, 78
Catechism, Bellarmine a great catechist, i. 389 ff.; his scheme in the *Little Catechism*, 390 f.; his Catechism ordered by Clement VIII to be used in Rome, 394 f.; translations and editions of, 395 f.; adopted by St. Francis de Sales, 396; opposition of Joseph II and Prince Kaunitz to, 397 ff.; references to, in Vatican Council, 397; proscribed in Lombardy, 399; see '*Dottina Christiana, etc.*'
Catesby, Robert, ii. 150, 152
Catherinus, ii. 60
Catherine of Alexandria, St., i. 18, 388
Catherine of Siena, St., i. 438
Catholics and the Oath of Allegiance to James I, ii. 174 f.
Cavalchini, Cardinal Albert, *Relatio*, i. 67; 163 f.; ii. 465, 475

Cavallera, Ferdinand, *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique*, ii. 381
Cecil, Sir Robert, ii. 152
Cecil, William, see 'Burleigh, Lord'
Celebrity, Bellarmine's, i. 139, 153
Celestine V, Pope, i. 369; ii. 258, 273 f.
Celestine Breviary, ii. 76
Celestines, Bellarmine appointed Cardinal Protector of, ii. 273–278
Centino, Cardinal, i. 334
Centuriators, The, i. 98 f., 120, 165, 177 f., 256
Centuries of Magdeburg, see 'Centuriators'
Cepari, Father, S.J., i. 141, 322, 411; *Vita del Card. Bellarmino*, ii. 375
Cervini, Alessandro, i. 14, 16, 18, 25, 27 f., 29 f.
Cervini, Celia, i. 7
Cervini, Cynthia, see 'Bellarmine, Cynthia'
Cervini, Elisabetta, i. 7
Cervini, Mgr. Herennius, i. 346 f., 356, 362
Cervini, Julia, i. 7
Cervini, Cardinal Marcello, see 'Marcellus II'
Cervini, Marcello, *Adumbrata Imago . . . Virtutum . . . Bellarmini*, i. 336, 409, 417 f.
Cervini, Piera, ii. 332
Cervini, Riccardo (cousin of Bellarmine), i. 20, 26, 29 f., 39
Cervini, Riccardo (grandfather of Bellarmine), i. 7, 27, 52; ii. 332
Cesi, Cardinal, i. 364
Cesi, Prince Federico, ii. 342, 356, 363
Challoner, *Missionary Priests*, ii. 210
Chamberlain, John, ii. 207, 210
Chamier (Chamierus), Daniel, i. 146
Chancery, Papal, i. 362, 453
Charity to the poor, Bellarmine's, i. 410 ff; ii. 92, 94–97
Charles Borromeo, St., i. 112 ff.; ii. 105, 261, 298
Charles of Lorraine, Bishop of Verdun, ii. 298
Chatillon, Secretary of Cardinal du Perron, i. 180
Chelsea, college of controversy at, i. 160
Chelsea, the Royal Hospital, i. 161
Chemnitz, i. 127, 165, 351
Chew, Miss H. M., ii. 154
du Chesne, J. B., *Histoire du Baianisme*, i. 69, 70; ii. 16
China, Jesuit missionaries in, ii. 322 ff.
Chiusi (Clusium), i. 3 f., 13
Choiseul, Duc de, ii. 471, 473–474
Choupin, Father, S.J., *Valeur des décisions du Saint Siège*, ii. 367
Christina of Lorraine, ii. 306, 348, 363
Chronicles, Dominican, ii. 67
Church, Dean, *Masters in English Theology*, ii. 210
Church, power of, immediately from God, i. 223 f.
Church and State, Bellarmine on relations of, i. 216 ff.; medieval conception of, i. 219 f.; and see 'Political Theories'
Chytraeus, i. 165
Ciaia, Angelo della, ii. 400
Ciampoli, Father, ii, 357 f., 363
Cicero, i. 17 f.
Cini, Angelo, see 'Politian'
Città de la Pieve, i. 4
La Civiltà Cattolica, i. 399; ii. 467 f., 470, 476 f.
de Civitate Dei, political theory in, ii. 234
Clavius, Christopher, S.J., i. 345; *Commentarius in Sphaeram J. de Sacro Bosco*, ii. 336; 337 ff., 345
Claysson, Father, S.J., i. 107
Cleanliness in churches, Bellarmine on, i. 81
Clement V, Pope, i. 369
Clement VIII, Pope, elected, i. 287; 289, 292 ff., 327, 329, 338, 342; orders Bellarmine to write on indulgences, 350; makes him examiner of bishops-elect, 355; absolves Henry IV, 356; excommunicates Cesare d'Este, *ibid.*; 358–364; acknowledged to be head of the Patriarchate and the vicar of Christ over the universal Church by Coptic Patriarch, 367; appoints commission for further reform of Breviary, 385, 388 f.; issues Brief on Bellarmine's catechism, 395; makes Bellarmine cardinal, 400 ff.; 407, 440; presents Bellarmine with benefice of Cardinal of Aragon, 447, 448; commissions Bellarmine to draw up statement of the duties of the Pope, 448 ff.;

Clement VIII (*continued*):
458; appoints commission to examine Molina's *Concordia*, ii. 52–54; sympathies with the Dominicans, 54–55; Bellarmine's letters to, 58–61, 104–107; appoints Bellarmine to see of Capua, 61, 70 f.; death, 64; prophecy of Bellarmine about, 56, 111; forbearance with Venetians, 127 f.; 145 f., 196, 205, 210, 213, 225
Clement X, Pope, ii. 463
Clement XI, Pope, i. 67, 444; ii. 265, 464 f.
Clément, Jacques, i. 200
Clemente, D., *S. Tommaso d'Aquino e Napoli*, ii. 67
Clementine Vulgate, see 'Vulgate'
Clermont, College of, i. 63, 211 f.
Cloche, Anthony, O.P., ii. 464
Clusium, see Chiusi
Cobellucci, Cardinal, ii. 410
Cocquelines, *Bullarum Collectio*, i. 356
Coffin, Edward, S.J., *The Art of Dying Well*, ii. 406; *True Relation of the Death of Cardinal Bellarmine*, 432 ff., 454 f., 458 f.
Coeffeteau, Nicholas, O.P., ii. 233, 246
de Coire, Reginald, O.P., i. 156
Colbert, Mgr., i. 398
Collegia Bellarminiana, really study-circles, i. 160
Collegio Romano, i. 33 f., 390
Collins, Dr. Samuel, ii. 234 f.
Cologne, i. 74 f.; ii. 256
Colombi, Ludovico, ii. 348
Colonna, Cardinal, i. 272, 283 ff., 348
Colonna, Marcantonio, i. 129
Colonna, Sciarra, i. 372
Comma pianum, i. 70
Commendone, Cardinal, i. 73
Commentary on the Psalms, ii. 378–381
Communion, Frequent, Bellarmine on, i. 85 f.
Communion, Holy, Bellarmine's instructions for receiving, i. 392
Conception (the Immaculate), i. 379 ff., Appendix VI, 512 ff.; ii. 47
Conciones Lovanii habitae, i. 45, 65, 69
Conclave (1605), first conclave: French and Spanish influences, ii. 113; Bellarmine receives majority in first ballot, 113 f.; election of Cardinal de' Medici (Leo XI), 114; second conclave: view of the Spanish party on Bellarmine's candidature, ii. 115 ff.; Baronius' activities to promote it, 117 f.; inactivity of Bellarmine, 118 f.; 121; election of Paul V, 121
Concord, Book of (Lutheran), criticized by Bellarmine, i. 131
Concorsi (*Concursus*), Bellarmine assists at, ii. 81 f.
de Condé, Prince, i. 197
'Confessions by letter,' ii. 41 f.
Confessor, Bellarmine as a, i. 110
Congregationes de Auxiliis, see 'Grace, Controversy on'
Congruism, ii. 4–5, 31 f., 33, and see 'Grace, Controversy on'
Constable, Robert, ii. 425
Constance, Rector of Jesuit College in, ii. 418
Constantine, Dom, O.S.B., ii. 294
Constitutiones Societatis Jesu, i. 71, 375
Contarelli, Cardinal, i. 119
Contarini, Thomas, ii. 131, 143
Controversies (Bellarmine's), course of, i. 95, 120–122, 132 f., 145–160; their effect in England, 145–155; studied by Donne and Montagu, 146; studied by Laud, 147 f.; Laud's copy in Dublin, *ibid.*; taken as decisive authority in controversy in London, 148; attacked by Sutcliffe, Abbot, Downham, and Hall, 149; text misconstructed by Willet, 150; and by Dove, *ibid.*; Papal Infallibility, 151 f.; answered by Brightman, and other Anglican divines, 153; authority acknowledged by Wm. Bishop, Thos. Bell, Mosheim, 153; and by *The Times* (1839), 154; and by Dr. John Eadie, 155; author compared with Bossuet, Möhler, Wiseman, *ibid.*; their effect on Continent, *ibid.*; answered by Lutherans, Calvinists, Zwinglians, Anabaptists, Jews, Socinians, *ibid.*; answered by Marnix de Sainte-Aldegonde, *ibid.*; author called 'Archirabbi des Loiolites,' 156; defended by James Gretser,

Controversies (*continued*):
S.J., *ibid.*; author's supposed pilgrimage to Loreto, *ibid.*; his supposed death, *ibid.*; letter to Coire, *ibid.*; textually criticised by Voorst, 157; criticised by du Jon, 157 f.; defended by Eudaemon-Joannes against Danaeus, 159; his work perverted to heretical uses, *ibid.*; gives rise to *Collegia Bellarminiana*, 160; Protestant esteem for the *Controversies*, 161 f.; courtesy shown to opponents, 163; impartial presentation of opponents' arguments, 165 ff., 171; Protestant tributes to his fairness, 165 f.; impartiality concerning bad Popes, 167; difficulties with Fr. Arator over the *Controversies*, 167 ff.; efforts to have *Controversies* banned by Inquisition, 172; Bellarmine's avoidance of abuse, 175 ff.; Catholic praise of *Controversies*, 179 ff.; use of *Controversies* at Rome as textbook, 183 f.; used as textbook at Douai, 184; Carier converted after reading, 184 f.; influence at Vatican Council, 187 ff.; Bellarmine's wide reading for the *Controversies*, 191; clearness of reasoning, 192 f.; Pope Sixtus V decides to put the *Controversies* on the Index, 269–276; 293 f., 327, 350; reply to Francis Perrot, 366 ff.; on Dante, 369 ff.; on Boccaccio, 373; 485, 487; ii. 31–33, 222, 479
Controversies of St. Francis de Sales, i. 182
Conversation, Bellarmine's, ii. 410 ff.
Cooper, *Athenae Cantab.*, ii. 107
Copernicanism, ii. 351, 353, 358, 361, 364, 368. See 'Galilei'
Copernicus, Nicholas, i. 52; *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium*, ii. 331, 355–358, 361–362, 370
Copley, Anthony, his description of Father Persons, i, 174
Coqueau (Coquaeus), Father Leonard, ii. 233, 267
Cornelius, Pope, i. 177
Cornelius, Ven. John, S.J., i. 124
Cornely, Father, S.J., *Introductio in U.T. Libros Sacros*, i. 279, 285, 297
Cornwallis, Sir Charles, ii. 214 f.
Corporal punishment, Bellarmine's views on, i. 45
Corsini, Cardinal, ii. 466
Corvitus, Simon, ii. 292
Coryat, Tom, *Crudities*, i. 23
Cosimo de' Medici, see 'de' Medici'
Costa, Caesar, Archbishop of Capua, ii. 70, 109
Costa, Father, i. 401
de Costa, Hilarion, *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, ii. 266, 399
Coster, Father, S.J., i. 116
Coton, Père, S.J., *Institution Catholique*, ii. 295 f.
Couderc, Père, S.J., *Le Vénérable Cardinal Bellarmin*, i. 102, 144, 161, 271; ii. 111, 116–118
Council, Congregation of the, i. 298 f., 301
Le Courayer, *Histoire du Concile de Trente*, ii. 133
Coutras, Battle of, i. 199
Crescenzio, Cardinal, i. 111, 420
Creswell, Father, i. 177, 204
Crétineau-Joly, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, i. 214
Criminals in Rome, Pope's duty as to, i. 455
Crivelli, Julius Caesar, ii. 288
Cronin, Rev. M., *Science of Ethics*, i. 242
Cudsem, Peter, i. 75; ii. 393
La Ciudad de Dios (Review), ii. 34
Cyprian, Father Theatine, ii. 98
Cyprian, St., i. 177
Cyril of Alexandria, St., i. 85; ii. 217

D

Dalgairns, Fr., i. 167
Dalton, Fr. John, *Gradual whereby to ascend unto God*, ii. 389
Damasus, St., Pope, i. 300
Danaeus, i. 159
Danesi, Mgr., i. 344, 349
Dancing, Bellarmine's views on, i. 58
Dante, Bellarmine's defence of his orthodoxy, i. 366–372
Dantzic, ii. 408
Dataria, Bellarmine and the, ii. 107
Davenant, Dr. John, ii. 201 f.
Davila, Fr., O.P., refuted by Bellarmine, ii. 54
Deafness, Bellarmine's, i. 349 f.

De aeterna Felicitate Sanctorum, ii. 303, 392, 395 f., 397
De Arte bene Moriendi, ii. 397, 404 ff.
De Ascensione Mentis in Deum, i. 28, 82 ; ii. 334, 381 f., 384 ff., 388, 391, 399
De Auxiliis, Congregationes, ii. 61, 64 ; and see ' Grace, Controversy on.'
Deckers, Fr. John, ii. 29–31
De Christo, i. 179
De Conciliis et Ecclesia, i. 191
Decretals, False, Bellarmine on, i. 388
De Ecclesia Militante, i. 191
De Ecclesia Triumphante, i. 178 f.
De editione Latina vulgata, i. 299
Defender of the Faith, Bellarmine on the title, ii. 157 f.
De Gemitu Columbae, i. 134 ; ii. 259, 397, 399, 418
De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio, ii. 32–33
del Bufalo, Cardinal, ii. 408
De Membris Ecclesiae, i. 218 f., 222 ff.
Denis, St., i. 105, 387 ff.
De officio Principis Christiani, i. 233
De Potestate Summi Pontificis, ii. 241–251
Deposing Power, the, i. 220, 226–227
De Ratione formandae Concionis, i. 79, 87 f.
De Ratione servanda in Bibliis corrigendis, i. 284
von Dermbach, Dom Balthasar, ii. 268 f.
De Reformatione, i. 453
De Reformatione Martyrologii Romani, i. 385
De Romano Pontifice, i. 151, 178 f., 191, 230, 256, 263 f., 266, 293, 304
De Sacramento Eucharistiae, i. 160
De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, i. 39, 104 ff.
De Septem Verbis, i. 45 ; ii. 397
De Tribulatione (sermons), i. 79 f.
Deuteronomy, i. 293
Devas, Fr., S.J., translation of Bellarmine's hymn, i. 389
De Verbo Dei, i. 68, 223
Devout Meditations of Cardinal Bellarmine, ii. 388
Deza, Fr., S.J., i. 376, 379 f.
Dichiarazione, i. 397 ; see ' Catechism '
Dietrichstein, Cardinal Francis, i. 365 ; ii. 117
Digby, Sir John, ii. 235, 238
Dini, Mgr., ii. 343, 356, 363
Dionysius the Areopagite, St., see ' Denis, St.'
Diroys, i. 187
Discipline in Italian and Calvinist schools, i. 44
Discours véritable du Siège de Paris, i. 212
Disputationes de Controversiis, i. 368 f., 371, 373, 390
Diuturnum Illud, Encyclical, i. 244–251
Divina Commedia, the, i. 369
Divine Right of Kings, and Republics, see ' Kings,' ' Republics '
Doctor, Bellarmine's ambition to be, i. 15, 24
Doleman, R., *A conference about the next Succession*, ii. 144
Döllinger, Dr., i. 176, 189, 342 ; ii. 255
Döllinger-Reusch, *Edition of Bellarmine's Autobiography*, i. 9, 297, 353, 433 ; ii. 255, 416
Dominicans, in Montepulciano, i. 27 ; Bellarmine urged to join them, 30 ; 96 ; teaching on sufficient and efficacious grace, ii. 25 ; teaching on predetermination, 24 f.; their controversy with the Jesuits, 34–64 ; Bellarmine promotes ' Cause ' of Bd. James of Bevagna, O.P., and St. Raymund of Pennafort, O.P., 68 ; his devotion to and veneration for Dominican saints, 67–68 ; his appeal to Paul V on behalf of Thomas Pallavicino, O.P., 69
Dominico, James, S.J., i. 430
de Dominis, Marcantonio, and Sarpi, ii. 133 ; adventures of in England, 229–233 ; *De Republica Christiana*, 233
Donald, King of Scotland, ii. 162
Donation of Constantine, i. 370 ; ii. 294–295
Donatist Schism, i. 150
Donato, Leonardo, ii. 131–132
Donesmundi, Ippolito, *Vita dell' ill^mo. . . . Mgr. Francesco Gonzaga*, ii. 263
Donne, John, i. 145 f. ; ii. 234
Dottrina Christiana breve, i. 390, 397 f. ; see ' Catechism.'
Douay, Bellarmine's lecture notes used at, i. 73 ; *Controversies* used as text-book at, 184 : ii. 15, 29 f.
Dove, Dr., *Persuasion to English Recusants*, i. 150

Downham, Bishop George, i. 149 ; ii. 296
Dragomanni, Mgr., Bishop of Pienza, ii. 124
Driedo, John, i. 191, 299
Drugeth von Homonay, George, ii. 288 ff.
Drummond, Sir Edward, ii. 145, 213
Drunkenness, Bellarmine on, i. 93–94
Dubia Quaedam de Historiis in Breviario Romano positis, i. 386
Dubois, John, ii. 243 ; *Le Tocsin au Roi*, 244 f. ; Bellarmine and, 257–258
Duhem, Pierre, *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, ii, 330, 361
Duke, Ven. Edmund, i. 124
Dulio, Fr., S.J., i. 64
Dunning, Professor, *History of Political Theories*, i. 236
Dunstan, St., ii. 220
Dupanloup, Mgr., i. 396
Duplessis-Mornay, *Mémoires et Correspondance*, ii. 216
Dupont, Fr. Eleutherius, ii. 17
Durand de Maillane, ii. 249
Durandus, i. 181
Duval, André, Bellarmine's controversy with, i. 225
Van Dyke, *Biography of St. Ignatius*, ii. 380

E

Eadie, Dr. John, in *Imp. Dict. of Universal Biography*, i. 155
Ecclesiastical Power, see ' Political Theories '
Edmonds, Sir Thomas, ii. 215
Edmund, St., ii. 220
Edward the Confessor, i. 235
Egerton MSS., letter of Bellarmine in, ii. 94
Egloffstein, H., *Fürstabt B. von Dermbach etc.*, ii. 269
Eleutherius, Pope St., i. 386
Elizabeth, Queen of England, i. 141, 143 f. ; ii. 144, 159–160, 195
Eloquence, Bellarmine on need of, i. 86 f. ; see ' BELLARMINE, *Sermons*.'
Elphinstone, James (Lord Balmerino), ii. 211 f.
Elvira, Council of, i. 327
Emmanuel of Savoy, Duke, i. 47, 55
Empire, the, Bellarmine's defence of papal rights over, i. 130
Encyclical to French prelates drawn up by Bellarmine, i. 205
Encyclical, *Providentissimus Deus*, ii. 360
English Catholics, Records of the, i. 73
English College, Rome, i. 119, 123 f. ; ii. 285
Epiphanius, St., i. 85
Epistola Apologetica (to Cardinal of St. Clement), i. 258 ff.
Epistolae Familiares, see ' BELLARMINE, *Correspondence* '
Epistolae Postulatorum, i. 444
Epistolae pro causa Beatificationis, i. 67 ; ii. 465
Erasmus, i. 105
Eric of Lorraine, i. 427 ff. ; ii. 298
Essex, Earl of, ii. 152
d'Este, Cardinal Alexander, ii. 94, 364, 410
d'Este, Caesar, Duke of Modena, i. 356
de l'Estoile, *Memoires*, i. 207 ff. ; ii. 114 ; *Registres Journaux*, ii. 132, 247 f., 253
Eudaemon-Joannes, Andrew, S.J., i. 58, 131, 136, 159, 453 ; ii. 94, 222, 261, 346, 407, 445
Euthymius, i. 105 ; ii. 383
Evelyn, John, *Diary*, i. 57 f.
Examen (of Widdrington), by Bellarmine, ii. 254–257
Exemption of clergy, ii. 137, see ' Political Theories '
Exercitia Spiritualia, ii. 4, 389
Exeter College (Oxford), i. 141
Exhortationes Domesticae, i. 107 ff., 135, 439 ; ii. 390–391
An Explanation of Christian Doctrine etc., i. 390 ff., 397 ff. ; see ' Catechism.'

F

Fagnano, Signor, ii. 83
Fahie, study of Galileo by, ii. 347
Faliero, Marino, ii. 138
False Decretals, i. 388
Fanshaw, Sir Henry, ii. 194
Fanson, Dom Nicholas, ii. 269
Farnese, Cardinal, ii. 107, 314 f., 392, 432, 457 f.
Fathers, Bellarmine's knowledge of the, i. 83 f.
Favaro, Prof. A., *Amici . . . di Galileo Galilei*, ii. 349 ; *Galileo e l'Inquisizione*, 351, 353, 355, 362, 366, 368, 372 ; *Galileo Galilei e Suor Maria Celeste*, 326, 373 ; *Opere di Galileo*, 340 ff., 372
Feder, George, S.J., i. 303 f.

Felice, Fra, see ' Sixtus V '
Felix, St., Bishop of Como, ii. 277
Fénélon, i. 268
Ferdinand, Archduke of Styria, ii. 286, 290
Ferdinand I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, i. 340–341
Ferdinand of Austria, ii. 265
Fernandez, Fr., S.J., i. 120
Ferrara, Bellarmine at, i. 356–364
Ferreira, Bartholomew, O.P., ii. 27–28
Feuillants, Congregation of, i, 209, 440 ff.
Fèvre, edition of Bellarmine's works, i. 130, and *passim*
Field, Richard, i. 141
Figgis, J. N., *The Divine Right of Kings*, ii. 154
Filmer, Sir Robert, *Patriarcha*, i. 239 ff.
Finali, Bro., S.J., i. 40 f., 410, 416 f.; ii. 375 f., 430, 449–450, 453
Firmanus, Hannibal, S.J., i. 38 f.
Firmian, Count, i. 398
Fisher, Blessed John, Bishop of Rochester, i. 169, 422, 451; ii. 182, 196
Fitzherbert, Thomas, S.J., i. 43; ii. 233; *Confutation of Certain Absurdities*, 234; *The Obmutesce of F.T.*, 235
Fitzpatrick, J., D.D., i. 251
Flaccius Illyricus, see ' Francowitz.'
Flecamore, Christopher, ii. 237
Fliche, A., *Gregoire VII*, i. 253; *La Réforme grégorienne*, 253
Flint, Thomas, i. 184
Florence, Bellarmine sent to, i. 40; Bellarmine preaches in, 41 f.; College at, 43; receives help on the road to, 50; ii. 102, 216, 279, 354, 363
Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, i. 124, 184; ii. 253, 281
Fontainebleau, debate at, i. 181
Fontanini, *Storia Arcana di F. Paolo*, ii. 133
Foreiro, Francis, i. 299
Fortesque Papers, ii. 214
Foscarini, Paul Anthony, ii. 358–360, 370
Fouqeray, *Hist. de la Compagnie de Jésus en France*, i. 200, 212; ii. 235, 237, 244
France, Jesuits expelled from, i. 358
' Francesco Romulus,' i. 198
Franciscan Convent in Capua, ii. 90
Francis of Assisi, St., i. 8, 47, 89, 109 f., 135, 313–315; Dante on, 372, 435 f.; ii. 49, 109, 390, 438, 462
Francis Borgia, St., i. 55, 61 f., 68, 99, 378 f.
Francis de Sales, St., i. 164, 180 ff., 355 f.; ii. 129, 249, 298, 302 f., 392, 399, 424; *Oeuvres*, 425
Francis of Paula, St., ii. 266
Francis of Vittoria, O.P., i. 96; *Relectio de Potestate Civili*, 222
Francowitz, Matthias (Flaccius Illyricus), i. 99, 130, 165, 178, 191; *A Catalogue of Witnesses to the Truth etc.*, 366
Frankfurt Fair, Bellarmine's second volume at, i. 155
Frechen, i. 142
Frederick, Elector Palatine, ii. 287, 291
Frederick I, Emperor, i. 220
Frederick of Hohenzollern, Count, ii. 287
Free-will, see ' Grace '
French, Bellarmine endeavours to learn, i. 213
Frévier, Père, S.J., in *Journal de Trevoux*, i. 299
Friesland, Eastern, i. 456 f.
Frisch, Charles, ii. 358
Frizon, Père, S.J., *La Vie du Card. Bellarmin*, i, 145, 160 f.
Fronton du Duc, Fr., S.J. (' Fronto Ducaeus '), i. 103; ii. 227–228
Fulgenzio, Fra, ii. 134
Fuligatti, G., *Vita de R. Card. Bellarmino*, i. 10, 13, 16, and *passim.*; *Roberti Bellarmini . . . Epistolae Familiares*, i. 77, 213, and *passim.*
Fuller, Thomas, *Church History of England*, i. 141, 161; ii. 230; *The Holy State &c.*, i. 177; *Worthies of England*, ii. 201–202

G

Gaetani, Dom Constantine, *De Vero S. P. Benedicti obitus anno et die controversia*, ii. 267 f.
Gaetano, Antonio, ii. 123–125
Gagliardo, Fr., S.J., i. 113
Galilei, Galileo, ii. 132, 326 ff.; general attitude of astronomers to Copernicanism, 327 ff.; Ptolemy's system, 328 ff.; Copernicanism, 331; Bellarmine's

Galilei (*continued*):
knowledge of astronomy, 332 ff.; belief in the Ptolemaic system, 333 ff.; Galileo's friendship with Fr. Clavius, 337; discovery of Jupiter's moons, 339 f.; *Sidereus Nuntius*, 339; further discoveries, 340 f.; visit to Rome, 341 ff.; *Le Opere di Galileo Galilei*, 340, 342–348, 351, 354 f., 357, 360, 364 f.; Bellarmine's questions to Clavius after using Galileo's telescope, 343 f.; Bellarmine's sundial, 346; Galileo is attacked by Martin Horky, 348, and by Francis Sizzi and by Ludovico Colombi, *ibid.*; letter to Castelli on the authority of the Scriptures, 349 ff.; attacked by Fr. Caccini, 352; Copernicanism condemned by Fr. Serarius, 353; letter to Castelli denounced to the Holy Office, 354; Bellarmine's view of Copernicanism, 356 ff.; Galileo's methods of reasoning, 360 f.; defends himself in letter to the Duchess of Lorraine, 363; again visits Rome, 364; *Il Saggiatore*, 364 f.; his obstinacy and excitability, 365; opinion of the Consultors of the Holy Office, 366; cited before Bellarmine, 368 f.; admonished by Bellarmine, 369 f.; works of Copernicus, Zuñiga and Foscarini placed on the Index, 370 f.; Galileo's audience with Paul V, 371 f.; indignation at report of his alleged recantation, 372; testimonial from Bellarmine as to the facts, *ibid.*
Galilei, Michaelangelo, ii. 132
Galletti, Fr., O.S.B., *Memorie per servire alla storia del Card. Passionei*, ii, 467
Galuzzi, *Storia del Granducato di Toscana*, ii. 280
Galuzzi, Tarquinio, *In funere Rob. Card. Bellarmini Oratio*, ii. 457
Gamurri, History of Tuscan aristocracy, i. 6
Gambaro, Fr., S.J, i. 20, 25, 27–29
Games, Bellarmine and, i. 24
Games of chance, Bellarmine on, ii. 164 f.
Gandia, college in, i. 374
Gardiner, Dr. S. R., *What Gunpowder Plot was*, ii. 152; *History of England*, ii, 184, 212, 260, 286, 290 f.
Garnet, Henry, S.J., i. 204; ii. 148, 151, 196, 201, 205 f., 208 f., 223 f., 227
Gasquet, Card., ii. 478
Gasser, Mgr., i. 188–189
Gay, *Les Papes du XI^e siècle, etc.*, i. 253
von Gebler, Karl, *Galileo Galilei and the Roman Curia*, ii. 337 ff., 341 ff., 346, 352, 355, 361, 363, 370–373
Gelasius, Pope St., i. 218
Génébrard, Gilbert, i. 179, 299
Genoa, i. 50, 59–60, 117
Gerard, John, S.J. (I), *Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot*, ii, 150, 172; letter of Bellarmine to, 419–421
Gerard, John, S.J. (II), *What Was the Gunpowder Plot*, ii. 152
Gerhard, Johann, *Bellarmine the Witness of Orthodoxy*, i. 159
German College, Rome, i. 119
Germany, non-Catholics in, i. 458
Germeys, Hubert, O.S.B., ii. 270
Gerson, John, i. 104; ii. 138
Gerund, Friar (Fray Gerundio), i. 52 f.
Gesualdi, Cardinal, i. 325
Ghent, Henry of, ii. 32
Gherardi, ii. 370
Gierke, *Political Theories of the Middle Ages*, i. 254, ff.
Gifford, William, ii. 297
Gigli, G. *Diario Senese*, ii. 332
Giovannino, San, Church of, i. 42
Giustiniani, Benedict, S.J., in *Summarium*, i. 125; ii. 366
Gnostics, i. 121
Godfrey of Liege, Father, O.F.M., i. 70
Goldwell, Bishop, ii. 285
de Gondi, Cardinal, i. 211; ii. 247
Gondomar, Count, ii. 285–286
Gonzalez, Thyrsus, S.J., i. 192
Gooch, G. P., *English Democratic Ideas, etc.*, i. 236
Goodman, Bishop, *The Court of King James I*, ii. 149 f., 152 175, 224, 230–233
Gorcum, Martyrs of, i. 110
Gori, Via di, Jesuit house in, i. 43
Gosse, Sir Edmund, *Life of John Donne*, i. 146
Gosselin, *The Power of the Pope during the Middle Ages*, i. 267 f.

Gothard, St. (Pass), i. 215
Goujet, *Eloge historique du Card. Passionei*, ii. 469
Gout, Bellarmine and Mgr. Cervini's remedy for, i. 347
Government, sanction for particular forms of, i. 222 ff.
Gowrie Plot, ii. 211

Grace, Controversy on :
Sufficient and efficacious grace, ii, 1–2 ; Pelagian and Lutheran errors on grace, 2–3 ; the errors of Baius, 3 ; Bellarmine's Congruism, 4–5 ; he warmly defends the theory of predestination *ante praevisa merita*, 6, 11, 41 ; his theory of Congruism depends on *scientia media*, 7 ; Leonard Lessius writes to him about the controversy being waged in Louvain, 7–10 ; the Louvain Doctors appeal to Bellarmine's authority, 11 ; the activities of Baius and his supporters, 12–13; Bellarmine writes to Lessius, 14 ; the University of Douai enters the struggle, 15 f. ; Bellarmine's report on the subject, 18–22 ; he proves by copious citations from St. Thomas that God does not antecedently determine the human will, 19–20 ; the Faculty of theology at Mayence decide against the Louvain Doctors, 22 ; Fray Domingo Bañes is mentioned, 23 ; his theory of *praemotio physica*, 24–26 ; Luis Molina's theory, 26–27 ; the *Concordia* published, 28 ; its reception in Belgium, 29–31 ; the controversy in the *Controversies*, 31–33 ; allegations that Bellarmine was a Thomist, 33 ; the controversy in Spain, 34–36 ; the law of silence, 36 ; a Dominican *apologia* criticized by Bellarmine, 37–42 ; Bañes and Bellarmine, 43–51 ; Bellarmine's suggestions for ending the controversy, 52 ; a Roman commission censures the *Concordia*, 52–53 ; Bellarmine answers Davila, 54 ; and speaks to Clement VIII, 56 ; and denies a rumour that Molina was burnt in effigy, 57 ; debates begin, 57 ; Bellarmine's letter to Clement VIII, 58–61 ; he is made Archbishop of Capua and leaves Rome, 61–62 ; death of Molina and Bañes, 63 ; Cardinal du Perron's intervention, 63 f. ; death of Clement VIII, 64 ; Paul V puts an end to the controversy, 65 ; Bellarmine writes to Lessius, 66 f. ; Bellarmine and the Dominicans, 67–69

de Graffi, Dom Giacomo, *Consilia et Responsa, etc.*, ii. 268
Granderath, Fr., S.J., *Gesch. des vat. konzils*, i. 190
Grassi, Horatio, S.J., ii, 346 f., 364 f., 372
Gratry, Père, i. 187
Gravina, *Vox Turturis, etc.*, ii. 398 f.
Gravius, Dr. Henry, ii. 15
Gredt, Dom., O.S.B., i. 251
Greek, Bellarmine's knowledge of, i. 51
Greek College, Rome, i. 119
Gregory the Great, St., *Moralia*, i. 218 ; ii. 75, 220
Gregory VII, Pope, St., Bellarmine on, i. 256 ; ii. 475
Gregory XIII, Pope, i. 68, 119, 124 f., 130, 269, 307, 352 ; *Martyrology*, 385
Gregory XIV, Pope, i. 283, 286 f. ; Memorandum to, 294 f.
Gregory XV, Pope, i. 440 ; ii. 322
Gregory Nazianzen, St., i. 451 ; ii. 76 f., 166, 181, 217
Gregory of Nyssa, St., i. 348
Gregory of St. Vincent (S.J.), ii. 345
Gregory of Valencia, i. 172 ; ii. 35, 57
Gregorian chant, ii. 85
Gregorian University, i. 120
Gretser, James, S.J., i. 103, 127, 156, 159 ; *Defensio Controversiarum Bellarmini*, 175 ; 291 ; ii. 233, 254
' Greybeard ' jugs, i. 141 ff.
Grienberger, Cristofero, S.J., ii. 345 f., 356 f., 363
Grisar, Hartmann, S.J., *Luther*, i. 175
Gualdo, Paul, *Vita J. V. Pinelli*, i. 364
Gubbio, Bishop of, ii. 124
Guéranger, Dom, O.S.B., *De la Monarchie Pontificale*, i. 187
Gueux, the, i. 110

Guicciardini, Piero, ii. 364
Guidiccioni, Bishop Alexander, ii. 308–317
Guidotti, Pietro, i. 410 ff., 415, 444, 447 ; ii. 78 f., 88, 94, 99, 103 f., 112, 114, 429 ff., 453
Guise, Duke of, i. 197, 198–199, 441
Gunpowder Plot, The, ii. 151–152, 167, 169, 189, 193, 195, 201

H

Hacket, *Life of Archbishop Williams*, ii. 186, 208, 233
Hales, Alexander of, ii. 47 f.
'Half-miracles,' i. 320 f.
Hall, Dr. Joseph, *The Peace of Rome proclaimed by Bellarmine*, i. 149 ; ii. 207
Hallam, *History of England*, ii. 152
Haller, Fr., letter from Bellarmine, ii. 126
Hamilton, Abbé, i. 209
Hamilton, Lord, ii. 162
Han, Bishop Bonaventure, i. 457 f.
Happy Entrance of the Queen of Spain, i. 364
Harding, Thomas, i. 174 f.
Hardouin, John, S.J., i. 373
de Harlay, Archbishop Francis, ii. 401–402
de Harlay, President, ii. 246–248, 474
Harlemius, Fr., S.J., i. 74, 107
Hart, Blessed William, i. 124
Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, i. 296
Hatligarius Cameracensis, i. 106
Hauser, *Les sources de l'histoire de France*, ii. 239
Hay, Edmund, S.J., ii. 258
Hearnshaw, Dr. F. J. C., (ed.) *Social and Political Ideas etc.*, i. 216 ff. ; ii. 154
Hebrew, learnt by Bellarmine, i. 100 f. ; success in teaching it, 101 f. ; Bellarmine's *Hebrew Grammar*, 132
von Hefele, Bishop, his opinion of Bellarmine, i. 190
Heidelberg University, i. 445
Henrietta, Queen, Maria, ii. 285
Henriquez, Fr., S.J., i. 172
Henry II, Emperor, ii. 292
Henry III, of France, i. 196–200, 440 f.
Henry IV of France, i. 129, 181, 195 ff., 200, 205 ff., 210 ; Bellarmine's view on negotiations with, 211 f. ; 356, 366 ; ii. 63 ; letter from Card. de Joyeuse on conclave of 1605, 118–121 ; 156, 159, 178, 210, 213 f., 217, 239–240, 243, 251
Henry IV, Emperor, i. 220
Henry VIII, ii. 157, 195, 218
Henry, Duke of Guise, the 'Balafré,' i. 197 ff., 198–199, 441
Henry, Prince of Wales, ii. 155 ff., 165, 280–281
Henry of Segusia, i. 254
Hentenius, (Hentens), i. 278, 289 f.
Heresy, Bellarmine on, i. 164
Herman, *La Pedagogie des Jesuites etc.*, i. 18, 44
Hermann, i. 178
Hermas, i. 105
Heshusius, Tilmann, i. 179, 351
Heywood, Jasper, i. 145
Hewlett, Maurice, *The Road in Tuscany*, i. 2
Hieraticon Doron, ii. 156–168, and see 'James I.'
Hilary, St., i. 85, 105, 300 ; ii. 217, 334
Hipparchus, ii. 328
History, Church, Bellarmine's knowledge of, i. 106
Hobbes, Thomas, *Leviathan*, i. 238 f.
Hofman, George, S.J., *Il Beato Bellarmino e gli Orientali*, ii. 325
Holinshed, *Chronicles*, i. 421
Holtby, Fr., S.J., ii. 178
Holy Office Cardinals examine *Ratio Studiorum*, i. 383 ; and Galileo's theories, ii. 366, 368
Holywood (Sacrobosco), Christopher, S.J., ii. 161
Holywood (Sacrobosco), Joannes, *De sphaera mundi*, ii. 329, 336
von Homonay, see 'Drugeth von Homonay.'
Höpfl, Dom H., in *Révue Bénédictine*, i. 307
de l'Hôpital, i. 198
Horky, Martin, *Peregrinatio contra Nuntium Sidereum*, ii. 348
Hortatorie of Spanish officials in Naples, ii. 99
Hosius, Cardinal Stanislaus, i. 99, 191
Hospital, the Royal, Chelsea, i. 161
Hospitals, Bellarmine's work in, i. 38
Hotman, Francis, *Francogallia*, ii. 239 ; *De iure successionis*, *ibid.*
Howell, *Instructions for Forreine Travel*, i. 80

Hubert, St., Monastery of, ii. 269
Hugh, of Lincoln, St., ii. 220
Hugh of St. Victor, i. 263 ; ii. 220
Huguenots, views on kingly power, ii. 238 f. ; Père Coton's appeal to, 295
d'Hulst, Mgr., *Conférences de Notre Dame*, i. 268
Hunt, G., *The Virginian Declaration of Rights and Cardinal Bellarmine*, i. 241
Hurter, Fr. S.J., *Nomenclator Litterarius*, ii. 53
Huss, John, i. 96
Hutton, Edward, *In Unknown Tuscany*, i. 28
Huygens, Christian, *Opera*, ii. 345
Hyacinth, St., ii. 68
Hyacinth of St. Catherine, Fr., *Epistolae pro causa Beatificationis*, ii. 265
Hymns written by Bellarmine, i. 21 f., 42, 213, 389
Hyperaspistes of the Roman Curia (Bellarmine), i. 160

I

Ignatius Loyola, St., i. 11 f., 16, 36, 61, 108 f., 119, 135, 313 ; on higher studies, 374 f. ; Bellarmine's exhortation on, 430–437 ; Bellarmine and his beatification, 437–440 ; on grace and free-will, ii. 4 ; 108, 380, 384, 389
Image of Christ, worship to, i. 380, and see ' Latria '
Images, Bellarmine on worship of, i. 393 f. ; ii. 45, 47–48
Imitation of Christ, Bellarmine's love of the, i. 39 ; 396 ; ii. 399
Independence, American Declaration of, i. 240 f.
Index, *Controversies* put on by Sixtus V, i. 269–276
Index, Congregation of the, *Quaedam decreta, etc.*, ii. 69
India, Jesuit missionaries in, ii. 317 ff.
Indulgences, Bellarmine on, i. 350 ff.
Infallibility, Papal, Bellarmine on, i. 150–152, 187 ; his teaching followed by Vatican Council, 189
Ingolstadt, i. 136 ; ii. 34
Ingram, Venerable John, i. 124
Innocent III, Pope, i. 264, 352, 255, 449
Innocent IX, Pope, i. 171, 336
Innocent XI, Pope, ii. 464, 470
Inns, Bellarmine on, i. 48 f.
Inquisition, i. 127, 172 ; ii. 215–216, 354 ff.
In quo positus fuerit error Pelagii, etc., ii. 56
Insuper, Decree, i. 277
Inviziati, Mgr., i. 110
Irailh, Abbé, *Querelles Littéraires*, ii. 373
Irenaeus, St., i. 84 f.
de Is a, Fr., S.J., i. 52 f.
Isocrates, i. 51
Italians, manners of in seventeenth century, i. 22–24
Ivry, Battle of, i. 206

J

Jacobelli, i. 401
James I of England :
i. 6, 12, 128, 143, 157 ; founds College of Controversy at Chelsea, 160 ; 172, 184, 227, 232, 345 ; negotiations with Clement VIII, ii. 144 ff., 212–213 ; Bellarmine writes urging the King to return to the Church, 146–148 ; prospects of toleration at his accession, 148 ; reinforcement of the penal laws, 149, 169 ; James's views on the Divine Right of Kings, 152–154 ; publishes the *Basilikon Doron*, 155 ; *Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, *ibid.*, 190 ; Bellarmine writes his *Hieraticon Doron*, 156–168 ; Bellarmine on the title, *Defender of the Faith*, 157 f. ; on Queen Elizabeth, 159–160 ; on games of chance, 164 ; on the Divine Right of Kings, 165–166 ; James's Oath of Allegiance, 173–177 ; Pope Paul V condemns the Oath, 178–180 ; Blackwell takes the Oath and receives remonstrance from Bellarmine, 180–183 ; Blackwell's defence, 183–185 ; the King answers Paul V and Bellarmine anonymously in his *Triplici Nodo Triplex Cuneus*, 186–191 ; Bellarmine replies with his *Responsio Matthaei Torti*, etc., 191–197 ; his criticism of the King's boast of clemency towards Catholics, 195 ; James revises his book with the help of Bishop Andrewes and others, 197–199 ; and reissues it with a *Premonition*, 199 ; gives reasons

James I of England (*continued*):
for his former anonymity, 200, traduces Persons, Garnet, Oldcorne, etc., 201; attacks Bellarmine vigorously, 202–204; launches forth against Cardinals in general, 205; instructs Bishop Andrewes to reply to Bellarmine at greater length, 207; Andrewes' *Tortura Torti*, 207–210; the trial and condemnation of Lord Balmerino, 210–213; reception of the King's *Premonition* on the Continent, 213–217; the Pope orders Bellarmine to answer it, 217; Bellarmine's *Apologia*, 217–224; answers the King's sneers at his family, 218–219; defends Father Garnet, 223–224; Bishop Andrewes' second reply to Bellarmine, 225–226; Bellarmine attacked by Casaubon, 226–229; the adventures of Mark Antonio de Dominis in England, 229–233; refutation of King James's theories by Becan and Suarez, 235–237; William Barclay's book in favour of King James is answered by Bellarmine in *De Potestate Summi Pontificis*, etc., 240–242; this treatise is denounced by the *Parlement* of Paris and its allies, 242–249; Bellarmine's attitude in the crisis, 244, 249; his letter to the Queen of France, 250–251; King James's manœuvres, 253; Bellarmine's controversy with Roger Widdrington about the Oath of Allegiance, 254–257; his letters to Abbé Dubois, 257–258; his friendship with John Barclay, 258–259; story of King James's later regard for Bellarmine, 260; the King's *Meditation upon the Lord's Prayer*, *ibid.*
James II, ejection of, i. 154
James V of Scotland, ii. 162
James, Dr. Thomas, *Treatise of the Corruption of Scripture, etc.*, i. 289 ff.; *Bellum Papale, etc.*, 290 f., 296
James the Less, St., i. 105; ii. 89, 387
James the Greater, St., legend of his apostleship in Spain, i, 387
James, Venerable Edward, i. 124
Jansenism, i. 74, 398; ii. 10
Jansenists, Passionei and, ii. 468 f.
Jansenius, Cornelius, Bishop of Ypres, i. 68; ii. 10.
Jansens, Cornelius, Bishop of Ghent, i. 68
Janson, Dr. James, ii. 10, 17
Janssen, *History of the German People*, i. 345
Jardine, *Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot*, ii. 148, 150
Jefferson, *Works*, i. 241
Jenks, Dr., *Ouranography*, ii. 397
Jerome, St., i. 79; *De Viris Illustribus*, 103 f.; and the *Vulgate*, 276–277, 300–302
Jeronimo, Juan, S.J., ii. 41
Jesuits, see 'Society of Jesus'
Jesuits, 'discalced,' i. 359 f.
Jewel, Bishop, i. 174
Job, Book of, i. 105
John, St., and the secular state, i. 219
John the Baptist, St., i. 90; ii. 460
John Chrysostom, St., i. 78, 105, 449, 451; *Homilies on the Acts*, 106; ii. 166, 334
John Damascene, St., ii. 47
John George of Saxony, ii. 292
John XIII, Pope, ii. 70
John XXII, Pope, i. 369; ii. 59
Johnson, Samuel, *Works*, ii. 139
du Jon (Junius), i. 157 f.
de Joyeuse, Cardinal, i. 180; ii. 118–121, 143, 246–247
de Joyeuse, Duc, i. 198 f.
Jones, Fr. (Fr. Leander of St. Martin), ii. 270
Jones, Fr. Robert, ii. 280–281
Jonson, Ben, *Bartholomew Fair*, i. 143
Joseph II, opposition to Bellarmine's Larger Catechism, i. 397 ff.
Jouvency, Fr., S.J., *Historia Societatis Jesu*, i. 360; ii. 63
Jubilee Year of 1600, i. 351, 444 ff.
Julian the Apostate, ii. 181, 218
Junius, see 'du Jon'
Justification, see 'Grace'
Justinian, *Institutes*, i. 226
Justiniano, Cardinal, ii. 120

K

Kaunitz, Prince, i. 397 f.
Kellison, Dr., ii. 254
à Kempis, Thomas, i. 133 f.; ii. 391
Kenyon, Sir Frederick, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, i. 296

Kepler, ii. 328, 338, 340–341, 348
von Ketteler, Bishop, i. 190
Kilwardby, Archbishop Robert, O.P., i. 173
Kinchius, John, ii. 410
Kings, Divine Right of, i. 220 f.; ii. 153 ff.; and see 'Bellarmine, *Political Theories*'
Kirby, Blessed Luke, i. 124
Knox, John, ii. 152 f., 162

L

Labbé, Fr., S.J., i. 106
Lactantius, i. 154
Ladislas, Prince, i. 232
Laemmer, Hugo, *Meletematum Romanorum Mantissa*, ii. 64, 295, 299
Lake, Sir Thomas, ii. 197, 225, 253
Lambertini, Prosper, see 'Benedict XIV'
Lancicius, Ven. N., S.J., *Opuscula*, i. 79; *Process of Beatification*, i. 313
Landi, Paula, ii. 461–462
Lang, Andrew, ii. 212
à Lapide, Cornelius, S.J., *Commentaria*, i. 44, 180, 293
Laski, H. J., *A Grammar of Politics*, i. 229, 247
Lassels, Richard, *The Voyage of Italy*, i. 19, 22 f.; ii. 375
Latria, i. 380; ii. 47–48
Laud, William, *The History of the Troubles and Tryal*, etc., i. 147; *A Relation of the Conference between William Laud and Mr. Fisher, the Jesuit*, i. 148
Launoi, James, i. 187
Laurea, Cardinal, i. 163
Laurence, O'Toole, St., ii. 86
Lauro, Cardinal, i. 385
Laynez, Fr. S.J., i. 21, 24 f., 27 f., 32 f.
League, The Catholic, i. 197, 210 ff.
Leander of St. Martin, Fr. (Fr. Jones), ii. 270
Lecce, i. 331 f.
Le Chablais, i. 182
Lecky, *Rise and Influence of Rationalism*, i. 236
Lecture-Notes, Bellarmine's, i. 71 ff.; used at Douay, 73; his refusal to have them printed, 75
Ledesma, Fr., S.J., i. 34, 120
Lee, H., i. 241
Le Fèvre, i. 102
Leibniz, *De Jure Suprematus*, i. 267
Lembo, G., S.J., ii. 345
de Lemos, Thomas, O.P., ii. 57
de Lenoncourt, Cardinal, i. 204
Leo, St., i. 449; ii. 43
Leo X., Pope, ii. 59, 129, 157
Leo XI, Pope, ii. 64, 114 f.
Leo XII, Pope, ii. 476
Leo XIII, Pope, *Diuturnum Illud* (Encyclical), i. 243 ff., 248–251; 396; *Providentissimus Deus* (Encyclical), ii. 351; 476
de Leon, Fr. Luis, ii. 34
Lepanto, Battle of, i. 129
Leporini, i. 398
Lerici, i. 47, 50
Leslie, Shane, *Life of Cardinal Manning*, ii. 221, 284
Lessius, Leonard, S.J., i. 116, 155; correspondence with Bellarmine about the controversy on grace in Louvain, ii. 8–14; his *Apologia*, 14–15; further details of the controversy, 16–18; Bellarmine's defence of Lessius, 18–22; Lessius and Molina, 29; Bellarmine counsels Lessius to give up writing, 67; his *Treatise on Antichrist*, 235
Leunis, Jean, S.J., i. 34
Levesque, *Précis de Philosophie*, i. 247
Lewknor, ii. 165
Libra Astronomica (Grassi), ii. 346 f.
Lilley, Archdeacon, i. 217
Lincei, Accademia, de', ii. 342
van Linden, William, i. 299
Lindsay, Sir James, ii. 145
Lingard, *History*, etc., ii. 152, 197–198, 209, 212
Lipsius, Justus, i. 405
Lisio, Fr., S.J., i. 360
Liturgy, Bellarmine's interest in, i. 385; Bellarmine's care for its celebration at Capua, ii. 85 f.; protest to Fr. Vitelleschi about ceremonies on Corpus Christi, 86–87
Locke, J., *Two Treatises*, i. 239 f.
Lodge, *Illustrations*, ii. 152
Lombard, Peter, see 'Peter the Lombard'
Lombardy, trouble over the *Catechism* in, i. 398
Loreto, i. 156, 357
Lorin, Jean, S.J. (Lorini), i. 212; *Commentarii in Deuteronomiam*, i. 420
Lorini, Nicholas, O.P., ii. 354 f.

Lorraine, Duke of, i. 204
Lorraine, Christina Duchess of, ii. 349
Louis XIII of France, i. 440
Louis of Toulouse, St., ii. 298
Louvain, i. 61 ff., 69; Bellarmine continues his studies at, 65; his sermons there, *ibid.*, 76 ff.; controversy between Jesuits and Doctors of, ii. 7–23
Lowe, Ven. John, i. 124
Lubbert, Sibrand, i. 159
Lucas, Francis, i. 102, 309
Lucca, Bellarmine's mediation between Bishop and Senate of, ii. 307–317
Ludovisi, Cardinal, ii. 430
Lupton, D., *History of Modern Protestant Divines*, i. 176 f.
Luther, Martin, i. 96, 175, 351, 371, 373; ii. 2 f., 157, 218, 331
Lutherans, Bellarmine on, ii. 147

M

Maccabees, Book of, i. 226; Vulgate version, 300
MacCaghwell, Fr. Hugh, *Apologia pro Joanne Duns Scoto*, ii. 263 f.
McIlwain, C. H., *The Political Works of James I*, i. 235 f., 240; ii. 155, 161, 174, 190 f.
di Macque, Giovanni, *Madrigals*, etc., i. 318
Madison, i. 241
Madrid, Fr., S.J., i. 50
Madrucci, Cardinal, i. 349, 471; ii. 18, 54
Magdalene Hall (Oxford), i. 141
Maimbourg, *Histoire de la Ligue*, i. 211
Malachy, St., i. 451; ii. 86
Malcotio, Odo, S.J., ii. 345
Maldonatus, John, S.J., i. 96; *Oratio cum suam Theologiam aggrederetur*, i. 97
Malleus Maleficarum, i. 345
Malta, Knights of, i. 66
Manichaeans, i. 121, 259
Manners, Sir Oliver, ii. 285, 420
Manning, Cardinal, ii. 221, 284 f.
Manutius, see 'Aldus Manutius'
Maraffi, Luigi, O.P., ii. 353
Marcello, San, Cardinal of, ii. 83
Marcellus II, Pope, i. 6, 9; visit to Montepulciano, 11 f.; elected Pope, 14 f.; 16, 25, 27, 29, 32, 34, 52, 63, 127, 400 f.; ii. 98 f. 218, 226, 261, 307, 332, 458
Marchesi, Anthony, S.J., ii. 375
Marchesis, Signor, i. 419
Marciano, *Memorie della Congregazione dell' Oratorio*, i. 405
Maret, Mgr., *Du Concile*, etc., i. 186 f., 189
Margaret of Austria, i. 364
Marguerin de la Bigne, *Bibliotheca*, i. 103
Maria of Austria, ii. 54
Mariana, Fr., S.J., *Scholia in Vetus et Novum Testamentum*, i. 34; 36, 216; *De Rege et Regis Institutione*, ii. 243 f.
Mariani, Lorenzo, *Vita di S. Agnese*, i. 344
Marie de Médicis, ii. 246 ff.
Mario, Captain, i. 349 f.
Mark, Fr., S.J., i. 46
Maronite College, Rome, i. 119
Marsh's Library (Dublin), i. 147
Marsiglio of Padua, i. 221
Marsilio, Giovanni, i. 224 f.; *The Reply of a Doctor of Theology*, etc., ii. 134, 136
Martial, i. 44
Martin, Victor, in *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, ii. 240; *Le Gallicanisme et la Réforme Catholique*, ii. 245
Martyrology, Bellarmine and, i. 316; reform of, 385
Martyrs, English, Bellarmine and, i. 124, 204; ii. 222 f.
Mary Magdalene, St., Bellarmine's hymn on, i. 389 f.
Mary, Queen of Scots, ii. 152, 158, 160, 162, 167, 204, 220
Marzocco, The, i. 2
Mascardi, *Orationes habitae in Aede Sistina*, i. 125
Masson, *Life of Milton*, ii. 329
Masterson, E., S.J., i. 251
Mathematical studies, Bellarmine and, i. 321
Mathieu, Fr., S.J., i. 198
Matrimonial dispensations, i. 455 f.
Matthews, Sir Toby, ii. 285
Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, ii. 265, 287 f., 291 ff., 300
Mayence, Archbishop of, i. 458
Mayenne, Duke of, i. 200, 204, 206, 212; ii. 239 f.
Mayer, *De fide Bellarmini*, etc., i. 172
Mazolini, Sylvester, *De Strigibus*, i. 345
Mazzuchelli, *Gli Scrittori d' Italia*, i. 364
Meaux, i. 214

Mediaeval conception of Church and State, i. 219 f.
Medici, Cardinal Giovanni Angelo, see 'Pius IV, Pope'
de' Medici, Cardinal Alexander, see 'Leo XI, Pope'
de' Medici, Duke Cosimo, i. 25
de' Medici, Cosimo II, Grand Duke of Tuscany, ii. 279 f., 339, 347
Meekness of Bellarmine, ii. 390–392
Melanchthon, i. 165, 178; ii. 331
Mellini, Cardinal, ii. 368
Melvill, James, ii. 196 f.; *Diary*, 210
Melvill, Andrew, *Epistolae*, ii. 234
Memorandum to Gregory XIV, i. 294 f.
Memorials, The Thomist, to Clement VIII, ii. 37–42, 43–52
Mendham, Joseph, i. 271
Mendoza (Spanish Ambassador), i. 210
Mendoza, Ferdinand, i. 327 f.
Mercure François, i. 269
Mercurian, Fr., S.J., i. 107, 114 f., 124 f., 317
Merkle, *Concilium Tridentinum*, i. 349
Merry del Val, Card., ii. 478
Mertens, i. 162
Messina, Jesuit College in, i. 374
Meyer, A. O., *Clemens VIII und Jacob I von England*, ii. 155
de Meyer, Liévin, *Historiae Controversiarum*, etc., ii. 35, 43, 45, 54, 57
Michel, Church of St., i. 65
Michel, Etienne, i. 269
Middelburg, Bishop of, ii. 23
Milan, ii. 200
Millar, see 'Ryan, J. A.'
Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ii. 329
Minerva, Dominican Convent of the, ii. 69
Minutolo, Fr., ii. 316 f., 432
Miracles, Bellarmine on his 'half-miracles,' i. 320 f.; ii. 460–462, Appendix III, pp. 492 ff.
Mittarelli, *Annales Camaldulenses*, ii. 272
Modena, Jesuits of, i. 439
Modus Salium, i. 141
Möhler, i. 155
Molina, Luis, S.J., his theory of *scientia media*, ii. 26, 27; his *Concordia* approved by Bartholomew Ferreira, O.P., 28; opposition to the book, and initial success, 28; welcomed by Lessius, 29; and by Deckers, 29–31; Bellarmine's attitude to the *Concordia*, 29, 31–33; Dominican Memorial against Molina, 37; Bellarmine's criticisms of the Memorial, 37–42; the *Concordia* condemned by Roman commission, 53; Bellarmine defends Molina against Davila, 54; the *Concordia* condemned a second time, 55; rumours in Spain that Molina had been burnt in effigy in Rome, 55; letter of Bellarmine denying this rumour, 57; death of Molina, 63; Cardinal du Perron's defence of the *Concordia*, 63 f.; results of the controversy, 65–66
Monaco, Michael, *Sanctuarium Capuanum*, ii. 72, 75, 81
Mondovì, Bellarmine sent to, i. 47 ff.; work in, 51; preaches in, 52 ff.; Bellarmine's lectures on astronomy in, ii. 332
Mongardo, Augustine, i. 419; ii, 369
Monopoli, Cardinal, ii. 118
'Monsieur, The Peace of,' i. 196
Montagu, Bishop Richard, i. 146 f.; *Apparatus ad Origines Ecclesiasticas*, 147
Montagu, Bishop James, ii. 227
Montague, Viscount, ii. 150
Montaigne, *Travels in Italy*, i. 35, 119, 127
Montalto, Cardinal, see 'Sixtus V'
del Monte, Cardinal, ii. 56, 262, 264, 345, 358, 365
Monteagle, Lord, ii. 151
Monte Cassino, ii. 276
Monte Morone, Abbey of, ii. 274, 279
Montepeloso, Bishop of, ii. 124
Montepulciano, i. 1; Paul Bourget on, 2; Maurice Hewlett on, *ibid.*; origin of, 4; J. A. Symonds on, *ibid.*; famous citizens of, 5; college at, 16–19; closed, 20 f.; Dominicans in, 27, 30; 117, 126, 338; Bellarmine and bishopric of, 340 ff., 424; 343 f., 348 f., 355; *Process* of, 403, 406; ii. 86–88, 279, 308, 462, 464
Montesquieu, ii. 467
Month, The, Acquaviva's letters to Persons in, ii. 144
Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, i. 382 ff.

Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, i. 16, 25, 32, 38, 125, 374, 378, 433 ; ii. 389
Monumenta Paedagogica, S.J., i. 35, 378
Morales, Fr., S.J., i. 114
Moran, *Memoirs of Archbishop Plunkett*, ii. 133
More, Henry, S.J., *Historia Missionis Anglicanae Societatis Jesu ab anno* MDLXXX *ad* MDCXXXV, i. 186 ; ii. 178
More, Blessed Thomas, ii. 182, 196
Morin, Pierre, i. 284
de Mornay, Philippe, *Le Mystère d' Iniquité*, etc., ii. 239 ; *Vindiciae contra tyrannos*, *ibid.*
Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione*, ii. 316
Morosini, Cardinal, i. 201
Morris, John, S.J., *The Condition of Catholics under James I*, ii. 419
Moryson, Fynes ; *Itinerary*, i. 22, 24, 57, 322, 324, 415 ; ii. 71, 102, 130
Moscow, Gd. Duke of, ii. 124
Mosheim, *Institutes of Ecclesiastical History*, i. 153, 166
du Moulin, Pierre, ii. 206, 229
Müller, Adolf, *Galileo Galilei*, ii. 348
Muret, Fr., S.J., i. 17
Musée Bellarmin (*Musée historique*), i. 116
Museum, the London, i. 143
Mush, Fr., ii. 177 f.
Music, Bellarmine's knowledge and love of, i. 24, 318 f.
Musso, Bishop Cornelius, i. 52 f.

N

Nadal, Fr., S.J., ii. 389
Naples, Bellarmine appointed Provincial of Society of Jesus in, i. 324 ff., 329 ; rejoicing at Bellarmine's elevation to the Cardinalate, 407 ; ii. 67, 71, 76, 80, 84, 106
Naples, ' Process ' at, ii. 464
Naples, Viceroy of, ii. 100
Napoleon, Emperor, i. 266
Nappi, Jerome, S.J., ii. 375
Navarre, Henry of, see ' Henry IV '
Navarrus (Azpilcueta), i. 226 f.
Nero, the Emperor, ii, 218
Newman, Cardinal J. H., his appreciation of Bellarmine's works, i. 166 f.
Nicaea, Council of, ii. 47 f.
Nichol, *Progresses*, ii. 208
Nicholas III, Pope, i. 369 f.
Nicholas, St., i. 21
Niso, Agostino, *Aristotelis Stagiritae*, etc., ii. 330
Niza, Father, S.J., i. 61
de Nobili, Cardinal Robert, i. 19, 422 ; ii. 98, 318
de Nobili, Clara, ii. 110
de Nobili, Robert, S.J., i. 5 ; ii. 318–322
Nominalism, i. 96
Nores, Bandino, ii. 369
Notes of the Church, i. 154
Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques, etc., ii. 472
Novatian heresy, i. 327

O

Oath of Allegiance, see ' Allegiance '
Obedience, Bellarmine's promptness in, i. 61 ; Bellarmine on virtue of, 134 f., 435 f.
Occam, William of, i. 221
O'Connell, Daniel, i. 154
Office of Our Lady, Little, i. 111
Office, Bellarmine and recitation of, i. 109, 408–409 ; ii. 85, 379
Ogilvie, Ven. John, S.J., ii. 236
Oikographia, i. 143
Oldcorne, Ven. Edward, S.J., i. 124 ; ii. 201
Oldoini, *Vitae et Res Gestae Pontificum Romanorum*, i. 357
Oleaster, Jerome, i. 299
Olica, Duke of, i, 458 f. ; ii. 426
Olivares, Count, i. 197, 200, 270, 283
Oliverius, Horatius, S.J., i. 384
Optatus, St., i. 85
O'Rahilly, Prof. A., i. 241
Orange, Council of, ii. 41, 43, 61
Orders Minor, eligibility of women for, ii. 44 f.
Ordination of Bellarmine urged by Provincial of Low Countries, i. 68
Origen, i. 343
Orlandino, Fr., S.J., *Historia S.J.*, i. 20, 333, 433
Orleans, ii. 276
Orozco, Juan, O.S.B., ii. 423 f.
Orsini, Cardinal, ii. 365, 414
Van Ortroy, Fr., S.J., *Exhortationes Domesticae*, i. 107, 437
Osborne, *Memoirs of Reign of King James*, ii. 150
Osiander, Andrew, ii. 331, 358, 361 f.
d'Ossat, Cardinal, i. 359, 364, 400 ; ii. 144
Osservatore Romano, ii. 480
O'Sullivan, John, D.D., ii. 379

Oudin, i. 106
Oxford, Bellarmine and University of, i. 140

P

Pacenius, ii. 233
Pacca, *Memorie*, etc., i. 162
Pacheco, Fr., S.J., i. 359 f.
Pachtler, *Ratio Studiorum et Institutiones S.J.*, etc., i, 382, 384
Padua, i. 25 f., 56 f., 363
Pallavicini, *History of the Council of Trent*, i. 52
Pallavicino, Thomas, O.P., ii. 69
Palmio, Benedict, i. 113
Paludanus, Petrus, *De causa immediata ecclesiasticae potestatis* i. 256
Panigarola, Bishop, i. 209, 211
Panormitanus, i. 254
Papal decisions, Bellarmine on value of, i. 304
Papal Infallibility, i. 151 f., 187, 189
'Papists,' classified by James I, ii. 171
Paraeus, David, i. 160
Paris, siege of, i. 207 ff.
Paris, 'Parliament' of, ii. 243 ; condemns Bellarmine's political theories, 246
Paris, University of, i. 383
Parra, Fr., S.J., i. 378 f.
Parry, Sir Thomas, ii. 146
Pasquinades on Jesuit and Dominican controversy, ii. 55
Passionei, Cardinal, i. 43 f., 60, 491 ; ii. 254, 415, 416, 466 f., 468 f., 471, 473 f.
Pastor, *History of the Popes*, i. 52 ; ii. 35, 43, 331
Patrology, Bellarmine's studies in, i. 103 f.
Paul, St., i. 69, 73 ; quoted, 105, 218 ; and political authority, 219 ; ii. 67, 219
Paul III, Pope, i. 27 ; ii. 331
Paul V, Pope, elected, ii. 64, 121–122 ; calls special meeting of Cardinals concerned with *de Auxiliis* controversy, 64 ; ritual of, 86 ; prophecy of Bellarmine about his death, 111, 122 ; Bellarmine's great respect for, 126 ; treatment of Naples and Venice, 128–134, 143 ; pronounces Oath of Allegiance unlawful, 178 ; Brief to the English Catholics, 179 f. ; 186, 193, 195 ff. ; reluctance to allow publication of Bellarmine's *Tractatus de potestate summi Pontificis*, 249 ; makes Bellarmine Cardinal Protector of the Order of Celestines, 273 ; 278, 289, 295, 308 ; attitude towards Galileo, 342, 365, 368–372 ; other references, 376, 378, 412 ; death, 429
Pavia, Bishop of, i. 398
Payva, Diego, i. 299
Peckham, Archbishop John, i. 73, 173
Pegna, Dr. Francis, i. 274 f., 437 f., 455 ; ii. 55, 249
Pelagius and Pelagianism, ii. 2–3, 10, 11, 12, 24, 49, 56, 61, 67
Peletier, ii. 233
Penal Laws, re-enforcement ordered by James I, ii. 149 f., 169 f., 172
Pinelli, John Vincent, i. 363 f.
Penitenzieria, the, i. 344, 349, 364
Perbenedetti, Cardinal, i. 322, 339
Perkins, Sir Christopher, ii. 175 f.
du Perron, Cardinal, regard for Bellarmine, i. 180 f. ; ii. 63–65 ; *Ambassades*, 118, 126 f., 130, 143, 214 ; *Harangue devant les Tiers-Etats Généraux*, 251 f. ; 294
Perrot, Francis, *Courteous Advice to Beautiful Italy*, i. 366 ff.
Persico, Peter, S.J., i. 327
Persino, Fr., S.J., *Memorie*, i. 318 ; ii. 121
Persons, Robert, S.J., i. 128 ; *A Manifestation of the Great Folly*, 174 ; ii. 97, 107, 144 f., 148 ; *Conference on the next succession*, 144, 154 ; Memorial on the Oath of Allegiance, 177 ; *Judgement of a Catholic Englishman*, etc., 200 ; King James on, 201–202 ; 285
Peruschi, Fr., S.J., i. 42
Perusino, H. B., *Vita Caesaris Baronii*, ii. 427
Peter's, St., Psalter of, i. 301 f.
Peter Canisius, St., S.J., i. 99, 179 ; Catechism of, 396
Peter Celestine, St., see 'Celestine V, Pope'
Peter Damien, St., i. 352
Peter the Hermit, ii. 291
Peter Lombard, Archbishop of Armagh, ii. 366
Peter the Lombard, *Liber Sententiarum*, i. 71, 375 ff.
Peter of Luxemburg, Bd., ii. 298

Peter Martyr, i. 165
Peter of the Mother of God, O.D.C., ii. 264
Petrarch, i. 367 f., 372
Petronilla, St., Bellarmine's views on story of, i. 386 f.
Petronio, Hyacinth, O.P., ii. 406
Pfulf, Otto, *Bischof von Ketteler*, i. 190
Philip II, of Spain, i. 197, 270; ii. 36, 42
Philip III, i. 364, 404; intercedes for Jesuits, ii. 53; opinion of Bellarmine, 116 f.
Philip the Fair, i. 221, 257
Philip Neri, St., i. 6, 16, 112, 356; ii. 427
Photius, i. 121
Picchena, Curzio, ii. 364; letter of Galileo to, 371
Piedmont, i. 117
Pienza, Bishop of, see 'Dragomanni'
Pighi, Albert, i. 189
Pilo, Angelo, S.J., i. 360
Pinaglia, John, i. 413
Pinelli, John Vincent, i. 363 f.
Pitcairn, R., *The Autobiography . . . of Melvill*, ii. 197
Pithou, *Articles: Les Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane*, ii. 249
Pius IV, Pope, i. 388; ii. 106
Pius V, Pope, St., i. 68, 353, 356, 372; Breviary of, 385; condemns Baius, 69, 70
Pius VI, Pope, i. 162
Pius IX, Pope, i. 187, 267, 396; ii. 476
Pius X, Pope, i. 243, 247 f., 250
Pius XI, Pope, ii. 477 f.
Plantin, Christopher, ii. 381
Le Plat, *Monumentorum . . . Conc. Tridentini Collectio*, i. 53
Platonic Philosophy, Bellarmine and proposed chair of, i. 343
Plunkett, Bl. Oliver, ii. 133
Pluralism, Bellarmine on, i. 451
Poincaré, Henri, ii. 360
Polanco, Fr., S.J., i. 17, 20, 32, 40, 47, 49, 55, 61, 63, 113
Poland, King of, i. 128
Pole, Cardinal, i. 52
Politian (Angelo Cini), i. 3, 5 f.

Political Theories:
Bellarmine on relations of Church and State, i. 216 ff.; *Civitas Dei*, *ibid.*; *Civitas Terrena*, *ibid.*; origin of political power, 217 f., 250; Bellarmine and the Anabaptists, 218 f.; Divine Right of Kings, 220; political power rests immediately in the whole people as its subject, 221 f., 250; but must be vested in a few or single individuals, 222, 250; forms of government sanctioned by law of nations only, *ibid.*; secular rulers not legitimate arbiters in religious controversy, 223; have only power given them by the people, 223 f.; power of Church immediately from God, *ibid.*; Bellarmine on source of kingly power, 226; kingly power not immediately from God, *ibid.*; source of power in Roman state, *ibid.*; view on opinion of Navarrus that supreme power is always retained by citizens *in habitu*, 227, 248; kingly power based on popular consent, 228; rebellion against legitimate ruler, sinful, *ibid.*; form of government may be changed by people for a legitimate reason, 229; advantages of monarchical government, 230 f.; most useful form of government is that combining elements of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, 231; laws of secular rulers bind in conscience, 232; virtues necessary in a ruler, 233 f.; Bellarmine's indebtedness to St. Thomas for his theories, 236; and to Aristotle, 237; Hobbes' views on Bellarmine's doctrine, 238 f.; possible influence of Bellarmine on American Declaration of Independence, 240 f.; later opposition of Catholic writers to doctrine of Bellarmine and Suarez, 241 ff.; Bellarmine's doctrine supported by facts of history, 242 f.; not condemned by Leo XIII and Pius X, 243 ff.; civil society natural and not conventional, 244; conflict of doctrine between Rousseau and Bellarmine, 244 f.; Cardinal Zigliara's view of Bellarmine's doctrine, 245 f.; obscurity of Bellarmine's doctrine, 247; established government not mere mandatory of community, 248;

Political Theories (*continued*)
Sillon theory not Bellarmine's, 248 f.; doctrine of Bellarmine and Suarez taught in Rome, 251; necessity of defining relations of spiritual and temporal powers, 252 f.; Pope not the ruler of the whole world, 254 ff.; nor of Christian world, *ibid.*; has no merely temporal jurisdiction directly by divine right, *ibid.*, 258; Bellarmine attacked by Alexander Carerius, 258 f.; exposition of claims of Boniface VIII, 260; spiritual power of Pope takes precedence of all temporal power, 261; limits of Pope's temporal power and relation to spiritual power, 262 f.; deposing power limited by spiritual ends, 264; power to interfere in secular jurisdiction, *ibid.*; the Church a juridically perfect society, 264 f.; temporal power necessary to the Church, 266; deposing power conditioned by political and social considerations, 267; conflict between views of Sixtus V and Bellarmine on temporal power of Pope, 270; Sixtus' determination to put works by Bellarmine on the Index, 270 f.; Bellarmine's book examined by the Inquisition, 271 f.; Cardinals of the Inquisition give a favourable verdict, 273 f.; attacked by Francis Pegna, 274 f.; works put on Index, 276; but decree not promulgated, *ibid.*; reply to Giovanni Marsilio, ii. 134 ff.; on ecclesiastical immunities, 136 f.; appeal to the Venetians, 140 f.; reply to the manifesto of the Venetian theologians, 142 f.; controversy with Barclay on the Pope's political power, 240–242; theories denounced by French regalists, 242 f.; Ubaldini's efforts on Bellarmine's behalf, 245 f.; Bellarmine's thesis condemned by the *Parlement* of Paris, 246; protest of the Nuncio, Ubaldini, 247; Bellarmine's reception of the condemnation, 249 ff.; defends his teaching in letter to Marie de Médicis, 250 f.; attacked by John Barclay, 258 f.; subsequent friendship with Barclay, 259, 286; see also 'James I'
Politiques, The, ii. 243 f., 246, 476
Pope, duties of, i. 453 ff.
Pope, supremacy of, i. 293 f.; Bellarmine on temporal power of, 216 ff., 252–268; origin of his power, ii. 136
Popes, bad, Bellarmine on, i. 167, 369
de Porrentruy, *Saint Paschal Baylon*, ii. 265
Portiuncula, ii. 279
Possevino, Fr., S.J., i. 130, 182, 191
Possidius, ii. 100
Poussines, *Hist. Controv.*, ii. 55, 62
'Poverello, il nuovo,' i. 8
Poveri, Padre dei, name for Bellarmine, i. 410
Poverty, Bellarmine's practice of, i. 135, 403–404
Pozzi, Sebastiano, ii. 316
Power, Edmond, S.J., i. 251
Praedeterminatio physica and *praemotio physica*, Bellarmine's criticism of, ii. 18–21, 32, 37 f., 39 f., 62, 64, 65
Prat, J. M., S.J., *Vie du Père Ribadeneira*, i. 66; *Maldonat et l'Université de Paris, etc.*, i. 97; *Récherches Historiques*, i. 289
Preaching, see 'Bellarmine, *Sermons*'
Predestination, Bellarmine on, i. 56 f.; ii. 5–6, 11, 15, 40–41
Predictions, Bellarmine's, i. 95, 106; on the death of Sixtus V, i. 203; 214; ii. 56, 109 ff.
Preface to the Clementine Vulgate, i. 294 f.
Preli vitio, meaning of, i. 308
Premonstratensians, i. 77; ii. 278
Preston, Fr., O.S.B., ii. 178, 283
Prideaux, Dr., i. 141
Priest, Bellarmine ordained, i. 68
Priesthood, Bellarmine's idea of the, i. 68 f.
Princes, see 'Secular rulers'
Printers, Bellarmine's views on, i. 76 f., 225
Priscus, St., ii. 109
Privileged altars, Bellarmine on, i. 352
Privilegium fori, i. 110

Process of Beatification (1712), ii. 98 ; of 1824, i. 424 ; of 1828, i. 410, 412 f., 417 f. ; ii. 95 ; see ' BELLARMINE, *Beatification*.'
Prochnicki, Bishop of Lemberg, ii. 122
Procida, Bellarmine receives commendatory abbacy of, i. 447 f.
Professed House, Naples, i. 326
Profession of solemn vows, Bellarmine's, i. 68
Professor, Bellarmine appointed, i. 70
Prophecy, Bellarmine's gift of, i. 214
Prosper, St., ii. 30
Protestants, English, go to hear Bellarmine preach in Louvain, i. 67
Provenzano, Dr., i. 347
Providentissimus Deus (Encyclical), ii. 351
Prümm, Nicholas, S.J., ii. 400
' Prussian Tables,' ii. 331
Prynne, i. 147
Psalms, Gradual, ii. 383
Psalms, Vulgate version of, i. 300
Ptolemy, Claudius, *Almagest*, ii. 329 ; 337, 357, 361, 364, 367
Pucci, Cardinal Robert, i. 7
Puisieux, ii. 249
Pulton, *Collection of Sundry Statutes*, ii. 172 ff.
Puns, Bellarmine's love of, i. 136
Purgatory, local position of, i. 150 ; ii. 204
Purificators, i. 81
Pujol, E., *Edmond Richer*, ii. 240

Q

Quaedam Decreta, etc., ii. 69
Querengo, Antonio, ii. 364
Querini, Card., ii. 471
Quesnel, *Apologie historique des deux Censures*, etc., ii. 33
Qui habitat in adjutorio Altissimi (Ps. xc.), sermon, i. 90 f.
Quirinal Palace, Papal Court in, i. 349 f.
Quotation, Bellarmine's facility in, i. 83

R

Radziwil, Cardinal, ii. 426
Radziwil, Nicholas, Duke of Olica, i. 458 ; ii. 426
Ranke, *History of the Popes*, ii. 130, 133 ; on the Oath of Allegiance, 177
Ratio Studiorum, i. 35, 46 ; Bellarmine and, 316, 374, 378 ff., 382 ff. ; and see ' Society of Jesus.'
Ravesteyn, Josse, i. 70, 299
Ravenna, i. 357
Ravaillac, ii. 243
Raymund of Pennafort, St., ii. 68
Reading, Bellarmine's love of as a boy, i. 24
Real Presence, Sermon on, by Bellarmine, i. 84 f.
Realini, Bernardino, Bd., i. 331 f. ; ii. 428
de Recalde, I., ii. 477
Recognitio omnium Librorum Roberti Bellarmini, i. 227
Records of the English Catholics, i. 73 ; ii. 297
Recupito, Julius Caesar, i. 332 f.
Recupito, Signora, i. 332 f.
Recusants, Acts against, ii. 169, 172
Redi, Francesco, *Bacchus in Tuscany*, i. 2 f.
Reform, Congregation of, i. 395
Reginald, Anthony, O.P., ii. 34
Reitberg, Count John of, i. 456
Relatio . . . Cardinalis Cavalchini in causa beatificationis, i. 67, 163 f. ; ii. 465
Relation of the state of religion, i. 269
Republics, divine right of, ii. 135
de Requescens, i. 116
Responsio Cardinalis Bellarmini ad calumnias, etc., i. 439
Responsio Matthaei Torti, ii. 191 f. ; publicly burned in London, ii. 210
Respublica Christiana, i. 216, 219 ; ii. 166
Retreats, Bellarmine's, ii. 376 ff.
Reuchlin, i. 100
Reusch, see ' Döllinger.'
Revue Bénédictine, i. 307 ; ii. 269
Review, North British, i. 152
Review, English Historical, ii. 213
Reyner, Dom. C., *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, ii. 271
Reynolds, Dr. John, i. 144 ff.
Reynolds, William, i. 141
Rheims, i. 139, 141, 215
Rhetorical devices, Bellarmine on use of, i. 87 f.
Rho, John, S.J., *Interpretationes Apologeticae*, ii. 264 f.
Rho, Alexander, ii. 264
Ribadeneira, Pedro, S.J., i. 61 ; preaches at Louvain, 64 f. ; *Illustrium scriptorum religionis S.J.*, 374

Riccardi, Ricci, *Galileo Galilei e Fra Tommaso Caccini*, ii. 354
Ricci, Matteo, S.J., ii. 322
Ricci, Via, i. 3
Ricerio, Mutius, i. 339
Rich, Barnaby, *New Description of Ireland*, i. 421
Richeome, Fr., ii. 295
Richard of St. Victor, i. 106
Richard of Chichester, St., ii. 220
Richardson, Dr., ii. 201
Richer, Edmund, ii. 240, 243
Rimini, Bishop of, i. 112
Rinaldi, E., *La fondazione del Collegio Romano*, i. 134
Risposta ad una lettera, etc., ii. 136 ff.
Risposta del Cardinale Bellarmino al difesa di Giovanni Marsilio, i. 224 f.
Risposta . . . all' oppositioni di Fra Paolo, ii. 139 ff., 142
Risposta alla Trattata dell' Interdetto, ii. 142 f.
Rites, Congregation of, ii. 262, 273, 427
Rivière, *La problème de l'Eglise et de l'etat aux temps Philippe le Bel*, i. 253
Rivista Europea, ii. 369
Riviullo, Bishop, ii. 462
Roa, Dr., ii. 407
Rocca, Angelo, i. 280, 288
Rocca, Francis, S.J., i. 334, 365, 404, 415 ; ii. 409
de la Rochefoucault, Cardinal, ii. 411
Rochester, Bishop of, see 'Fisher, Bd. John'
Roman Church, alleged abuses in, ii. 140
Roman College, i. 33 ff. ; programme of studies at, 35 ff., 119, 320 ; Bellarmine's room at, 353 f. ; ii. 374
'Romolo, Signor,' Bellarmine's *alias* while travelling, i. 116 ff.
Romuald, St., Breviary Lessons of, i. 348 ; see 'Camaldolese.'
Ronayne, Dr., i. 251
Rose, Mgr., i. 209
Rossetto, visited by Bellarmine, i. 331
Rosweyde, H., S.J., *Vindiciis Kempensibus*, i. 104 ; 116 ; ii. 295
Rousseau, i. 244 ff., 397
Roz, Mgr. Francis, ii. 317
Ryan, John A., and Millar, F. X. M., S.J. *State and Church*, i. 237
Ryder, Fr. H. D., *Collected Papers*, i. 345
Rudolph II, Emperor, i. 132, 457 ; ii. 199, 224
'Rupert,' Bellarmine known as, i. 395
Ruremonde, Bishop of, ii. 15
Rymer, *Foedera*, ii. 149
Rythovius, Dr. Martin, ii. 29 f.

S

da Sà, Christopher, Archbishop of Goa, ii. 321
Sacchini, Fr., S.J., *Historia Societatis Jesu*, i. 20, 34 ; ii. 413
Sackville, Sir Edward, ii. 233
Sacraments, Bellarmine's lectures on, i. 131 f.
Sagredo, ii. 371
Sailly, Thomas, S.J., i. 66, 136
S. Andrea, novitiate of, i. 349 ; ii. 376, 381, 391, 433
St. Clement, Cardinal of, i. 258
St. Cyran, the Abbé, ii. 10
St. Elias, Duchess of, ii. 459
San Giorgio, Cardinal, ii. 317
Salamanca, University of, i. 96 ; ii. 23, 52
de Sales, C. A., *Histoire du Bienheureux François de Sales*, i. 356 ; ii. 399
Salisbury, Earl of, ii. 211 f., 216, 225, 253, 259
Salmeron, Fr., S.J., i. 124 f., 131, 385
Salmon, Dr. George, *The Infallibility of the Church*, i. 296 f., 303, 307
Sanders, Dr. Nicholas, i. 98, 169, 175 ; *De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiae*, and *De Origine et Progressu Schismatis Anglicanae*, ii. 195
de Sangro, Francis, i. 339
Sannesio, the Marquis, i. 400 f.
Santa Fiore, Duchess of, i. 441
Santagata, *Istoria della Compagnia di Gesù*, etc., i. 115
San Giovanni, Convent of, in Capua, ii. 125
Santa Maria in Via, Church of, ii. 374
Santa Maria Traspontina, Carmelite monastery of, ii. 407
Santa-Severina, Cardinal, i. 124 f., 172, 271 ff., 288, 325
Santerelli, Mgr. Odoardo, i. 402
Santa Trinità Maggiore (Church at Naples), i. 334
Santi Quattro, Cardinal, i. 271
Sapienza, University of the, i. 342

Sarpi, Fra Paolo, i. 366 ; *History of the Council of Trent*, ii. 129, 133 ; *Apologia*, etc., 129, 139 ; 138–143, 229
Sarsi, Lottario, see ' Grassi.'
Sartorius, David, i. 132, 139, 146
Sassoferato, i. 346
Sauli, Cardinal, ii. 121
Saulx, Gaspar de, *Memoirs*, i. 203
Saunderson, Sir William, ii. 163
du Saussay, i. 106
Savelli, Cardinal Giacomo, i. 115
Savonarola, i. 41 ; ii. 354
Saxony, Duke George of, ii. 265, 292
Scaglia, Desiderio, O.P., ii. 67, 414
della Scala, Can Grande, Prince of Verona, i. 372
Scaliger, Joseph, i. 175
Scariglia, Alfonso, S.J., i. 26
Scarpo, J. C., *Il Neosofo*, i. 353
Schinosi, *Istoria della Compagnia di Gesù*, i. 333
Schipmann, Fr., S.J., i. 64
Schism, the Great, ii. 138
von Schleiffras, Dom Adalbert, ii. 269
Schmidt, *Geschichte der Pädagogik*, i. 44
Schneemann, Gerard, S.J., *Controversiarum*, etc., ii. 64 ff.
Schopp, Gaspar, i. 175 ; *Ecclesiasticus*, ii. 237 f. ; 286
Schott, Fr., S.J., i. 103
Schulcken, Adolph, i. 228 ; *Apologia*, ii. 254–257
Scientia media, ii. 7, 27, 33, 39 f., 55, 60, 66
Scioppius, see ' Schopp '
de Scorraille, R., S.J., *François Suarez*, i. 243, 376, 383 ; ii. 35 f., 53, 63, 210, 236
Scotists, i. 96
Scotus, Duns, ii. 263
Sebastian of Verona, i. 178
Sedgwick, H. D., *Ignatius Loyola*, ii. 380
Seghiti de Lauda, Michael Angelo, O.P., ii. 369
Séguier, Pierre, i. 210 ; ii. 246
Septuagint, Bellarmine and new edition of, i. 129
Serarius, Nicholas, S.J., *Josue Explained*, ii. 353
Sermons, see 'BELLARMINE, *Sermons*.'
Serry, J. H., *Historiae Congregationum de Auxiliis*, etc., ii. 33, 35, 37, 42 f., 54, 57
de la Servière, Fr., S.J., *La Théologie de Bellarmin*, i. 165 ; *De Jacobo I cum Card. Bellarmino disputante*, ii. 250 ; in *Gregorianum*, 325
Servin, Louis, ii. 245, 248
Sessa, church in, ii. 83
Sessa, Duchess of, i. 433
Sfondrato, Cardinal, i. 404 ; ii. 355
Shelley, i. 48
Sherwin, Bd. Ralph, i. 124
Sicilian Monarchy, the, i. 129
Sick, Bellarmine's devotion to the, i. 416
Sidney Algernon, *Discourses concerning Government*, i. 239 f.
Siena, ii. 102
Sigebert, Dom (Fr. Buckley), ii. 271
Sillery, ii. 245
Sillon, the, i. 247 f.
Simancas, archives, i. 271 ; ii. 116
Simler, i. 165
Simon de Montfort, ii. 292
Sin, Bellarmine on, i. 81
Sirleto, Cardinal, i. 33, 102 f., 130, 277, 298 f., 385
Sirmond, James, S.J., i. 106, 288 ; ii. 426
Siu Koang Ki, Paul, ii. 324 f.
' Sixteen, Council of,' i. 199
Sixtus V, helped by Bellarmine with his edition of St. Ambrose, i. 126 ; Bellarmine dedicates first volume of *Controversies* to, 132 ; and the Jesuit doctrine of obedience, 134 ; and the religious troubles in France, 197–200, 202; Bellarmine's ' prophecies ' about his death, 203, 213 f. ; decides to put Bellarmine's *Controversies* on the Index, 269–276 ; re-edits the Vulgate, thereby causing much excitement, 276–309 ; attitude with regard to privileged altars, 352 ; Perrot's book against, 366 f. ; Bellarmine's opinion of his edition of the Vulgate, ii. 59
Sixtus of Siena, *Bibliotheca Sancta*, i. 103, 299
Sizzi, Francesco, ii. 342 ; *Dianoia Astronomica*, 348
Society of Jesus : Educational system, i. 17 ff., 44 ; insistence on training in eloquence, 17 ; attack on Jesuit school in Montepulciano, 20 ; Cynthia Bellarmine's devotion to, 24 f. ; Bellarmine's vocation to, 26 f. ;

Society of Jesus (*continued*):
Bellarmine enters, 31; *Ratio Studiorum*, 35, 46; studies in, 35; study of astronomy, 35 f.; of metaphysics, 36; of ethics, *ibid.*; of psychology, *ibid.*; academic disputations, *ibid.*; insistence on *hilaritas* in masters, 46; constitutions, 71; adherence to teaching of St. Thomas, *ibid.*, 374 ff., 378 ff.; attitude to Jansenism, 74; Jesuits leave Louvain, 110 f.; Sixtus V and the Society, 134; forbidden to preach against Henry IV, 209; Bellarmine defends Paris Jesuits, 211; his efforts on behalf of expelled French Jesuits, 358 f.; Fr. Pacheco's scheme for 'discalced' Jesuits, 359 f.; the Society as an educational body, 374; length of theological studies, 379; fifth General Congregation, 383; doctrine on grace censured at Louvain, ii. 8–18; at Douay University, 15–16; doctrine on efficacity of grace as explained by Bellarmine, 4–7, 18–22; Molina's *scientia media*, 27; controversy of Dominicans and Jesuits in Spain, 34–36; the controversy in Rome, 37–66, and see 'Grace, controversy on'; expulsion of the Society from Venice, 132–133; re-enforcement of penal laws against in England, 149; King James I on, 188–189; attacked by Dubois, 243–244; and the question of Bishops for England, 284–285
Sommervogel, Fr., S.J., *Les Jésuites de Rome et de Vienne en MDLXI*, i. 34; 102; *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 155, 396
Somnium Scipionis, i. 51
Songs, written by Bellarmine, i. 213
Sora, Duchess of, ii. 110
Sorbonne, the, i. 210 f.; ii. 235, 240
Soto, Dominic, O.P., *De Justitia et Jure*, i. 57, 226, 245, 261, 263; ii. 45, 106
Soto, Peter, O.P., ii. 106
Southwell, Ven. Robert, S.J., i. 124
von Spee, Friedrich, *Cautio Criminalis*, i. 345
Spetiano, Mgr., i. 113 f.
Spiritual Exercises, ii. 4, 380 f., 389
Spinelli, Peter, S.J., i. 353 f.
Stancar, i. 179
Stanihurst, Richard, *Description of Ireland*, i, 421
Stapleton, Fr. Thomas, i. 138 f., 144, 165, 173, 175 f.
State Papers, Domestic, ii. 197 f., 207, 212, 225, 229, 238, 253, 258
States-General of France, propose an oath of allegiance, ii. 251
Statuti della Archconfrat. della Santissima Trinità, i. 447
Stefano, Fra, his curious sermon, ii. 108 f.
Steinhüber, Cardinal, *Geschichte des Collegium Germanicum*, i, 183 f.
Stephen, St., confraternity of, i. 22
Stephanus, Robert, i. 280
Stigmata, Bellarmine and Feast of, i. 47
Stillingfleet, Bishop, i. 147
Stimmen aus Maria Laach, i. 397
Stonyhurst Archives, i. 334; ii. 281, facing 420
Strada, Fr. S.J., i. 61, 65 f.
Strange, Fr. Thomas, ii. 253
Stratford, Bishop, i. 154
Strongoli, Bishop of, ii. 124
Strype, *Life of John Whitgift*, i. 145; *Annals*, etc., ii. 207
Suarez, Francis, S.J., i. 216, 238, 242 ff., 278; ii. 5, 10, 41; *Defence of the Catholic Faith*, 235–236
Suau, Père, S.J., *Vie de Saint François Borgia*, i. 55
Subiaco, ii. 278
Suffering, Bellarmine's sermons on, i. 79 f.
Suidas, ii. 365
Sully, Duc de, i. 181; *Mémoires de Sages . . . Oeconomies d'Estat de Henri le Grand*, ii. 159
Summarium, i. 136 f., and *passim*
Summarium additionale, i. 140, and *passim*
Suppe, meaning of, i. 371
Supremacy of the Pope, i. 293 f.
Surius, *Lives of the Saints*, ii. 73, 289
Sutcliffe, Dr. Matthew, i. 143 f., 149, 160 f.
Sydney, Sir Henry, *Letters and Memorials of State*, ii. 216
Sylvester, i. 254
Symonds, J. A., *Sketches in Italy*, i. 4
Synod at Tours, proposed, i. 205
Swenckfeld, i. 165
Szentgiorgij, John, ii. 289

T

Taberna, Cardinal, i. 275 ; ii. 400
Tacchi Venturi, Fr., S.J., *Storia de la Compagnia di Gesù in Italia*, i. 17, 38, 53, 57 ; *Esame delle nuove accuse contro il Ven. Card. Rob. Bellarmino*, ii. 101–102
Talpa, Anthony, i. 405
Tanner, Adam, S.J., *Theologia Scholastica*, 305, 306
Tapparelli, Fr., S.J., *Saggio Teoretico*, i. 242, 247
Tapper, Ruard, i. 69, 169, 191 ; ii., 13
Tarugi, Cardinal Francis, i. 6, 390, 451 ; ii. 101 f
Tarugi, Michael Angelo, i. 6
Tarugi, Mgr., i. 350, 422 ; ii. 103
Tatti, *Degli annali sacri della città di Como*, ii. 267
Taunton, Ethelred L., in *English Historical Review*, ii. 254
Tavannes, see ' Tavines '
Taverna, i. 331, 406 f.
Tavines, Seigneur de, i. 203
Taylor, Dr. William, ii. 107
Teano, church in, restored by Bellarmine, ii. 82 f.
Tempesti, *Storia della vita e gesti di Sisto Quinto*, i. 199
Temporal Power of Pope, Bellarmine defends, i. 130, 216, 454 f. ; and see ' Political Theories.'
de Tencin, Card., ii. 469, 472 ff.
Tenison, Archbishop, *Cardinal Bellarmine's Notes of the Church examined*, etc., i. 154
Teresa, St., i. 46, 472 ; letters of, ii. 23
Testament, New, Vulgate Version, i. 300
Tetrastylon Papisticum, i. 150
Theatines, in Capua, ii. 95
Theodoret, i. 105 ; ii. 383
Theology, Knowledge of shown in Bellarmine's sermons, i. 83 ; decadence of studies in, 95 f. ; revival of, 96 ff.
Thiersch, H., i. 166
Thirty Years War, ii. 287 f.
Thomas of Aquin, St., *Summa*, i. 71, 73, 137, 173, 188, 236, 312, 369, 374–378 ; *De Regimine Principum*, 254 ; *Commentarius in Epistolas omnes Pauli*, 255 ; on the Immaculate Conception, 379 ff., and see App. VI ; on the worship due to images, 380 ; ii. 47–48 ; on divine determination of the human will, 19–20, 26 ; astronomical theories, 330, 337
Thomas of Canterbury, St., ii. 220
Thomas of Villanova, St., i. 184
Thomas Waldensis, i. 263
Thomists, ii. 33
Thoms, W. J., *Anecdotes and Traditions*, ii. 427
Thorpe, Fr., S.J., i. 124
de Thou, J. A. (Thuanus), i. 132 ; *Historiarum sui temporis*, etc., 139 ; ii. 130
Tierney, editor, Dodd's *Church History of England*, ii. 145, 146, 148, 150, 151, 171, 177, 180, 270, 285
Tirrie, James, S.J., i. 211
Tivoli, i. 219
Toledo, Cardinal, S.J., i. 35, 37, 172, 280, 287, 338, 341 f., 348 ; ii. 39
Torti, Matteo, i. 419 ; ii. 191 f., 202, 205, 210, 217, 407
Tosco, Cardinal, ii. 119 ff.
Touron, *Histoire des Hommes célèbres de l'Ordre de Saint Dominique*, ii. 68
de Tourval, ii. 229
Tractatus de Potestate Summi Pontificis, ii. 241
Tradition, Bellarmine on, i. 178
Transsubstantiation, Bellarmine on, i. 160
Trattato del Interdetto, ii. 142 f.
Trent, Council of, i. 52 ; decree on the Vulgate, 297–301 ; 352, 439, 448 f., 454 ; ii. 8, 16, 21–22, 38, 40, 48, 80, 84, 99 f., 105, 128, 359
Trevoux, Journal de, i. 299; *Mémoires de*, 374
Trigault, Nicholas, S.J., ii. 322–324
Trittenheim, *Catalogue*, i. 103
Trumbull, Mr., i. 157 ; ii. 252
Turmel, J., *Histoire de la Théologie positive*, i. 190, 192
Tyburn, ii. 210
Tycho-Brahé, ii. 361

U

Ubaldini, Cardinal, i. 453 ; ii. 198, 214, 235, 244–248, 257 ; appointed to see of Montepulciano, 304 f.
Ulpian, i. 226

Unam Sanctam (Bull), i. 220, 256 ff.
Union, Evangelical, ii. 287 ff.
Urban, St., Pope, i. 386
Urban VII, Pope, i. 215, 276, 283, 287
Urban VIII, Pope, i. 387, 396 ; ii. 361, 463
Usher, Prof. R. G., *Reconstruction of the English Church*, ii. 172, 175 f., 177, 201
Utraquists, ii. 288

V

Vacandard, Abbé, ii. 367
Vacant-Mangenot, *Dictionnaire de théologie Catholique*, i. 253
Vaccari, A., in *Gregorianum*, i. 101
Vaison, Bishop of, ii. 145, 147, 221
Valencia, Gregory of, ii. 35, 57
Valencia, Rector of College at, ii. 49
Valenti, Cardinal, ii. 474
Valier, Cardinal, i. 322, 336 f., 338, 343, 361, 406, 451
Valla, i. 105
della Valle, Marchesa, i. 33
della Valle, Mgr. Louis, evidence of, i. 417
Vallombrosa, i. 46
Vasquez, Michael, S.J., i. 433
Vatican, Bellarmine's apartments at the, i. 403, 407 ; ii. 217
Vatican Council, i. 187 f.
Vatican Library, i. 348
Vaux, Anne, ii. 209
Vega, Andrew, i. 299
de Vendôme, Cardinal, i. 204
Venice, Bellarmine preaches at, i. 57 ; 132, 363 ; excommunication of Doge and Senate, ii. 130 f. ; expulsion of Jesuits, Capuchins and Theatines from, 132 ; 215 f.
Venice, Inquisitor of, i. 288
Vercelli, Bishop of, i. 112
Vercellone, *Variae Lectiones*, i. 284
La Verna, i. 47
Vernarecci, Mgr., *Fossombrone*, etc., ii. 467 f.
Verse, Bellarmine's compositions in, i. 21, 42, 213 ; on St. Mary Magdalen, i. 389
Viceo, Fr., S.J., i. 211
Victor, Pope St., ii. 162
Victorinus, Marius, i. 300
Vigilantius, i. 178 f.
Vignanesi, Giuseppe, i. 354, 409 ff., 417 f. ; ii. 110–111, 124
de Villars, Mgr. Pierre, i. 182 ; ii. 301
de Villeroy, M., ii. 126, 247, 253
Vilna, Bishop of, i. 456
Vimercati, Francis, ii. 333
Vincent, Fr. Julian, i. 134 f.
Vincent Ferrer, St., *De Vita Spirituali*, ii. 68
Vincenzo, Fr., O.P., i. 177
Vinta, Belisario, ii. 341
Violin, Bellarmine's playing on, i. 24
Virgil, Bellarmine's love for, i. 19
Vishaven, Cornelius, S.J., i. 38
Vitelleschi, Fr. Mutius, S.J., i. 112, 136, 326, 401 ; ii. 86, 263, 408, 413, 432, 453, 459
de Vittoria, Francis, O.P., i. 96, 222, 245, 261, 263, 270, 274, 377
Vivo, Il, i. 27 f., 29 f., 346
Voltaire, i. 397 ; ii. 467
Voorst, Conrad (Vorstius), *Anti-Bellarminus Contractus*, i. 157
Vows of religion, taken by Bellarmine, i. 68
Vulgate, revision of by Cardinal Carafa's Commission rejected by Sixtus V, 278 f. ; Sixtus undertakes revision himself, 279 ff. ; Bellarmine advises revision of Sixtus's work, 283; new commission, *ibid.* ; Bellarmine's advice to Gregory XIV on publication of Vulgate, 283, 286 ; new commission appointed, 283 ; submits memorandum on procedure of commission, 284 ; new revision completed at Zagarolo, 284 f. ; work commemorated by a tablet in Villa Zagarolo, 285 Bellarmine advises republication under names of both Sixtus and Gregory, 286 ; urges inclusion of variant readings, *ibid.* ; new revision published (1592), 287 ; Bellarmine advises the buying in of copies of Sixtine Vulgate, 288 f. ; preface to Clementine Vulgate written by Bellarmine, 288, 294 ff., 307 f. ; truthfulness of Bellarmine's work, 294 ff. ; memorandum to Gregory XIV, 295 ; authenticity of the Vulgate, 297 ff. ; Sixtine Vulgate and Papal Infallibility, 297 ff. ; the Tridentine Decree, 298 ff. ; Bellarmine on value of papal decisions, 304

W

Waggett, Dr. P. N., ii. 389
Walker, Anthony, D.D., *Devout Meditations of Cardinal Bellarmine*, ii. 389
Walpole, Ven. Henry, S.J., i. 124, 177
Walpole, Fr. Michael, *Antichrist Extant*, ii. 296
Walsingham, Sir Francis, i. 141 ; ii. 152
Walton, Isaak, i. 145 f. ; *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, ii. 237 f.
War, The Thirty Years, ii. 287 ff.
Ward, W. G., in *Dublin Review*, ii. 326
Watson, Fr., i. 174 ; ii. 149, 152
Wegg-Prosser, F. R., *Galileo and his Judges*, ii. 327
Weldon, Sir Anthony, *Court and Character of King James*, ii. 163
Welsted, *Oikographia*, i. 143
Werenfels, Samuel, *Opuscula Theologica*, i. 159 f.
Westminster Archives, ii. 282 ff.
Whitaker, Dr. William, *Disputatio de Sacra Scriptura*, i. 138 ff., 165 ; Bellarmine's opinion of him, 176–177
White, Dr. J. H., i. 296
White Hill, Battle of the, ii. 293
Whitgift, Archbishop, i. 145, 290
Wiclif, i. 96
Widdrington, Roger, i. 228, 267 ; ii. 254–256, 282–283
Wiedenhofer, i. 299
Wilkes, John, i. 19
Wills made by Bellarmine, ii. 109, 440 ff.
William, Duke of Bavaria, ii. 300
William of Newbury, *History of England*, ii. 166
William of Occam, i. 221
William of Orange, i. 110 ff.
William of Tyre, *Belli sacri historia*, ii. 291
Willet, Andrew, *Tetrastylon Papisticum*, i. 150, 173, 175
Winwood, Sir Ralph, *Memorials of affairs of State*, i. 157 ; ii. 151 f., 198, 215, 252
Wiseman, Cardinal, i. 155
Witchcraft, Bellarmine on, i. 343 ff.
Wittenburg, i. 131
Wohlwill, ii. 370
Wolfgang, Duke of Zwei-brucken, i. 64
à Wood, Anthony, *Athenae Oxonienses*, i. 141, 177
Wotton, Sir Henry, ii. 143, 215–216, 230, 237–238
Wright, Dr., i. 73
Wyse, Sir Andrew, i. 66, 115

Y

York, Cardinal of, ii. 466, 471
York House, Religious debate at, i. 148
Ypres, Benedictines of, ii. 271

Z

Zagarolo, revision of Vulgate at, i. 284, 307
Zangerus, Melchior, i. 299
Zannetti, Bartholomew, ii. 217, 241
Zapata, Cardinal, ii. 116
Zephryinus, Pope, i. 171
Zigliara, Cardinal, *Summa Philosophica*, i. 245, 249
Zozimus, Pope, i. 171
de Zuniga, Diego, ii. 370
Zwei-brucken, Wolfgang of, i. 64
Zwingli, i. 165

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